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THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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CHAP. XXVII.

Death of Gratian.—Ruin of Arianiſm.—St. Ambroſe.—Firſt civil War, againſt Maximus.—Character, Adminiſtration, and Pennance, of Theodoſius.—Death of Valentinian II.*—Second civil War, againſt Eugenius.—Death of Theodoſius.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Character and conduct of the emperor Gratian. A. D. 379—383.

THE fame of Gratian, before he had accompliſhed the twentieth year of his age, was equal to that of the moſt celebrated princes. His gentle and amiable diſpoſition endeared him to his private friends, the graceful affability of his manners engaged the affection of the people: the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality, acknowledged the taſte and eloquence, of their ſovereign; his

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valour and dexterity in arms were equally applauded by the ſoldiers; and the clergy conſidered the humble piety of Gratian as the firſt and moſt uſeful of his virtues. The victory of Colmar had delivered the Weſt from a formidable invaſion; and the grateful provinces of the Eaſt aſcribed the merits of Theodoſius, to the author of *his* greatneſs, and of the public ſafety. Gratian ſurvived thoſe memorable events only four or five years; but he ſurvived his reputation; and, before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had loſt, in a great meaſure, the reſpect and confidence of the Roman world.

His defects.

The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct, may not be imputed to the arts of flattery, which had beſieged the ſon of Valentinian from his infancy; nor to the headſtrong paſſions, which that gentle youth appears to have eſcaped. A more attentive view of the life of Gratian, may perhaps ſuggeſt the true cauſe of the diſappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, inſtead of being the hardy productions of experience and adverſity, were the premature and artificial fruits of a royal education. The anxious tenderneſs of his father was continually employed to beſtow on him thoſe advantages, which he might perhaps eſteem the more highly, as he himſelf had been deprived of them; and the moſt ſkilful maſters of every ſcience, and of every art, had laboured to form the mind and body of the young prince[1]. The knowledge which they painfully communicated was diſplayed with oſtentation, and celebrated with laviſh praiſe. His ſoft and tractable diſpoſition received the fair impreſſion of their judicious precepts, and the abſence of paſſion might eaſily be miſtaken for the ſtrength of reaſon. His preceptors gradually roſe to the rank and conſequence of mini-

[1] Valentinian was leſs attentive to the religion of his ſon; ſince he entruſted the education of Gratian to Auſonius, a profeſſed Pagan (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xv. p. 125—138.). The poetical fame of Auſonius condemns the taſte of his age.

ſters

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ſters of ſtate [2]; and, as they wiſely diſſembled their ſecret authority, he ſeemed to act with firmneſs, with propriety, and with judgment, on the moſt important occaſions of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate inſtruction did not penetrate beyond the ſurface; and the ſkilful preceptors, who ſo accurately guided the ſteps of their royal pupil, could not infuſe into his feeble and indolent character, the vigorous and independent principle of action, which renders the laborious purſuit of glory eſſentially neceſſary to the happineſs, and almoſt to the exiſtence, of the hero. As ſoon as time and accident had removed thoſe faithful counſellors from the throne, the emperor of the Weſt inſenſibly deſcended to the level of his natural genius; abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were ſtretched forwards to graſp them; and amuſed his leiſure with the moſt frivolous gratifications. A public ſale of favour and injuſtice was inſtituted, both in the court, and in the provinces, by the worthleſs delegates of his power, whoſe merit it was made *ſacrilege* to queſtion [3]. The conſcience of the credulous prince was directed by ſaints and biſhops [4]; who procured an Imperial edict to puniſh, as a capital offence, the violation, the neglect, or even the ignorance, of the divine law [5]. Among the various arts which had exerciſed the youth

[2] Auſonius was ſucceſſively promoted to the prætorian præfecture of Italy (A. D. 377), and of Gaul (A. D. 378); and was at length inveſted with the conſulſhip (A. D. 379). He expreſſed his gratitude in a ſervile and inſipid piece of flattery (Actio Gratiarum, p. 699—736.), which has ſurvived more worthy productions.

[3] Diſputare de principali judicio non oportet. Sacrilegii enim inſtar eſt dubitare, an is dignus ſit, quem elegerit imperator. Codex Juſtinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 3. This convenient law was revived and promulgated, after the death of Gratian, by the feeble court of Milan.

[4] Ambroſe compoſed, for his inſtruction, a theological treatiſe on the faith of the Trinity; and Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 158. 169.) aſcribes to the archbiſhop the merit of Gratian's intolerant laws.

[5] Qui divinæ legis ſanctitatem, neſciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant, et offendunt, ſacrilegium committunt. Codex Juſtinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 1. Theodoſius indeed may claim his ſhare in the merit of this comprehenſive law.

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of Gratian, he had applied himſelf, with ſingular inclination and ſucceſs, to manage the horſe, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin; and theſe qualifications, which might be uſeful to a ſoldier, were proſtituted to the viler purpoſes of hunting. Large parks were incloſed for the Imperial pleaſures, and plentifully ſtocked with every ſpecies of wild beaſts; and Gratian neglected the duties, and even the dignity, of his rank, to conſume whole days in the vain diſplay of his dexterity and boldneſs in the chace. The pride and wiſh of the Roman emperor to excel in an art, in which he might be ſurpaſſed by the meaneſt of his ſlaves, reminded the numerous ſpectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus; but the chaſte and temperate Gratian was a ſtranger to their monſtrous vices; and his hands were ſtained only with the blood of animals[6].

Diſcontent of the Roman troops, A. D. 383.

The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have diſturbed the ſecurity of his reign, if the army had not been provoked to reſent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the inſtructions of his maſters, he profeſſed himſelf the friend and pupil of the ſoldiers; many of his hours were ſpent in the familiar converſation of the camp; and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours, of his faithful troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But, after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taſte for hunting and ſhooting, he naturally connected himſelf with the moſt dexterous miniſters of his favourite amuſement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domeſtic ſervice of the palace; and the admirable ſkill, which they were accuſtomed to diſplay in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was exerciſed, on a more narrow theatre, in the parks and incloſures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents

[6] Ammianus (xxxi. 10.) and the younger Victor acknowledge the virtues of Gratian; and accuſe, or rather lament, his degenerate taſte. The odious parallel of Commodus is ſaved by "licet incruentus;" and perhaps Philoſtorgius (l. x. c. 10. and Godefroy, p. 412.) had guarded, with ſome ſimilar reſerve, the compariſon of Nero.

and

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and cuſtoms of theſe favourite guards, to whom alone he entruſted the defence of his perſon: and, as if he meant to inſult the public opinion, he frequently ſhewed himſelf to the ſoldiers and people, with the dreſs and arms, the long bow, the ſounding quiver, and the fur garments, of a Scythian warrior. The unworthy ſpectacle of a Roman prince, who had renounced the dreſs and manners of his country, filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation[7]. Even the Germans, ſo ſtrong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to diſdain the ſtrange and horrid appearance of the ſavages of the North, who, in the ſpace of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to thoſe of the Seine. A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through the camps and garriſons of the Weſt; and as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguiſh the firſt ſymptoms of diſcontent, the want of love and reſpect was not ſupplied by the influence of fear. But the ſubverſion of an eſtabliſhed government is always a work of ſome real, and of much apparent, difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was protected by the ſanctions of cuſtom, law, religion, and the nice balance of the civil and military powers, which had been eſtabliſhed by the policy of Conſtantine. It is not very important to inquire from what cauſes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of diſorder; the ſeeds of rebellion happened to fall on a ſoil which was ſuppoſed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and uſurpers[8]; the legions of that ſequeſtered iſland had been long famous for a ſpirit of preſumption and arro-

Revolt of Maximus in Britain.

[7] Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 247.) and the younger Victor aſcribe the revolution to the favour of the Alani, and the diſcontent of the Roman troops. Dum exercitum negligeret, et paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad ſe tranſtulerat, anteferret veteri ac Romano militi.

[8] Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, is a memorable expreſſion, uſed by Jerom in the Pelagian controverſy, and variouſly tortured in the diſputes of our national antiquaries. The revolutions of the laſt age appeared to juſtify the image of the ſublime Boſſuet, "cette iſle, plus orageuſe que les mers qui "l'environnent."

gance;

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gance[9]; and the name of Maximus was proclaimed, by the tumultuary, but unanimous voice, both of the ſoldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet aſcertained by fortune, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-ſoldier, and the rival of Theodoſius, whoſe elevation he had not ſeen without ſome emotions of envy and reſentment: the events of his life had long ſince fixed him in Britain; and I ſhould not be unwilling to find ſome evidence for the marriage, which he is ſaid to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonſhire[10]. But this provincial rank might juſtly be conſidered as a ſtate of exile and obſcurity; and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not inveſted with the authority either of governor or general[11]. His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit muſt indeed have been conſpicuous, that could extort ſuch a confeſſion in favour of the vanquiſhed enemy of Theodoſius. The diſcontent of Maximus might incline him to cenſure the conduct of his ſovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But in the midſt of the tumult, he artfully, or modeſtly, refuſed to aſcend the throne; and ſome credit appears to have been given to his own poſitive declaration, that he was compelled to accept the dangerous preſent of the Imperial purple[12].

But

[9] Zoſimus ſays of the Britiſh ſoldiers, των αλλων απαντων πλεον αυθαδειᾳ και θυμῳ νικομενους.

[10] Helena the daughter of Eudda. Her chapel may ſtill be ſeen at Caer-ſegont, now Caernarvon (Carte's Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 168. from Rowland's Mona Antiqua). The prudent reader may not perhaps be ſatisfied with ſuch Welch evidence.

[11] Cambden (vol. i. introduct. p. ci.) appoints him governor of Britain; and the father of our antiquities is followed, as uſual, by his blind progeny. Pacatus and Zoſimus had taken ſome pains to prevent this error, or fable; and I ſhall protect myſelf by their deciſive teſtimonies. Regali habitû *exulem* ſuum, illi exules orbis induerunt (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 23.), and the Greek hiſtorian, ſtill leſs equivocally, αυτος (Maximus) δε ὑδε εις αρχην εντιμον τυχῃ προελθων (l. iv. p. 248.).

[12] Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. ii. 7. Oroſius,

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Flight and death of Gratian.

But there was danger likewiſe in refuſing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful ſovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wiſely reſolved to prevent the deſigns of Gratian; the youth of the iſland crowded to his ſtandard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered, as the emigration of a conſiderable part of the Britiſh nation [13]. The emperor, in his peaceful reſidence of Paris, was alarmed by their hoſtile approach; and the darts which he idly waſted on lions and bears, might have been employed more honourably againſt the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate ſpirit and deſperate ſituation; and deprived him of the reſources, which he ſtill might have found, in the ſupport of his ſubjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, inſtead of oppoſing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the ſhame of the deſertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whoſe ſtation more immediately attached them to the ſervice of the palace, abandoned the ſtandard of Gratian the firſt time that it was diſplayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the Weſt fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horſe; and, in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at leaſt a paſſage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is ſhut againſt the unfortunate. Yet

ſius, l. vii. c. 34. p. 556. They both acknowledge (Sulpicius had been his ſubject) his innocence and merit. It is ſingular enough, that Maximus ſhould be leſs favourably treated by Zoſimus, the partial adverſary of his rival.

[13] Archbiſhop Uſher (Antiquat. Britan. Eccleſ. p. 107, 108.) has diligently collected the legends of the iſland, and the continent. The whole emigration conſiſted of 30,000 ſoldiers, and 100,000 plebeians, who ſettled in Bretagne. Their deſtined brides, St. Urſula with 11,000 noble, and 60,000 plebeian, virgins, miſtook their way; landed at Cologne, and were all moſt cruelly murdered by the Huns. But the plebeian ſiſters have been defrauded of their equal honours; and, what is ſtill harder, John Trithemius preſumes to mention the *children* of theſe Britiſh *virgins*.

he

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he might ſtill have reached, in ſafety, the dominions of his brother; and ſoon have returned with the forces of Italy and the Eaſt; if he had not ſuffered himſelf to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonneſe province. Gratian was amuſed by proteſtations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a ſupport, which could not be effectual; till the arrival of Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his ſuſpenſe. That reſolute officer executed, without remorſe, the orders, or the intentions, of the uſurper. Gratian, as he roſe from ſupper, was delivered into the hands of the aſſaſſin; and his body was denied to the pious and preſſing entreaties of his brother Valentinian [14]. The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks; who maintained, to the laſt moment of his life, the ambiguous reputation, which is the juſt recompence of obſcure and ſubtle policy [15]. Theſe executions might be neceſſary to the public ſafety: but the ſucceſsful uſurper, whoſe power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the Weſt, had the merit, and the ſatisfaction, of boaſting, that, except thoſe who had periſhed by the chance of war, his triumph was not ſtained by the blood of the Romans [16].

A. D. 383. Auguſt 25.

Treaty of peace between Maximus and Theodoſius, A. D. 383—387.

The events of this revolution had paſſed in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion, that it would have been impoſſible for Theodoſius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the ſeaſon of ſincere grief, or oſtentatious

[14] Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 248, 249.) has tranſported the death of Gratian from Lugdunum in Gaul (Lyons) to Singidunum in Mæſia. Some hints may be extracted from the Chronicles; ſome lies may be detected in Sozomen (l. vii. c. 13.) and Socrates (l. v. c. 11.). Ambroſe is our moſt authentic evidence (tom. i. Enarrat. in Pſalm. lxi. p. 961. tom. ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 888, &c. and de Obitû Valentinian. Conſolat. N° 28. p. 1182.).

[15] Pacatus (xii. 28.) celebrates his fidelity; while his treachery is marked in Proſper's Chronicle, as the cauſe of the ruin of Gratian. Ambroſe, who has occaſion to exculpate himſelf, only condemns the death of Vallio, a faithful ſervant of Gratian (tom. ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 891. edit. Benedict.).

[16] He proteſted, nullum ex adverſariis niſi in acie occubuiſſe. Sulp. Severus in Vit. B. Martin. c. 23. The orator of Theodoſius beſtows reluctant, and therefore weighty, praiſe on his clemency. Si cui ille, pro ceteris ſceleribus ſuis, *minus crudelis* fuiſſe videtur (Panegyr. Vet. xii. 28.).

mourning,

mourning, the Eaſtern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus: and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was uſually exerciſed by eunuchs, announced to the court of Conſtantinople the gravity and temperance of the Britiſh uſurper. The ambaſſador condeſcended to juſtify, or excuſe, the conduct of his maſter; and to proteſt, in ſpecious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated, without his knowledge or conſent, by the precipitate zeal of the ſoldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodoſius the alternative of peace, or war. The ſpeech of the ambaſſador concluded with a ſpirited declaration, that although Maximus, as a Roman, and as the father of his people, would chuſe rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendſhip ſhould be rejected, to diſpute in a field of battle the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory anſwer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodoſius to ſatisfy, on this important occaſion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian he had received the Imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious ſuſpicion, that he was more deeply ſenſible of former injuries, than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendſhip, he muſt ſeem to ſhare the guilt, of the aſſaſſin. Even the principles of juſtice, and the intereſt of ſociety, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus: and the example of ſucceſsful uſurpation would tend to diſſolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But, as the ſentiments of gratitude and honour ſhould invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a ſovereign, by the ſenſe of ſuperior duties: and the maxims,

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both of juſtice and humanity, muſt permit the eſcape of an atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the conſequences of his puniſhment. The aſſaſſin of Gratian had uſurped, but he actually poſſeſſed, the moſt warlike provinces of the empire: the Eaſt was exhauſted by the misfortunes, and even by the ſucceſs, of the Gothic war; and it was ſeriouſly to be apprehended, that after the vital ſtrength of the republic had been waſted in a doubtful and deſtructive conteſt, the feeble conqueror would remain an eaſy prey to the Barbarians of the North. Theſe weighty conſiderations engaged Theodoſius to diſſemble his reſentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he ſtipulated, that Maximus ſhould content himſelf with the poſſeſſion of the countries beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and ſecured in the ſovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Weſtern Illyricum; and ſome honourable conditions were inſerted in the treaty, to protect the memory, and the laws, of the deceaſed emperor[17]. According to the cuſtom of the age, the images of the three Imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor ſhould it be lightly ſuppoſed, that, in the moment of a ſolemn reconciliation, Theodoſius ſecretly cheriſhed the intention of perfidy and revenge[18].

Baptiſm and orthodox edicts of Theodoſius, A. D. 380, February 28.

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman ſoldiers, had expoſed him to the fatal effects of their reſentment. His profound veneration for the Chriſtian clergy was rewarded by the applauſe and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of diſpenſing honours, both on earth and in heaven[19]. The orthodox biſhops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable

[17] Ambroſe mentions the laws of Gratian, quas non abrogavit hoſtis (tom. ii. epiſt. xvii. p. 827.).

[18] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 251, 252. We may diſclaim his odious ſuſpicions; but we cannot reject the treaty of peace, which the friends of Theodoſius have abſolutely forgotten, or ſlightly mentioned.

[19] Their oracle, the archbiſhop of Milan, aſſigns to his pupil Gratian an high and reſpectable place in heaven (tom. ii. de Obit. Val. Conſol. p. 1193.).

Ioſs;

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loſs; but they were ſoon comforted by the diſcovery, that Gratian had committed the ſceptre of the Eaſt to the hands of a prince, whoſe humble faith, and fervent zeal, were ſupported by the ſpirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the church, the fame of Conſtantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodoſius. If Conſtantine had the advantage of erecting the ſtandard of the croſs, the emulation of his ſucceſſor aſſumed the merit of ſubduing the Arian hereſy, and of aboliſhing the worſhip of idols in the Roman world. Theodoſius was the firſt of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a Chriſtian family, the maxims, or at leaſt the practice, of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation; till he was admoniſhed of the danger of delay, by the ſerious illneſs which threatened his life, towards the end of the firſt year of his reign. Before he again took the field againſt the Goths, he received the ſacrament of baptiſm [20] from Acholius, the orthodox biſhop of Theſſalonica [21]: and, as the emperor aſcended from the holy font, ſtill glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a ſolemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and preſcribed the religion of his ſubjects. "It is our pleaſure (ſuch is the "Imperial ſtyle), that all the nations, which are governed by our "clemency and moderation, ſhould ſtedfaſtly adhere to the religion "which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful "tradition has preſerved; and which is now profeſſed by the pontiff "Damaſus, and by Peter, biſhop of Alexandria, a man of apoſtolic "holineſs. According to the diſcipline of the apoſtles, and the

[20] For the baptiſm of Theodoſius, ſee Sozomen (l. vii. c. 4.), Socrates (l. v. c. 6.), and Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728.).

[21] Aſcolius, or Acholius, was honoured by the friendſhip, and the praiſes, of Ambroſe; who ſtyles him, murus fidei atque ſanctitatis (tom. ii. epiſt. xv. p. 820.); and afterwards celebrates his ſpeed and diligence in running to Conſtantinople, Italy, &c. (epiſt. xvi. p. 822.), a virtue which does not appertain either to a *wall*, or a *biſhop*.

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" doctrine of the goſpel, let us believe the ſole deity of the Father, " the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; under an equal majeſty, and a " pious Trinity. We authoriſe the followers of this doctrine to " aſſume the title of Catholic Chriſtians; and as we judge, that all " others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous " name of Heretics; and declare, that their conventicles ſhall no " longer uſurp the reſpectable appellation of churches. Beſides the " condemnation of Divine juſtice, they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſe- " vere penalties, which our authority, guided by heavenly wiſdom, " ſhall think proper to inflict upon them [22]." The faith of a ſoldier is commonly the fruit of inſtruction, rather than of inquiry; but as the emperor always fixed his eyes on the viſible land-marks of orthodoxy, which he had ſo prudently conſtituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the ſpecious texts, the ſubtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expreſſed a faint inclination to converſe with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a ſmall diſtance from Conſtantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the empreſs Flaccilla, who trembled for the ſalvation of her huſband; and the mind of Theodoſius was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudeſt capacity. He had lately beſtowed, on his eldeſt ſon Arcadius, the name and honours of Auguſtus; and the two princes were ſeated on a ſtately throne to receive the homage of their ſubjects. A biſhop, Amphilochius of Iconium, approached the throne, and after ſaluting, with due reverence, the perſon of his ſovereign, he accoſted the royal youth with the ſame familiar tenderneſs, which he might have uſed towards a plebeian child. Provoked by this inſolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders, that the

[22] Codex Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. i. leg. 2. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 5—9. Such an edict deſerved the warmeſt praiſes of Baronius, auream ſanctionem, edictum pium et ſalutare.—Sic itur ad aſtra.

ruſtic

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ruſtic prieſt ſhould be inſtantly driven from his preſence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his deſign, by exclaiming, with a loud voice, "Such "is the treatment, O emperor! which the King of heaven has pre- "pared for thoſe impious men, who affect to worſhip the Father, but "refuſe to acknowledge the equal majeſty of his divine Son." Theodoſius immediately embraced the biſhop of Iconium; and never forgot the important leſſon, which he had received from this dramatic parable [23].

Arianiſm of Conſtantinople, A. D. 340—380.

Conſtantinople was the principal ſeat and fortreſs of Arianiſm; and, in a long interval of forty years [24], the faith of the princes and prelates, who reigned in the capital of the Eaſt, was rejected in the purer ſchools of Rome and Alexandria. The archiepiſcopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with ſo much Chriſtian blood, was ſucceſſively filled by Eudoxus and Damophilus. Their dioceſe enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager purſuit of religious controverſy afforded a new occupation to the buſy idleneſs of the metropolis; and we may credit the aſſertion of an intelligent obſerver, who deſcribes, with ſome pleaſantry, the effects of their loquacious zeal. "This "city," ſays he, "is full of mechanics and ſlaves, who are all of them "profound theologians; and preach in the ſhops, and in the ſtreets. "If you deſire a man to change a piece of ſilver, he informs you, "wherein the Son differs from the Father: if you aſk the price of "a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to "the Father; and if you enquire, whether the bath is ready, the

[23] Sozomen, l. vii. c. 6. Theodoret, l. v. c. 16. Tillemont is diſpleaſed (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 627, 628.) with the terms of "ruſtic biſhop," "obſcure city." Yet I muſt take leave to think, that both Amphilochius and Iconium were objects of inconſiderable magnitude in the Roman empire.

[24] Sozomen, l. vii. c. 5. Socrates, l. v. c. 7. Marcellin. in Chron. The account of forty years muſt be dated from the election or intruſion of Euſebius; who wiſely exchanged the biſhopric of Nicomedia for the throne of Conſtantinople.

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"answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing[25]." The heretics, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople; who endeavoured to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens, the feeble remnant of the Homoousians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion; and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves[26]. But, as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigour from oppression, they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen[27], were distinguished above all their contemporaries[28], by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves, and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the same liberal studies in

Gregory Nazianzen

[25] See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 71. The thirty-third Oration of Gregory Nazianzen affords indeed some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the words of this remarkable passage; which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar.

[26] See the thirty-second Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in 1800 iambics. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

[27] I confess myself deeply indebted to the *two* lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 305—560. 692—731.) and Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 1—128.).

[28] Unless Gregory Nazianzen mistook thirty years in his own age; he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 329. The preposterous chronology of Suidas has been graciously received; because it removes the scandal of Gregory's father, a saint likewise, begetting children, after he became a bishop (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 693—697.).

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the ſchools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the ſame ſolitude in the deſerts of Pontus; and every ſpark of emulation, or envy, appeared to be totally extinguiſhed in the holy and ingenuous breaſts of Gregory and Baſil. But the exaltation of Baſil, from a private life to the archiepiſcopal throne of Cæſarea, diſcovered to the world, and perhaps to himſelf, the pride of his character; and the firſt favour which he condeſcended to beſtow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel inſult [29]. Inſtead of employing the ſuperior talents of Gregory in ſome uſeful and conſpicuous ſtation, the haughty prelate ſelected, among the fifty biſhoprics of his extenſive province, the wretched village of Saſima [30], without water, without verdure, without ſociety, ſituate at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the inceſſant paſſage of rude and clamorous waggoners. Gregory ſubmitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile: he was ordained biſhop of Saſima; but he ſolemnly proteſts, that he never conſummated his ſpiritual marriage with this diſguſting bride. He afterwards conſented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus [31], of which his father had been biſhop above five-and-forty years. But as

[29] Gregory's poem on his own life contains ſome beautiful lines (tom. ii. p. 8.) which burſt from the heart, and ſpeak the pangs of injured and loſt friendſhip:

. . . . . πονοι κοινοι λογων,
Ομοσιτος τε και συνεστιος βιος,
Νους εις εν αμφοιν . . . . . .
Διεσκεδασαι παντα, ερριπται χαμαι,
Αυραι φερουσι τας παλαιας ελπιδας.

In the Midſummer Night's Dream, Helenia addreſſes the ſame pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:

Is all the counſel that we two have ſhared,
The ſiſter's vows, &c.

Shakeſpeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen; he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-tongue, the language of nature, is the ſame in Cappadocia and in Britain.

[30] This unfavourable portrait of Saſima is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen (tom. ii. de Vitâ ſuâ, p. 7, 8.). Its preciſe ſituation, forty-nine miles from Archelais, and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 144. edit. Weſſeling).

[31] The name of Nazianzus has been immortaliſed by Gregory; but his native town, under the Greek or Roman title of Diocæſarea (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 692.), is mentioned by Pliny (vi. 3.), Ptolemy, and Hierocles (Itinerar. Weſſeling, p. 709.). It appears to have been ſituate on the edge of Iſauria.

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accepts the miſſion of Conſtantinople, A. D. 378, November.

he was ſtill conſcious, that he deſerved another audience, and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation which was addreſſed to him from the orthodox party of Conſtantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the houſe of a pious and charitable kinſman; the moſt ſpacious room was conſecrated to the uſes of religious worſhip; and the name of *Anaſtaſia* was choſen, to expreſs the reſurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the ſucceeding age was prepared to believe the miracles and viſions, which atteſted the preſence, or at leaſt the protection, of the Mother of God [32]. The pulpit of the Anaſtaſia was the ſcene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and, in the ſpace of two years, he experienced all the ſpiritual adventures which conſtitute the proſperous or adverſe fortunes of a miſſionary [33]. The Arians, who were provoked by the boldneſs of his enterpriſe, repreſented his doctrine, as if he had preached three diſtinct and equal Deities; and the devout populace was excited to ſuppreſs, by violence and tumult, the irregular aſſemblies of the Athanaſian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there iſſued a motley crowd "of common beggars, who "had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appear-"ance of goats or ſatyrs; and of women, more terrible than ſo "many Jezabels." The doors of the Anaſtaſia were broke open; much miſchief was perpetrated, or attempted, with ſticks, ſtones, and firebrands; and as a man loſt his life in the affray, Gregory, who was ſummoned the next morning before the magiſtrate, had the ſatisfaction of ſuppoſing, that he publicly confeſſed the name of Chriſt. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy,

[32] See Ducange, Conſtant. Chriſtiana, l. iv. p. 141, 142. The θεια δυναμις of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5.) is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

[33] Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 432, &c.) diligently collects, enlarges, and explains, the oratorical and poetical hints of Gregory himſelf.

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his infant church was disgraced and distracted by intestine faction. A stranger, who assumed the name of Maximus [34], and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and, forming a secret connection with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons, satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher [35], or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice [36].

Ruin of Arianism at Constantinople, A. D. 380, Novemb. 26.

The Catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Damophilus to his presence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a Catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced, without

[34] He pronounced an oration (tom. i. Orat. xxiii. p. 409.) in his praise; but after their quarrel, the name of Maximus was changed into that of Heron (see Jerom, tom. i. in Catalog. Script. Eccles. p. 301.). I touch slightly on these obscure and personal squabbles.

[35] Under the modest emblem of a dream, Gregory (tom. ii. carmen ix. p. 78.) describes his own success with some human complacency. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his auditor St. Jerom (tom. i. Epist. ad Nepotian. p. 14.), that the preacher understood the true value of popular applause.

[36] Lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint, is the lively and judicious advice of St. Jerom.

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heſitation, a life of poverty and exile[37]; and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the Imperial city. The Arians might complain, with ſome appearance of juſtice, that an inconſiderable congregation of ſectaries ſhould uſurp the hundred churches, which they were inſufficient to fill: whilſt the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worſhip. Theodoſius was ſtill inexorable: but as the angels who protected the Catholic cauſe, were only viſible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced thoſe heavenly legions, with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons: and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the Imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was ſuſceptible of pride, he muſt have felt a very lively ſatisfaction, when the emperor conducted him through the ſtreets in ſolemn triumph; and, with his own hand, reſpectfully placed him on the archiepiſcopal throne of Conſtantinople. But the ſaint (who had not ſubdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying conſideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a ſhepherd: that the glittering arms, which ſurrounded his perſon, were neceſſary for his ſafety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impoſſible for him to deſpiſe. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either ſex, and of every age, who crowded the ſtreets, the windows, and the roofs of the houſes; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, aſtoniſhment, and deſpair; and Gregory fairly confeſſes, that on the memorable day of his inſtallation, the capital of the Eaſt wore the appearance of a city taken by ſtorm, and in the hands of a Barba-

[37] Socrates (l. v. c. 7.) and Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5.) relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He conſidered, ſays Socrates, that it is difficult to *reſiſt* the powerful: but it was eaſy, and would have been profitable, to *ſubmit*.

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rian conqueror[38]. About ſix weeks afterwards, Theodoſius declared his reſolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions, the biſhops and their clergy, who ſhould obſtinately refuſe to believe, or at leaſt to profeſs, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a ſpecial commiſſion, and a military force[39]; and this eccleſiaſtical revolution was conducted with ſo much diſcretion and vigour, that the religion of the emperor was eſtabliſhed, without tumult, or bloodſhed, in all the provinces of the Eaſt. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exiſt[40], would perhaps contain the lamentable ſtory of the perſecution, which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodoſius; and the ſufferings of *their* holy confeſſors, might claim the pity of the diſintereſted reader. Yet there is reaſon to imagine that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in ſome meaſure, eluded by the want of reſiſtance; and that, in their adverſity, the Arians diſplayed much leſs firmneſs, than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Conſtantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hoſtile ſects appear to have been governed by the ſame common principles of nature and religion: but a very material circumſtance may be diſcovered, which tended to diſtinguiſh the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties, in the ſchools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worſhipped the divine majeſty of Chriſt; and, as we are always prone to impute our own ſentiments and paſſions to the Deity, it

In the Eaſt. A. D. 381, January 10.

[38] See Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. de Vitâ ſuâ, p. 21, 22. For the ſake of poſterity, the biſhop of Conſtantinople records a ſtupendous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning; but the ſun broke forth, when the proceſſion entered the church.

[39] Of the three eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, Theodoret alone (l. v. c. 2.) has mentioned this important commiſſion of Sapor, which Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728.) judiciouſly removes, from the reign of Gratian, to that of Theodoſius.

[40] I do not reckon Philoſtorgius, though he mentions (l. ix. c. 19.) the expulſion of Damophilus. The Eunomian hiſtorian has been carefully ſtrained through an orthodox ſieve.

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would be deemed more prudent and reſpectful to exaggerate, than to circumſcribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The diſciple of Athanaſius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himſelf to the divine favour: while the follower of Arius muſt have been tormented, by the ſecret apprehenſion, that he was guilty, perhaps, of an unpardonable offence, by the ſcanty praiſe, and parſimonious honours, which he beſtowed on the Judge of the World. The opinions of Arianiſm might ſatisfy a cold and ſpeculative mind: but the doctrine of the Nicene creed, moſt powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and ſucceſsful in a believing age.

The council of Conſtantinople, A. D. 381, May.

The hope, that truth and wiſdom would be found in the aſſemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Conſtantinople, a ſynod of one hundred and fifty biſhops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological ſyſtem which had been eſtabliſhed in the council of Nice. The vehement diſputes of the fourth century, had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God: and the various opinions, which were embraced concerning the *Second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the *Third*, perſon of the Trinity [41]. Yet it was found, or it was thought, neceſſary, by the victorious adverſaries of Arianiſm, to explain the ambiguous language of ſome reſpectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the Catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconſiſtent ſect of Macedonians; who freely admitted that the Son was conſubſtantial to the Father, while they were fearful of ſeeming to acknowledge the exiſtence of *Three* Gods. A final and

[41] Le Clerc has given a curious extract (Bibliothéque Univerſelle, tom. xviii. p. 91—105.) of the theological ſermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Conſtantinople againſt the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, &c. He tells the Macedonians, who deified the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghoſt, that they might as well be ſtyled *Tritheiſts*, as *Ditheiſts*. Gregory himſelf was almoſt a Tritheiſt; and his monarchy of heaven reſembles a well-regulated ariſtocracy.

unanimous

unanimous ſentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghoſt; the myſterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches, of the Chriſtian world; and their grateful reverence has aſſigned to the biſhops of Theodoſius, the ſecond rank among the general councils [42]. Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preſerved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inſpiration; but the ſober evidence of hiſtory will not allow much weight to the perſonal authority of the fathers of Conſtantinople. In an age, when the eccleſiaſtics had ſcandalouſly degenerated from the model of apoſtolical purity, the moſt worthleſs and corrupt were always the moſt eager to frequent, and diſturb, the epiſcopal aſſemblies. The conflict and fermentation of ſo many oppoſite intereſts and tempers inflamed the paſſions of the biſhops: and their ruling paſſions were, the love of gold, and the love of diſpute. Many of the ſame prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodoſius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church and ſtate, the religion of their ſovereign was the rule of their obſequious faith. When the emperor ſuſpended his prevailing influence, the turbulent ſynod was blindly impelled, by the abſurd or ſelfiſh motives of pride, hatred, and reſentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of Conſtantinople, preſented the moſt favourable opportunity of terminating the ſchiſm of Antioch, by ſuffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the epiſcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemiſhed. But his cauſe was ſupported by the Weſtern churches; and the biſhops of the ſynod reſolved to perpetuate the miſchiefs of

[42] The firſt general council of Conſtantinople now triumphs in the Vatican: but the popes had long heſitated, and their heſitation perplexes, and almoſt ſtaggers, the humble Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 499, 500.).

diſcord,

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diſcord, by the haſty ordination of a perjured candidate [43], rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the Eaſt, which had been illuſtrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjuſt and diſorderly proceedings forced the graveſt members of the aſſembly to diſſent and to ſecede; and the clamorous majority, which remained maſters of the field of battle, could be compared only to waſps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geeſe [44].

Retreat of Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 381.

A ſuſpicion may poſſibly ariſe, that ſo unfavourable a picture of eccleſiaſtical ſynods has been drawn by the partial hand of ſome obſtinate heretic, or ſome malicious infidel. But the name of the ſincere hiſtorian who has conveyed this inſtructive leſſon to the knowledge of poſterity, muſt ſilence the impotent murmurs of ſuperſtition and bigotry. He was one of the moſt pious and eloquent biſhops of the age; a ſaint and a doctor of the church; the ſcourge of Arianiſm, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a diſtinguiſhed member of the council of Conſtantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exerciſed the functions of preſident: in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himſelf. The harſh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced [45], inſtead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the ſpirit which actuated the deliberations

[43] Before the death of Meletius, ſix or eight of his moſt popular eccleſiaſtics, among whom was Flavian, had *abjured*, for the ſake of peace, the biſhopric of Antioch (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 3. 11. Socrates, l. v. c. 5.). Tillemont thinks it his duty to diſbelieve the ſtory; but he owns that there are many circumſtances in the life of Flavian, which *ſeem* inconſiſtent with the praiſes of Chryſoſtom, and the character of a ſaint (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 541.).

[44] Conſult Gregory Nazianzen, de Vitâ ſuâ, tom. ii. p. 25—28. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their aſſemblies, may be ſeen in verſe and proſe (tom. i. orat. i. p. 33. epiſt. lv. p. 814. tom. ii. carmen x. p. 81.). Such paſſages are faintly marked by Tillemont, and fairly produced by Le Clerc.

[45] See Gregory, tom. ii. de Vitâ ſuâ, p. 28—31. The fourteenth, twenty-ſeventh, and thirty-ſecond orations were pronounced in the ſeveral ſtages of this buſineſs. The peroration of the laſt (tom. i. p. 528.), in which he takes a ſolemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the Eaſt and the Weſt, &c. is pathetic, and almoſt ſublime.

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tions of the ſynod. Their unanimous ſuffrage had confirmed the pretenſions which the biſhop of Conſtantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory ſoon became the victim of malice and envy. The biſhops of the Eaſt, his ſtrenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without ſupport, to the adverſe faction of the Egyptians; who diſputed the validity of his election, and rigorouſly aſſerted the obſolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of epiſcopal tranſlations. The pride, or the humility, of Gregory prompted him to decline a conteſt which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without ſome mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a church, which had been reſtored, and almoſt created, by his labours. His reſignation was accepted by the ſynod, and by the emperor, with more readineſs than he ſeems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the fruits of his victory, his epiſcopal throne was filled by the ſenator Nectarius; and the new archbiſhop, accidentally recommended by his eaſy temper and venerable aſpect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his conſecration, till he had previouſly diſpatched the rites of his baptiſm [46]. After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obſcure ſolitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exerciſes of poetry and devotion. The title of Saint has been added to his name; but the tenderneſs of his heart [47], and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleaſing luſtre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

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[46] The whimſical ordination of Nectarius is atteſted by Sozomen (l. vii. c. 8.): but Tillemont obſerves (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 719.), Après tout, ce narré de Sozomene eſt ſi honteux pour tous ceux qu'il y mele, et ſurtout pour Theodoſe, qu'il vaut mieux travailler à le detruire, qu'à le ſoutenir: an admirable canon of criticiſm!

[47] I can only be underſtood to mean, that ſuch was his natural temper; when it was not

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Edicts of Theodoſius againſt the heretics, A. D. 380—394.

It was not enough that Theodoſius had ſuppreſſed the inſolent reign of Arianiſm, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the Catholics ſuſtained from the zeal of Conſtantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor conſidered every heretic as a rebel againſt the ſupreme powers of heaven and of earth; and each of thoſe powers might exerciſe their peculiar juriſdiction over the ſoul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Conſtantinople had aſcertained the true ſtandard of the faith; and the eccleſiaſtics, who governed the conſcience of Theodoſius, ſuggeſted the moſt effectual methods of perſecution. In the ſpace of fifteen years, he promulgated at leaſt fifteen ſevere edicts againſt the heretics[48]; more eſpecially againſt thoſe who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and, to deprive them of every hope of eſcape, he ſternly enacted, that if any laws, or reſcripts, ſhould be alleged in their favour, the judges ſhould conſider them as the illegal productions either of fraud, or forgery. The penal ſtatutes were directed againſt the miniſters, the aſſemblies, and the perſons, of the heretics; and the paſſions of the legiſlator were expreſſed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who uſurped the ſacred titles of Biſhops, or Preſbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments ſo liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were expoſed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiſcation, if they preſumed to preach the doctrine, or to practiſe the rites, of their *accurſed* ſects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds ſterling) was impoſed on every perſon who ſhould dare to confer, or receive, or promote, an heretical ordination: and it was reaſonably expected, that if the race of paſtors could be extinguiſhed, their helpleſs flocks would be compelled, by igno-

not hardened, or inflamed, by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius to proſecute the heretics of Conſtantinople.

[48] See the Theodoſian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 6—23., with Godefroy's commentary on each law, and his general ſummary, or *Paratitlon*, tom. vi. p. 104—110.

rance and hunger, to return within the pale of the Catholic Church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every poſſible circumſtance, in which the heretics could aſſemble with the intention of worſhipping God and Chriſt according to the dictates of their conſcience. Their religious meetings, whether public or ſecret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proſcribed by the edicts of Theodoſius; and the building, or ground, which had been uſed for that illegal purpoſe, was forfeited to the Imperial domain. III. It was ſuppoſed, that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obſtinate temper of their minds; and that ſuch a temper was a fit object of cenſure and puniſhment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a ſort of civil excommunication; which ſeparated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the ſupreme magiſtrate tended to juſtify, or at leaſt to excuſe, the inſults of a fanatic populace. The ſectaries were gradually diſqualified for the poſſeſſion of honourable, or lucrative, employments; and Theodoſius was ſatisfied with his own juſtice, when he decreed, that, as the Eunomians diſtinguiſhed the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they ſhould be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from teſtamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichæan hereſy was eſteemed of ſuch magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the ſame capital puniſhment was inflicted on the Audians, or *Quartodecimans*[49], who ſhould dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime, of celebrating, on an improper day, the feſtival of Eaſter. Every Roman might exerciſe the right of public accuſation; but the office of *Inquiſitors* of the Faith, a name ſo deſervedly abhorred, was firſt inſtituted under the

[49] They always kept their Eaſter, like the Jewiſh Paſſover, on the fourteenth day of the firſt moon after the vernal equinox; and thus pertinaciouſly oppoſed the Roman church and Nicene ſynod, which had *fixed* Eaſter to a Sunday. Bingham's Antiquities, l. xx. c. 5. vol. ii. p. 309. fol. edit.

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reign of Theodoſius. Yet we are aſſured, that the execution of his penal edicts was ſeldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared leſs deſirous to puniſh, than to reclaim, or terrify, his refractory ſubjects [50].

Execution of Priſcillian and his aſſociates, A. D. 385.

The theory of perſecution was eſtabliſhed by Theodoſius, whoſe juſtice and piety have been applauded by the ſaints; but the practice of it, in the fulleſt extent, was reſerved for his rival and colleague Maximus, the firſt, among the Chriſtian princes, who ſhed the blood of his Chriſtian ſubjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cauſe of the Priſcillianiſts [51], a recent ſect of heretics, who diſturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the ſynod of Bourdeaux to the Imperial conſiſtory of Treves; and by the ſentence of the Prætorian præfect, ſeven perſons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The firſt of theſe was Priſcillian [52] himſelf, biſhop of Avila [53], in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune, by the accompliſhments of eloquence and learning. Two preſbyters, and two deacons, accompanied their beloved maſter in his death, which they eſteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bourdeaux, the widow of the orator Delphidius [54]. Two biſhops, who had embraced the ſentiments of Priſcillian,

[50] Sozemen, l. vii. c. 12.

[51] See the Sacred Hiſtory of Sulpicius Severus (l. ii. p. 437—452. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647), a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner (Credibility, &c. part ii. vol. ix. p. 256—350.) has laboured this article, with pure learning, good ſenſe, and moderation. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 491—527.) has raked together all the dirt of the fathers: an uſeful ſcavenger!

[52] Severus Sulpicius mentions the arch-heretic with eſteem and pity. Fælix profecto, ſi non pravo ſtudio corrumpiſſet optimum ingenium: prorſus multa in eo animi et corporis bona cerneres (Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 439.). Even Jerom (tom. i. in Script. Eccleſ. p. 302.) ſpeaks with temper of Priſcillian and Latronian.

[53] The biſhopric (in Old Caſtile) is now worth 20,000 ducats a year (Buſching's Geography, vol. ii. p. 308.), and is therefore much leſs likely to produce the author of a new hereſy.

[54] Exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio,

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Priſcillian, were condemned to a diſtant and dreary exile[55]; and ſome indulgence was ſhewn to the meaner criminals, who aſſumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confeſſions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the hereſy of the Priſcillianiſts would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdneſs[56]. Priſcillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his ſpiritual ſiſters, was accuſed of praying ſtark-naked in the midſt of the congregation; and it was confidently aſſerted, that the effects of his criminal intercourſe with the daughter of Euchrocia, had been ſuppreſſed, by means ſtill more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, inquiry will diſcover, that if the Priſcillianiſts violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiouſneſs, but by the auſterity, of their lives. They abſolutely condemned the uſe of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often diſturbed by indiſcreet ſeparations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abſtinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, faſts, and vigils, inculcated a rule of ſtrict and perfect devotion. The ſpeculative tenets of the ſect, concerning the perſon of Chriſt, and the nature of the human ſoul, were derived from the Gnoſtic and Manichæan ſyſtem; and this vain philoſophy, which had been tranſported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the groſſer ſpirits of the Weſt. The obſcure diſciples of Priſcillian ſuffered, languiſhed, and gradually diſappeared: his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people, but his death was the ſubject of a long and vehement controverſy; while ſome arraigned, and others

ligio, et diligentius culta divinitas (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 29.). Such was the idea of a humane, though ignorant, polytheiſt.

[55] One of them was ſent in Syllinam inſulam quæ ultra Britanniam eſt. What muſt have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly (Cambden's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 1519.)?

[56] The ſcandalous calumnies of Auguſtin, Pope Leo, &c. which Tillemont ſwallows like a child, and Lardner refutes like a man, may ſuggeſt ſome candid ſuſpicions in favour of the older Gnoſtics.

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applauded, the juſtice of his ſentence. It is with pleaſure that we can obſerve the humane inconſiſtency of the moſt illuſtrious ſaints and biſhops, Ambroſe of Milan [57], and Martin of Tours [58]; who, on this occaſion, aſſerted the cauſe of toleration. They pitied the unhappy men, who had been executed at Treves; they refuſed to hold communion with their epiſcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous reſolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The biſhops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without heſitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were ſurpriſed, and ſhocked, by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honeſt feelings of nature reſiſted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambroſe and Martin was confirmed by the ſcandalous irregularity of the proceedings againſt Priſcillian, and his adherents. The civil and eccleſiaſtical miniſters had tranſgreſſed the limits of their reſpective provinces. The ſecular judge had preſumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive ſentence, in a matter of faith, and epiſcopal juriſdiction. The biſhops had diſgraced themſelves, by exerciſing the functions of accuſers in a criminal proſecution. The cruelty of Ithacius [59], who beheld the tortures, and ſolicited the death, of the heretics, provoked the juſt indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate biſhop were admitted as a proof, that his zeal was inſtigated by the ſordid motives of intereſt. Since the death of Priſcillian, the rude attempts of perſecution have been refined and methodiſed in the holy office, which aſſigns their diſtinct parts to the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by

[57] Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 891.

[58] In the Sacred Hiſtory, and the Life of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus uſes ſome caution; but he declares himſelf more freely in the Dialogues (iii. 15.). Martin was reproved, however, by his own conſcience, and by an angel; nor could he afterwards perform miracles with ſo much eaſe.

[59] The Catholic Preſbyter (Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 448.), and the Pagan Orator (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 29.), reprobate, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ithacius.

the

the prieſt to the magiſtrate, and by the magiſtrate to the executioner; and the inexorable ſentence of the church, which declares the ſpiritual guilt of the offender, is expreſſed in the mild language of pity and interceſſion.

Ambroſe, archbiſhop of Milan, A. D. 374—397.

Among the eccleſiaſtics, who illuſtrated the reign of Theodoſius, Gregory Nazianzen was diſtinguiſhed by the talents of an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts, added weight and dignity to the monaſtic virtues of Martin of Tours[60]; but the palm of epiſcopal vigour and ability was juſtly claimed by the intrepid Ambroſe[61]. He was deſcended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exerciſed the important office of Prætorian præfect of Gaul; and the ſon, after paſſing through the ſtudies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the ſtation of conſular of Liguria, a province which included the Imperial reſidence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm, Ambroſe, to his own ſurpriſe, and to that of the world, was ſuddenly transformed from a governor to an archbiſhop. Without the leaſt mixture, as it is ſaid, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimouſly ſaluted him with the epiſcopal title; the concord and perſeverance of their acclamations were aſcribed to a præternatural impulſe; and the reluctant magiſtrate was compelled to undertake a ſpiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius ſoon qualified him to exerciſe, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and, while he cheerfully renounced the vain and ſplendid trappings of

[60] The Life of St. Martin, and the Dialogues concerning his miracles, contain facts adapted to the groſſeſt barbariſm, in a ſtyle not unworthy of the Auguſtan age. So natural is the alliance between good taſte and good ſenſe, that I am always aſtoniſhed by this contraſt.

[61] The ſhort and ſuperficial Life of St. Ambroſe, by his deacon Paulinus (Appendix ad edit. Benedict. p. i. - xv.), has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 78—306.), and the Benedictine editors (p. xxxi—lxiii.), have laboured with their uſual diligence.

temporal

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temporal greatneſs, he condeſcended, for the good of the church, to direct the conſcience of the emperors, and to control the adminiſtration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatiſe on the faith of the Trinity, was deſigned for the inſtruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empreſs Juſtina trembled for her own ſafety, and for that of her ſon Valentinian, the archbiſhop of Milan was diſpatched, on two different embaſſies, to the court of Treves. He exerciſed, with equal firmneſs and dexterity, the powers of his ſpiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy [62]. Ambroſe had devoted his life, and his abilities, to the ſervice of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he ſold, without heſitation, the conſecrated plate for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbiſhop: and he deſerved the eſteem, without ſoliciting the favour, or apprehending the diſpleaſure, of his feeble ſovereigns.

His ſucceſsful oppoſition to the empreſs Juſtina, A. D. 385, April 3—April 10.

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved to his mother Juſtina, a woman of beauty and ſpirit, but who, in the midſt of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of profeſſing the Arian hereſy, which ſhe endeavoured to inſtil into the mind of her ſon. Juſtina was perſuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exerciſe of his religion; and ſhe propoſed to the archbiſhop, as a moderate and reaſonable conceſſion, that he ſhould reſign the uſe of a ſingle church, either in the city or ſuburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambroſe was governed by very different principles [63]. The palaces of the earth

[62] Ambroſe himſelf (tom ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 888—891.) gives the emperor a very ſpirited account of his own embaſſy.

[63] His own repreſentation of his principles and conduct (tom. ii. epiſt. xx. xxi. xxii. p. 852—880.) is one of the curious monuments of

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earth might indeed belong to Cæſar; but the churches were the houſes of God; and, within the limits of his dioceſe, he himſelf, as the lawful ſucceſſor of the apoſtles, was the only miniſter of God. The privileges of Chriſtianity, temporal as well as ſpiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambroſe was ſatisfied, that his own theological opinions were the ſtandard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbiſhop, who refuſed to hold any conference, or negotiation, with the inſtruments of Satan, declared, with modeſt firmneſs, his reſolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious ſacrilege; and Juſtina, who reſented the refuſal as an act of inſolence and rebellion, haſtily determined to exert the Imperial prerogative of her ſon. As ſhe deſired to perform her public devotions on the approaching feſtival of Eaſter, Ambroſe was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the ſummons with the reſpect of a faithful ſubject, but he was followed, without his conſent, by an innumerable people: they preſſed, with impetuous zeal, againſt the gates of the palace; and the affrighted miniſters of Valentinian, inſtead of pronouncing a ſentence of exile on the archbiſhop of Milan, humbly requeſted that he would interpoſe his authority, to protect the perſon of the emperor, and to reſtore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promiſes which Ambroſe received and communicated, were ſoon violated by a perfidious court; and, during ſix of the moſt ſolemn days, which Chriſtian piety has ſet apart for the exerciſe of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulſions of tumult and fanaticiſm. The officers of the houſehold were directed to prepare, firſt, the Portian, and afterwards, the new, *Baſilica*, for the immediate reception of the emperor, and his mother. The ſplendid canopy and hangings of the royal ſeat were arranged in the cuſtomary manner; but it was found neceſſary to defend them, by a ſtrong

of eccleſiaſtical antiquity. It contains two letters to his ſiſter Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and the ſermon *de Baſilicis non tradendis*.

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guard, from the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics, who ventured to shew themselves in the streets, were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives: and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his sermons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezabel, of Herodias, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians, was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of Paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers: an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers, and inferior servants of the courts of justice, that during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses: and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed, that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a serious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the "hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the church of "Christ, or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In "such a cause, he was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the "dæmon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence "of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar; *he* had not "contributed to excite, but it was in the power of God alone to "appease,

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"appeaſe, the rage of the people: he deprecated the ſcenes of blood "and confuſion, which were likely to enſue; and it was his fervent "prayer, that he might not ſurvive to behold the ruin of a flouriſh-"ing city, and perhaps the deſolation of all Italy[44]." The obſtinate bigotry of Juſtina would have endangered the empire of her ſon, if, in this conteſt with the church and people of Milan, ſhe could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the *Baſilica*, which was the object of the diſpute: and it might be expected from the Arian principles, and barbarous manners, of theſe foreign mercenaries, that they would not entertain any ſcruples in the execution of the moſt ſanguinary orders. They were encountered, on the ſacred threſhold, by the archbiſhop, who, thundering againſt them a ſentence of excommunication, aſked them, in the tone of a father and a maſter, Whether it was to invade the houſe of God, that they had implored the hoſpitable protection of the republic? The ſuſpenſe of the Barbarians allowed ſome hours for a more effectual negotiation; and the empreſs was perſuaded, by the advice of her wiſeſt counſellors, to leave the Catholics in poſſeſſion of all the churches of Milan; and to diſſemble, till a more convenient ſeaſon, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambroſe; and the royal youth uttered a paſſionate exclamation, that his own ſervants were ready to betray him into the hands of an inſolent prieſt.

The laws of the empire, ſome of which were inſcribed with the name of Valentinian, ſtill condemned the Arian hereſy, and ſeemed A. D. 386.

[44] Retz had a ſimilar meſſage from the queen, to requeſt that he would appeaſe the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, &c. A quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de reſpect, de douleur, de regret, et de ſoumiſſion, &c. (Memoires, tom. i. p. 140.) Certainly I do not compare either the cauſes, or the men; yet the coadjutor himſelf had ſome idea (p. 84.) of imitating St. Ambroſe.

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to excuſe the reſiſtance of the Catholics. By the influence of Juſtina, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were ſubject to the court of Milan; the free exerciſe of their religion was granted to thoſe who profeſſed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared, that all perſons who ſhould infringe this ſacred and ſalutary conſtitution, ſhould be capitally puniſhed, as the enemies of the public peace [65]. The character and language of the archbiſhop of Milan may juſtify the ſuſpicion, that his conduct ſoon afforded a reaſonable ground, or at leaſt a ſpecious pretence, to the Arian miniſters; who watched the opportunity of ſurpriſing him in ſome act of diſobedience to a law, which he ſtrangely repreſents as a law of blood and tyranny. A ſentence of eaſy and honourable baniſhment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambroſe to depart from Milan without delay; whilſt it permitted him to chuſe the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the ſaints, who have preached and practiſed the maxims of paſſive loyalty, appeared to Ambroſe of leſs moment than the extreme and preſſing danger of the church. He boldly refuſed to obey; and his refuſal was ſupported by the unanimous conſent of his faithful people [66]. They guarded by turns the perſon of their archbiſhop; the gates of the cathedral and the epiſcopal palace were ſtrongly ſecured; and the Imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to riſk the attack, of that impregnable fortreſs. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambroſe, embraced the fair occaſion of ſignalizing their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhauſted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the uſeful inſtitution of a

[65] Sozomen alone (l. vii. c. 13.) throws this luminous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

[66] Excubabat pia plebs in eccleſiâ mori parata cum epiſcopo ſuo . . . . Nos adhuc frigidi excitabamur tamen civitate attonitâ atque turbatâ. Auguſtin. Confeſſion. l. ix. c. 7.

loud

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loud and regular pſalmody. While he maintained this arduous conteſt, he was inſtructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervaſius and Protaſius[67], had been depoſited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect ſkeletons were found[68], with the heads ſeparated from their bodies, and a plentiful effuſion of blood. The holy relics were preſented, in ſolemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; and every circumſtance of this fortunate diſcovery was admirably adapted to promote the deſigns of Ambroſe. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were ſuppoſed to contain a healing power; and their præternatural influence was communicated to the moſt diſtant objects, without loſing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man[69], and the reluctant confeſſions of ſeveral dæmoniacs, appeared to juſtify the faith and ſanctity of Ambroſe; and the truth of thoſe miracles is atteſted by Ambroſe himſelf, by his ſecretary Paulinus, and by his proſelyte, the celebrated Auguſtin, who, at that time, profeſſed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reaſon of the preſent age may poſſibly approve the incredulity of Juſtina and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical repreſentations, which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expence, of the archbiſhop[70]. Their effect, however, on the minds of the people was rapid and irreſiſtible; and

[67] Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ii. p. 78. 498. Many churches in Italy, Gaul, &c. were dedicated to theſe unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervaſe ſeems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

[68] Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut priſca ætas ferebat. Tom. ii. epiſt. xxii. p. 875. The ſize of theſe ſkeletons was fortunately, or ſkilfully, ſuited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decreaſe of the human ſtature; which has prevailed in every age ſince the time of Homer.

Grandiaque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris.

[69] Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. xxii. p. 875. Auguſtin Confeſ. l. ix. c. 7. de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 8. Paulin. in Vitâ St. Ambroſ. c. 14. in Append. Benedict. p. 4. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered his ſight, and devoted the reſt of his life (at leaſt twenty-five years) to the ſervice of the church. I ſhould recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worſhip of relics, as well as the Nicene creed.

[70] Paulin. in Vit. St. Ambroſ. c. 5. in Append. Benedict. p. 5.

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the feeble ſovereign of Italy found himſelf unable to contend with the favourite of heaven. The powers likewiſe of the earth interpoſed in the defence of Ambroſe: the diſintereſted advice of Theodoſius was the genuine reſult of piety and friendſhip; and the maſk of religious zeal concealed the hoſtile and ambitious deſigns of the tyrant of Gaul [71].

Maximus invades Italy, A. D. 387, Auguſt.

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and proſperity, could he have contented himſelf with the poſſeſſion of three ample countries, which now conſtitute the three moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aſpiring uſurper, whoſe ſordid ambition was not dignified by the love of glory and of arms, conſidered his actual forces as the inſtruments only of his future greatneſs, and his ſucceſs was the immediate cauſe of his deſtruction. The wealth which he extorted [72] from the oppreſſed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of Barbarians, collected, for the moſt part, from the fierceſt nations of Germany. The conqueſt of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he ſecretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whoſe government was abhorred and deſpiſed by his Catholic ſubjects. But as Maximus wiſhed to occupy, without reſiſtance, the paſſes of the Alps, he received, with perfidious ſmiles, Domninus of Syria, the ambaſſador of Valentinian, and preſſed him to accept the aid of a conſiderable body of troops, for the ſervice of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambroſe had diſcovered the ſnares of an enemy under the profeſſions of friendſhip [73]; but the

[71] Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 190. 750. He partially allows the mediation of Theodoſius; and capriciouſly rejects that of Maximus, though it is atteſted by Proſper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

[72] The modeſt cenſure of Sulpicius (Dialog. iii. 15.) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declamation of Pacatus (xii. 25, 26.).

[73] Eſto tutior adverſus hominem, pacis involucro tegentem, was the wiſe caution of Ambroſe (tom. ii. p. 891.), after his return from his ſecond embaſſy.

Syrian

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Syrian Domninus was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves; and the council of Milan obſtinately rejected the ſuſpicion of danger, with a blind confidence, which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambaſſador; and they were admitted, without diſtruſt, into the fortreſſes of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with haſty and ſilent footſteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleam of armour, and the duſt excited by the troops of cavalry, firſt announced the hoſtile approach of a ſtranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Juſtina and her ſon might accuſe their own imprudence, and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force, and reſolution, to ſtand againſt the Gauls and Germans, either in the field, or within the walls of a large and diſaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and as Maximus now diſplayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the ſame fate from the hands of the ſame aſſaſſin. Maximus entered Milan in triumph; and if the wiſe archbiſhop refuſed a dangerous and criminal connection with the uſurper, he might indirectly contribute to the ſucceſs of his arms, by inculcating, from the pulpit, the duty of reſignation, rather than that of reſiſtance [74]. The unfortunate Juſtina reached Aquileia in ſafety; but ſhe diſtruſted the ſtrength of the fortifications; ſhe dreaded the event of a ſiege; and ſhe reſolved to implore the protection of the great Theodoſius, whoſe power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the Weſt. A veſſel was ſecretly provided to tranſport the Imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obſcure harbours of Venetia, or Iſtria; traverſed the whole extent of the Hadriatic and Ionian ſeas; turned the extreme promontory of Peloponne-

[74] Baronius (A. D. 387, N° 63.) applies to this ſeaſon of public diſtreſs ſome of the penitential ſermons of the archbiſhop.

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Flight of Valentinian.

ſus; and, after a long, but ſucceſsful, navigation, repoſed themſelves in the port of Theſſalonica. All the ſubjects of Valentinian deſerted the cauſe of a prince, who, by his abdication, had abſolved them from the duty of allegiance; and if the little city of Æmona, on the verge of Italy, had not preſumed to ſtop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximus would have obtained, without a ſtruggle, the ſole poſſeſſion of the weſtern empire.

Theodoſius takes arms in the cauſe of Valentinian. A. D. 387.

Inſtead of inviting his royal gueſts to the palace of Conſtantinople, Theodoſius had ſome unknown reaſons to fix their reſidence at Theſſalonica; but theſe reaſons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he ſpeedily made a viſit to that city, accompanied by the greateſt part of his court and ſenate. After the firſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip and ſympathy, the pious emperor of the Eaſt gently admoniſhed Juſtina, that the guilt of hereſy was ſometimes puniſhed in this world, as well as in the next; and that the public profeſſion of the Nicene faith, would be the moſt efficacious ſtep to promote the reſtoration of her ſon, by the ſatisfaction which it muſt occaſion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous queſtion of peace or war was referred, by Theodoſius, to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the ſide of honour and juſtice, had acquired, ſince the death of Gratian, a conſiderable degree of additional weight. The perſecution of the Imperial family, to which Theodoſius himſelf had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could reſtrain the boundleſs ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and deciſive meaſures, inſtead of prolonging the bleſſings of peace, would expoſe the eaſtern empire to the danger of an hoſtile invaſion. The Barbarians, who had paſſed the Danube, had lately aſſumed the character of ſoldiers and ſubjects, but their native fierceneſs was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exerciſe their valour, and diminiſh their

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their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppreſſion. Notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious and ſolid reaſons, which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodoſius ſtill heſitated whether he ſhould draw the ſword in a conteſt, which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not diſgraced by the apprehenſions which he felt for the ſafety of his infant ſons, and the welfare of his exhauſted people. In this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the reſolution of a ſingle man, the charms of the princeſs Galla moſt powerfully pleaded the cauſe of her brother Valentinian [73]. The heart of Theodoſius was ſoftened by the tears of beauty; his affections were inſenſibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Juſtina managed and directed the impulſe of paſſion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the aſſurance and ſignal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who conſider every amorous weakneſs as an indelible ſtain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occaſion, to diſpute the ſuſpicious evidence of the hiſtorian Zoſimus. For my own part, I ſhall frankly confeſs, that I am willing to find, or even to ſeek, in the revolutions of the world, ſome traces of the mild and tender ſentiments of domeſtic life; and, amidſt the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can diſtinguiſh, with peculiar complacency, a gentle hero, who may be ſuppoſed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Perſian king was ſecured by the faith of treaties; the martial Barbarians were perſuaded to follow the ſtandard, or to reſpect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the dominions of Theodoſius, from

[73] The flight of Valentinian, and the love of Theodoſius for his ſiſter, are related by Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 263, 264.). Tillemont produces ſome weak and ambiguous evidence to antedate the ſecond marriage of Theodoſius (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 740.), and conſequently to refute ces contes de Zoſime, qui ſeroient trop contraires à la pieté de Theodoſe.

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the Euphrates to the Hadriatic, reſounded with the preparations of war both by land and ſea. The ſkilful diſpoſition of the forces of the Eaſt ſeemed to multiply their numbers, and diſtracted the attention of Maximus. He had reaſon to fear, that a choſen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogaſtes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rhætian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent deſign, that as ſoon as a paſſage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian, and his mother, ſhould land in Italy, proceed, without delay, to Rome, and occupy the majeſtic ſeat of religion and empire. In the mean while, Theodoſius himſelf advanced at the head of a brave and diſciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the ſiege of Æmona, had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siſcia, a city of Pannonia, ſtrongly fortified by the broad and rapid ſtream of the Save.

Defeat and death of Maximus, A. D. 388. June—Auguſt.

The veterans, who ſtill remembered the long reſiſtance, and ſucceſſive reſources, of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themſelves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the conteſt with his ſucceſſor, who, like him, had uſurped the throne of the Weſt, was eaſily decided in the term of two months [76], and within the ſpace of two hundred miles. The ſuperior genius of the emperor of the Eaſt might prevail over the feeble Maximus; who, in this important criſis, ſhewed himſelf deſtitute of military ſkill, or perſonal courage; but the abilities of Theodoſius were ſeconded by the advantage which he poſſeſſed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themſelves, were formed into ſquadrons of archers; who fought on horſeback, and confounded the ſteady valour of the Gauls and Germans, by the

[76] See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, Cod. Theodoſ. tom. i. p. cxix.

rapid

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rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of ſummer, they ſpurred their foaming horſes into the waters of the Save, ſwam the river in the preſence of the enemy, and inſtantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the oppoſite ſide. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to ſupport them with the ſelect cohorts, which were conſidered as the hope and ſtrength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a ſharp conflict, the ſurviving remnant of the braveſt ſoldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without ſuſpending his march, to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Æmona, Theodoſius preſſed forwards, to terminate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the ſummit of the Julian Alps, he deſcended with ſuch incredible ſpeed into the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the firſt day; and Maximus, who found himſelf encompaſſed on all ſides, had ſcarcely time to ſhut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long reſiſt the effort of a victorious enemy; and the deſpair, the diſaffection, the indifference of the ſoldiers and people, haſtened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely ſtripped of the Imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple ſlippers; and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and preſence of Theodoſius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to inſult, and he ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the Weſt, who had never been his perſonal enemy, and was now become the object of his contempt. Our ſympathy is the moſt forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are expoſed; and the ſpectacle of a proud competitor, now proſtrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very ſerious and ſolemn thoughts in the

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mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public juſtice, and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the ſoldiers, who drew him out of the Imperial preſence, and inſtantly ſeparated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat and death was received with ſincere, or well-diſſembled, joy: his ſon Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Auguſtus, died by the order, perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogaſtes; and all the military plans of Theodoſius were ſucceſsfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with leſs difficulty and bloodſhed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his reſidence at Milan, to reſtore the ſtate of the afflicted provinces; and early in the ſpring he made, after the example of Conſtantine and Conſtantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire[77].

Virtues of Theodoſius.

The orator, who may be ſilent without danger, may praiſe without difficulty, and without reluctance[78]; and poſterity will confeſs, that the character of Theodoſius[79] might furniſh the ſubject of a ſincere and ample panegyric. The wiſdom of his laws, and the ſucceſs of his arms, rendered his adminiſtration reſpectable in the eyes both of his ſubjects, and of his enemies. He loved and practiſed

[77] Beſides the hints which may be gathered from chronicles and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 259—267.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 35.), and Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 30—47.), ſupply the looſe and ſcanty materials of this civil war. Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. xl. p. 952, 953.) darkly alludes to the well-known events of a magazine ſurpriſed, an action at Petovio, a Sicilian, perhaps a naval, victory, &c. Auſonius (p. 256, edit. Toll) applauds the peculiar merit, and good fortune, of Aquileia.

[78] Quam promptum laudare principem, tam tutum ſiluiſſe de principe (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 2.). Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome, A. D. 388. He was afterwards proconſul of Africa; and his friend Auſonius praiſes him as a poet, ſecond only to Virgil. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 303.

[79] See the fair portrait of Theodoſius, by the younger Victor; the ſtrokes are diſtinct, and the colours are mixed. The praiſe of Pacatus is too vague; and Claudian always ſeems afraid of exalting the father above the ſon.

the

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the virtues of domeſtic life, which ſeldom hold their reſidence in the palaces of kings. Theodoſius was chaſte and temperate: he enjoyed, without exceſs, the ſenſual and ſocial pleaſures of the table; and the warmth of his amorous paſſions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of Imperial greatneſs were adorned by the tender names of a faithful huſband, an indulgent father; his uncle was raiſed, by his affectionate eſteem, to the rank of a ſecond parent: Theodoſius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother and ſiſter; and the expreſſions of his regard were extended to the moſt diſtant and obſcure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciouſly ſelected from among thoſe perſons, who, in the equal intercourſe of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a maſk: the conſciouſneſs of perſonal and ſuperior merit enabled him to deſpiſe the accidental diſtinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct, that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he moſt gratefully remembered all the favours and ſervices, which he had received before he aſcended the throne of the Roman empire. The ſerious, or lively, tone of his converſation, was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character, of his ſubjects whom he admitted into his ſociety; and the affability of his manners diſplayed the image of his mind. Theodoſius reſpected the ſimplicity of the good and virtuous; every art, every talent, of an uſeful, or even of an innocent, nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he perſecuted with implacable hatred, the diffuſive circle of his benevolence was circumſcribed only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may aſſuredly ſuffice to occupy the time, and the abilities, of a mortal: yet the diligent prince, without aſpiring to the unſuitable reputation of profound learning, always reſerved ſome moments of his leiſure for the inſtructive amuſement of reading. Hiſtory, which enlarged his experience, was his favourite

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ſtudy. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred years, preſented him with a various and ſplendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly obſerved, that whenever he peruſed the cruel acts of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla, he warmly expreſſed his generous deteſtation of thoſe enemies of humanity and freedom. His diſintereſted opinion of paſt events was uſefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodoſius has deſerved the ſingular commendation, that his virtues always ſeemed to expand with his fortune: the ſeaſon of his proſperity was that of his moderation; and his clemency appeared the moſt conſpicuous after the danger and ſucceſs of the civil war. The Mooriſh guards of the tyrant had been maſſacred in the firſt heat of the victory; and a ſmall number of the moſt obnoxious criminals ſuffered the puniſhment of the law. But the emperor ſhewed himſelf much more attentive to relieve the innocent, than to chaſtiſe the guilty. The oppreſſed ſubjects of the Weſt, who would have deemed themſelves happy in the reſtoration of their lands, were aſtoniſhed to receive a ſum of money equivalent to their loſſes; and the liberality of the conqueror ſupported the aged mother, and educated the orphan daughters, of Maximus[80]. A character thus accompliſhed, might almoſt excuſe the extravagant ſuppoſition of the orator Pacatus; that, if the elder Brutus could be permitted to reviſit the earth, the ſtern republican would abjure, at the feet of Theodoſius, his hatred of kings; and ingenuouſly confeſs, that ſuch a monarch was the moſt faithful guardian of the happineſs, and dignity, of the Roman people[81].

Faults of Theodoſius.

Yet the piercing eye of the founder of the republic muſt have diſcerned two eſſential imperfections, which might, perhaps, have abated his recent love of deſpotiſm. The virtuous mind of Theodo-

[80] Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. xl. p. 955. Pacatus, from the want of ſkill, or of courage, omits this glorious circumſtance.

[81] Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 20.

ſius

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sius was often relaxed by indolence [82], and it was sometimes inflamed by passion [83]. In the pursuit of an important object, his active courage was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but, as soon as the design was accomplished, or the danger was surmounted, the hero sunk into inglorious repose; and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the innocent, but trifling, pleasures of a luxurious court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and choleric; and, in a station where none could resist, and few would dissuade, the fatal consequence of his resentment, the humane monarch was justly alarmed by the consciousness of his infirmity, and of his power. It was the constant study of his life to suppress, or regulate, the intemperate sallies of passion; and the success of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory, is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty, which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian. Within the space of three years, the inconsistent historian of Theodosius must relate the generous pardon of the citizens of Antioch, and the inhuman massacre of the people of Thessalonica.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was never satisfied with their own situation, or with the character, and conduct, of their successive sovereigns. The Arian subjects of Theodosius deplored the loss of their churches; and, as three rival bishops disputed the throne of Antioch, the sentence which decided their pretensions excited the murmurs of the two unsuccessful congrega-

The sedition of Antioch, A. D. 387.

[82] Zosimus, l. iv. p. 271, 272. His partial evidence is marked by an air of candour and truth. He observes these vicissitudes of sloth, and activity, not as a vice, but as a singularity, in the character of Theodosius.

[83] This choleric temper is acknowledged, and excused, by Victor. Sed habes (says Ambrose, in decent and manly language, to his sovereign) naturæ impetum, quem si quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad misericordiam: si quis stimulet, in magis exsuscitas, ut eum revocare vix possis (tom. ii. epist. li. p. 998.) Theodosius (Claud. in iv Cons. Hon. 266, &c.) exhorts his son to moderate his anger.

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tions. The exigencies of the Gothic war, and the inevitable expence that accompanied the concluſion of the peace, had conſtrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impoſitions; and the provinces of Aſia, as they had not been involved in the diſtreſs, were the leſs inclined to contribute to the relief, of Europe. The auſpicious period now approached of the tenth year of his reign; a feſtival more grateful to the ſoldiers, who received a liberal donative, than to the ſubjects, whoſe voluntary offerings had been long ſince converted into an extraordinary and oppreſſive burthen. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repoſe, and pleaſures, of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magiſtrate was beſieged by a ſuppliant crowd; who, in pathetic, but, at firſt, in reſpectful, language, ſolicited the redreſs of their grievances. They were gradually incenſed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal reſiſtance; their ſatirical wit degenerated into ſharp and angry invectives; and, from the ſubordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people inſenſibly roſe to attack the ſacred character of the emperor himſelf. Their fury, provoked by a feeble oppoſition, diſcharged itſelf on the images of the Imperial family, which were erected, as objects of public veneration, in the moſt conſpicuous places of the city. The ſtatues of Theodoſius, of his father, of his wife Flaccilla, of his two ſons, Arcadius and Honorius, were inſolently thrown down from their pedeſtals, broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the ſtreets: and the indignities which were offered to the repreſentations of Imperial majeſty, ſufficiently declared the impious and treaſonable wiſhes of the populace. The tumult was almoſt immediately ſuppreſſed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leiſure to reflect on the nature and conſequences of her crime[84]. According to the duty of his office, the governor

February 26.

[84] The Chriſtians and Pagans agreed in believing, that the ſedition of Antioch was excited by the dæmons. A gigantic woman (ſays Sozomen, l. vii. c. 23.) paraded the ſtreets

governor of the province diſpatched a faithful narrative of the whole tranſaction; while the trembling citizens entruſted the confeſſion of their crime, and the aſſurance of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their biſhop, and to the eloquence of the ſenator Hilarius, the friend, and, moſt probably, the diſciple, of Libanius; whoſe genius, on this melancholy occaſion, was not uſeleſs to his country [85]. But the two capitals, Antioch and Conſtantinople, were ſeparated by the diſtance of eight hundred miles; and, notwithſtanding the diligence of the Imperial poſts, the guilty city was ſeverely puniſhed by a long and dreadful interval of ſuſpenſe. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians; and they heard with terror, that their ſovereign, exaſperated by the inſult which had been offered to his own ſtatues, and, more eſpecially, to thoſe of his beloved wife, had reſolved to level with the ground the offending city; and to maſſacre, without diſtinction of age or ſex, the criminal inhabitants [86]; many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehenſions, to ſeek a refuge in the mountains of Syria, and the adjacent deſert. At length, twenty-four days after the ſedition, the general Hellebicus, March 22. and Cæſarius maſter of the offices, declared the will of the emperor, and the ſentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the Eaſt, ſtripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was ſubjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the juriſdiction of Laodicea [87].

ſtreets with a ſcourge in her hand. An old man (ſays Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 396.) transformed himſelf into a youth, then a boy, &c.

[85] Zoſimus, in his ſhort and diſingenuous account (l. iv. p. 258, 259.), is certainly miſtaken in ſending Libanius himſelf to Conſtantinople. His own orations fix him at Antioch.

[86] Libanius (Orat. i. p. 6. edit. Venet.) declares, that, under ſuch a reign, the fear of a maſſacre was groundleſs and abſurd, eſpecially in the emperor's abſence; for his preſence, according to the eloquent ſlave, might have given a ſanction to the moſt bloody acts.

[87] Laodicea, on the ſea-coaſt, ſixty-five miles from Antioch (ſee Noris Epoch. Syro-Maced. Diſſert. iii. p. 230.). The Antiochians were offended, that the dependent city of Seleucia ſhould preſume to intercede for them.

The

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The baths, the Circus, and the theatres, were ſhut: and, that every ſource of plenty and pleaſure might at the ſame time be intercepted, the diſtribution of corn was aboliſhed, by the ſevere inſtructions of Theodoſius. His commiſſioners then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals; of thoſe who had perpetrated, and of thoſe who had not prevented, the deſtruction of the ſacred ſtatues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Cæſarius, encompaſſed with armed ſoldiers, was erected in the midſt of the Forum. The nobleſt, and moſt wealthy, of the citizens of Antioch, appeared before them in chains; the examination was aſſiſted by the uſe of torture, and their ſentence was pronounced or ſuſpended, according to the judgment of theſe extraordinary magiſtrates. The houſes of the criminals were expoſed to ſale, their wives and children were ſuddenly reduced, from affluence and luxury, to the moſt abject diſtreſs; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day [88], which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chryſoſtom, has repreſented as a lively image of the laſt and univerſal judgment of the world. But the miniſters of Theodoſius performed, with reluctance, the cruel taſk which had been aſſigned them: they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they liſtened with reverence to the preſſing ſolicitations of the monks and hermits, who deſcended in ſwarms from the mountains [89]. Hellebicus and Cæſarius were perſuaded to ſuſpend the execution of their ſentence; and it was agreed, that the former ſhould remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all poſſible ſpeed, to Conſtantinople; and preſumed once more to conſult the will of his ſovereign. The reſentment of Theodoſius had already ſubſided; the deputies of the people, both the biſhop and the orator,

Clemency of Theodoſius.

[88] As the days of the tumult depend on the *moveable* feſtival of Eaſter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 387 has been preferred, after a laborious inquiry, by Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 741—744.) and Montfaucon (Chryſoſtom, tom. xiii. p. 105—110.).

[89] Chryſoſtom oppoſes *their* courage, which was not attended with much riſk, to the cowardly flight of the Cynics.

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had obtained a favourable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendſhip, rather than the ſtern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the priſon-doors were thrown open; the ſenators, who deſpaired of their lives, recovered the poſſeſſion of their houſes and eſtates; and the capital of the Eaſt was reſtored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and ſplendour. Theodoſius condeſcended to praiſe the ſenate of Conſtantinople, who had generouſly interceded for their diſtreſſed brethren: he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Paleſtine; and diſmiſſed the biſhop of Antioch with the warmeſt expreſſions of his reſpect and gratitude. A thouſand new ſtatues aroſe to the clemency of Theodoſius; the applauſe of his ſubjects was ratified by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confeſſed, that, if the exerciſe of juſtice is the moſt important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the moſt exquiſite pleaſure, of a ſovereign [90]. April 25.

Sedition and maſſacre of Theſſalonica, A. D. 390.

The ſedition of Theſſalonica is aſcribed to a more ſhameful cauſe, and was productive of much more dreadful conſequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by ſtrong fortifications, and a numerous garriſon. Botheric, the general of thoſe troops, and, as it ſhould ſeem from his name, a Barbarian, had among his ſlaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure deſires of one of the charioteers of the circus. The inſolent and brutal lover was thrown into priſon by the order of Botheric; and he ſternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the

[90] The ſedition of Antioch is repreſented in a lively, and almoſt dramatic, manner, by two orators, who had their reſpective ſhares of intereſt and merit. See Libanius (Orat. xiv, xv. p. 389—420. edit. Morel; Orat. i. p. 1—14. Venet. 1754), and the twenty orations of St. John Chryſoſtom, *de Statuis* (tom. ii. p. 1—225. edit. Montfaucon). I do not pretend to *much* perſonal acquaintance with Chryſoſtom; but Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 263—283.) and Hermant (Vie de St. Chryſoſtome, tom. i. p. 137—224.) had read him with pious curioſity, and diligence.

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public games, lamented the abſence of their favourite; and conſidered the ſkill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The reſentment of the people was embittered by ſome previous diſputes; and, as the ſtrength of the garriſon had been drawn away for the ſervice of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whoſe numbers were reduced by deſertion, could not ſave the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and ſeveral of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the ſtreets; and the emperor, who then reſided at Milan, was ſurpriſed by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Theſſalonica. The ſentence of a diſpaſſionate judge would have inflicted a ſevere puniſhment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exaſperate the grief and indignation of his maſter. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodoſius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry; and he haſtily reſolved, that the blood of his lieutenant ſhould be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind ſtill fluctuated between the counſels of clemency and of revenge; the zeal of the biſhops had almoſt extorted from the reluctant emperor the promiſe of a general pardon; his paſſion was again inflamed by the flattering ſuggeſtions of his miniſter Rufinus; and, after Theodoſius had diſpatched the meſſengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The puniſhment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undiſtinguiſhing ſword of the Barbarians; and the hoſtile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conſpiracy. The people of Theſſalonica were treacherouſly invited, in the name of their ſovereign, to the games of the Circus: and ſuch was their inſatiate avidity for thoſe amuſements, that every conſideration of fear, or ſuſpicion, was diſregarded by the numerous ſpectators. As ſoon as the aſſembly was complete, the ſoldiers, who

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had ſecretly been poſted round the Circus, received the ſignal, not of the races, but of a general maſſacre. The promiſcuous carnage continued three hours, without diſcrimination of ſtrangers or natives, of age or ſex, of innocence or guilt; the moſt moderate accounts ſtate the number of the ſlain at ſeven thouſand; and it is affirmed by ſome writers, that more than fifteen thouſand victims were ſacrificed to the manes of Botheric. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life, and all his wealth, to ſupply the place of *one* of his two ſons; but, while the father heſitated with equal tenderneſs, while he was doubtful to chuſe, and unwilling to condemn, the ſoldiers determined his ſuſpenſe, by plunging their daggers at the ſame moment into the breaſts of the defenceleſs youths. The apology of the aſſaſſins, that they were obliged to produce the preſcribed number of heads, ſerves only to increaſe, by an appearance of order and deſign, the horrors of the maſſacre, which was executed by the commands of Theodoſius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent reſidence at Theſſalonica. The ſituation of the unfortunate city, the aſpect of the ſtreets and buildings, the dreſs and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even preſent, to his imagination; and Theodoſius poſſeſſed a quick and lively ſenſe of the exiſtence of the people whom he deſtroyed [91].

Influence and conduct of Ambroſe, A. D. 388.

The reſpectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy, had diſpoſed him to love and admire the character of Ambroſe; who united all the epiſcopal virtues in the moſt eminent degree. The friends and miniſters of Theodoſius imitated the example of their

[91] The original evidence of Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. li. p. 998.), Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 24.), is delivered in vague expreſſions of horror and pity. It is illuſtrated by the ſubſequent and unequal teſtimonies of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 25.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 17.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 62.), Cedrenus (p. 317.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 34.). Zoſimus *alone*, the partial enemy of Theodoſius, moſt unaccountably paſſes over in ſilence the worſt of his actions.

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ſovereign; and he obſerved, with more ſurpriſe than diſpleaſure, that all his ſecret counſels were immediately communicated to the archbiſhop; who acted from the laudable perſuaſion, that every meaſure of civil government may have ſome connection with the glory of God, and the intereſt of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obſcure town on the frontier of Perſia, excited by their own fanaticiſm, and by that of their biſhop, had tumultuouſly burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a ſynagogue of the Jews. The ſeditious prelate was condemned, by the magiſtrate of the province, either to rebuild the ſynagogue, or to repay the damage; and this moderate ſentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbiſhop of Milan [92]. He dictated an epiſtle of cenſure and reproach, more ſuitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumciſion, and renounced the faith of his baptiſm. Ambroſe conſiders the toleration of the Jewiſh, as the perſecution of the Chriſtian, religion; boldly declares, that he himſelf, and every true believer, would eagerly diſpute with the biſhop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and laments, in the moſt pathetic terms, that the execution of the ſentence would be fatal to the fame and ſalvation of Theodoſius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbiſhop, from his pulpit [93], publicly addreſſed the emperor on his throne [94]; nor would he conſent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodoſius a ſolemn and poſitive declaration, which ſecured the impunity of the biſhop and monks

[92] See the whole tranſaction in Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. xl, xli. p. 946—956.), and his biographer Paulinus (c. 23.). Bayle and Barbeyrac (Morales des Péres, c. xvii. p. 325, &c.) have juſtly condemned the archbiſhop.

[93] His ſermon is a ſtrange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond-tree, of the woman who waſhed and anointed the feet of Chriſt. But the peroration is direct and perſonal.

[94] Hodie, Epiſcope, de me propoſuiſti. Ambroſe modeſtly confeſſed it: but he ſternly reprimanded Timaſius, general of the horſe and foot, who had preſumed to ſay, that the monks of Callinicum deſerved puniſhment.

of

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of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodoſius was ſincere[95]; and, during the term of his reſidence at Milan, his affection for Ambroſe was continually increaſed by the habits of pious and familiar converſation.

Pennance of Theodoſius, A. D. 390.

When Ambroſe was informed of the maſſacre of Theſſalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguiſh. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the preſence of Theodoſius. But as the archbiſhop was ſatisfied that a timid ſilence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he repreſented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The epiſcopal vigour of Ambroſe was tempered by prudence; and he contented himſelf with ſignifying[96] an indirect ſort of excommunication, by the aſſurance, that he had been warned in a viſion, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the preſence, of Theodoſius; and by the advice, that he would confine himſelf to the uſe of prayer, without preſuming to approach the altar of Chriſt, or to receive the holy euchariſt with thoſe hands that were ſtill polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by thoſe of his ſpiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the miſchievous and irreparable conſequences of his raſh fury, he proceeded, in the accuſtomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was ſtopped in the porch by the archbiſhop; who, in the tone and language of an ambaſſador of Heaven, declared to his ſovereign, that private contrition was not ſufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appeaſe the juſtice of the offended Deity. Theodoſius humbly re-

[95] Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodoſius was abſent from his ſpiritual guide, he tolerated the Jews, and condemned the deſtruction of their ſynagogues. Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 9. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 225.

[96] Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. li. p. 997—1001. His Epiſtle is a miſerable rhapſody on a noble ſubject. Ambroſe could act better than he could write. His compoſitions are deſtitute of taſte or genius; without the ſpirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerom, or the grave energy of Auguſtin.

preſented,

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preſented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, "imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambroſe. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public pennance of the emperor Theodoſius has been recorded as one of the moſt honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildeſt rules of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which were eſtabliſhed in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years[97]: and as it was impoſſible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the maſſacre of Theſſalonica, the murderer ſhould have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbiſhop, conſulting the maxims of religious policy, granted ſome indulgence to the rank of his illuſtrious penitent, who humbled in the duſt the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reaſon to abridge the duration of his puniſhment. It was ſufficient, that the emperor of the Romans, ſtripped of the enſigns of royalty, ſhould appear in a mournful and ſuppliant poſture; and that, in the midſt of the church of Milan, he ſhould humbly ſolicit, with ſighs and tears, the pardon of his ſins[98]. In this ſpiritual cure, Ambroſe employed the various methods of mildneſs and ſeverity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodoſius was reſtored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interpoſes a ſalutary interval of thirty days between the ſen-

[97] According to the diſcipline of St. Baſil (Canon lvi.), the voluntary homicide was *four* years a mourner; *five* an hearer; *ſeven* in a proſtrate ſtate; and *four* in a ſtanding poſture. I have the original (Beveridge, Pandect. tom. ii. p. 47—151.), and a tranſlation (Chardon, Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. iv. p. 219—277.), of the Canonical Epiſtles of St. Baſil.

[98] The pennance of Theodoſius is authenticated by Ambroſe (tom. vi. de Obit. Theodoſ. c. 34. p. 1207.), Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 24.). Socrates is ignorant; Sozomen (l. vii. c. 25.) conciſe; and the copious narrative of Theodoret (l. v. c. 18.) muſt be uſed with precaution.

tence

tence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance[99]. Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop: and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles, which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws, and ministers, of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be "compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the "hand, of his keeper[100]." The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination, and interest, of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest, who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may inflame, or moderate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted, by the same Ambrose, with equal energy, and with equal success.

Generosity of Theodosius, A. D. 388—391.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the East: he had acquired the West by the right of conquest; and the three years, which he spent in Italy, were usefully employed to restore the authority of the laws; and to correct the abuses, which had prevailed with impunity under the usurpation of Maximus, and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inserted in the public acts: but the tender age, and doubtful faith, of the son of Justina, appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his specious ambition might have excluded the

[99] Codex Theodos. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 13. The date and circumstances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I feel myself inclined to favour the honest efforts of Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 721.) and Pagi (Critica, tom. i. p. 578.).

[100] Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, est un lion que céde à la main qui le flatte, ou à la voix qui l'appaise. Esprit des Loix, l. xxiv. c. 2.

unfortunate

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unfortunate youth, without a ſtruggle, and almoſt without a murmur, from the adminiſtration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodoſius had conſulted the rigid maxims of intereſt and policy, his conduct would have been juſtified by his friends; but the generoſity of his behaviour on this memorable occaſion has extorted the applauſe of his moſt inveterate enemies. He ſeated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and, without ſtipulating any preſent or future advantages, reſtored him to the abſolute dominion of all the provinces, from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the reſtitution of his ample patrimony, Theodoſius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his ſucceſsful valour had recovered from the aſſaſſin of Gratian [101]. Satisfied with the glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor, and delivering the Weſt from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor returned from Milan to Conſtantinople; and, in the peaceful poſſeſſion of the Eaſt, inſenſibly relapſed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodoſius diſcharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderneſs to the ſiſter, of Valentinian: and poſterity, which admires the pure and ſingular glory of his elevation, muſt applaud his unrivalled generoſity in the uſe of victory.

Character of Valentinian, A. D. 391.

The empreſs Juſtina did not long ſurvive her return to Italy; and, though ſhe beheld the triumph of Theodoſius, ſhe was not allowed to influence the government of her ſon [102]. The pernicious attachment to the Arian ſect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and inſtructions, was ſoon eraſed by the leſſons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character, and authority, of Ambroſe,

[101] Τουτο περι της ευεργετας καθηκον ιδοξεν ειναι, is the niggard praiſe of Zoſimus himſelf (l. iv. p. 267.). Auguſtin ſays, with ſome happineſs of expreſſion, Valentinianum .... miſericordiſſimâ veneratione reſtituit.

[102] Sozomen, l. vii. c. 14. His chronology is very irregular.

diſpoſed

diſpoſed the Catholics to entertain the moſt favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the Weſt[103]. They applauded his chaſtity and temperance, his contempt of pleaſure, his application to buſineſs, and his tender affection for his two ſiſters; which could not, however, ſeduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjuſt ſentence againſt the meaneſt of his ſubjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accompliſhed the twentieth year of his age, was oppreſſed by domeſtic treaſon; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogaſtes[104], a gallant ſoldier of the nation of the Franks, held the ſecond rank in the ſervice of Gratian. On the death of his maſter, he joined the ſtandard of Theodoſius; contributed, by his valour and military conduct, to the deſtruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, maſter-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundleſs liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilſt he was univerſally eſteemed as the pillar of the ſtate, the bold and crafty Barbarian was ſecretly determined, either to rule, or to ruin, the empire of the Weſt. The important commands of the army were diſtributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogaſtes were promoted to all the honours and offices of the civil government; the progreſs of the conſpiracy removed every faithful ſervant from the preſence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power, and without intelligence, inſenſibly ſunk into the precarious and dependent condition of a captive[105]. The indignation which he

[103] See Ambroſe, tom. ii. de Obit. Valentinian. c. 15, &c. p. 1178.; c. 36, &c. p. 1184. When the young emperor gave an entertainment, he faſted himſelf: he refuſed to ſee an handſome actreſs, &c. Since he ordered his wild beaſts to be killed, it is ungenerous in Philoſtorgius (l. xi. c. 1.) to reproach him with the love of that amuſement.

[104] Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 275.) praiſes the enemy of Theodoſius. But he is deteſted by Socrates (l. v. c. 25.) and Oroſius (l. vii. c. 35.).

[105] Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9. p. 165. in the ſecond volume of the Hiſtorians of France) has preſerved a curious fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, an hiſtorian far more valuable than himſelf.

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expreſſed, though it might ariſe only from the raſh and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly aſcribed to the generous ſpirit of a prince, who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He ſecretly invited the archbiſhop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator; as the pledge of his ſincerity, and the guardian of his ſafety. He contrived to appriſe the emperor of the Eaſt of his helpleſs ſituation; and he declared, that, unleſs Theodoſius could ſpeedily march to his aſſiſtance, he muſt attempt to eſcape from the palace, or rather priſon, of Vienna in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his reſidence in the midſt of the hoſtile faction. But the hopes of relief were diſtant and doubtful; and, as every day furniſhed ſome new provocation, the emperor, without ſtrength or counſel, too haſtily reſolved to riſk an immediate conteſt with his powerful general. He received Arbogaſtes on the throne; and, as the count approached with ſome appearance of reſpect, delivered to him a paper, which diſmiſſed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogaſtes with inſulting coolneſs, "does not depend on the ſmile, "or the frown, of a monarch;" and he contemptuouſly threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch ſnatched at the ſword of one of the guards, which he ſtruggled to draw from its ſcabbard; and it was not without ſome degree of violence that he was prevented from uſing the deadly weapon againſt his enemy, or againſt himſelf. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had expoſed his reſentment and his weakneſs, the unfortunate Valentinian was found ſtrangled in his apartment; and ſome pains were employed to diſguiſe the manifeſt guilt of Arbogaſtes, and to perſuade the world, that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own deſpair [106]. His body was conducted

His death, A. D. 392, May 15.

[106] Godefroy (Diſſertat. ad Philoſtorg. p. 429—434.) has diligently collected all the circumſtances of the death of Valentinian II. The variations, and the ignorance, of contemporary writers, prove that it was ſecret.

with

with decent pomp to the ſepulchre of Milan; and the archbiſhop pronounced a funeral oration to commemorate his virtue, and his misfortunes [107]. On this occaſion, the humanity of Ambroſe tempted him to make a ſingular breach in his theological ſyſtem; and to comfort the weeping ſiſters of Valentinian, by the firm aſſurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the ſacrament of baptiſm, was introduced, without difficulty, into the manſions of eternal bliſs [108].

Uſurpation of Eugenius, A. D. 392—394.

The prudence of Arbogaſtes had prepared the ſucceſs of his ambitious deſigns: and the provincials, in whoſe breaſts every ſentiment of patriotiſm or loyalty was extinguiſhed, expected, with tame reſignation, the unknown maſter, whom the choice of a Frank might place on the Imperial throne. But ſome remains of pride and prejudice ſtill oppoſed the elevation of Arbogaſtes himſelf; and the judicious Barbarian thought it more adviſable to reign under the name of ſome dependent Roman. He beſtowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius [109]; whom he had already raiſed from the place of his domeſtic ſecretary, to the rank of maſter of the offices. In the courſe both of his private and public ſervice, the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius; his learning and eloquence, ſupported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the eſteem of the people; and the reluctance, with which he ſeemed to aſcend the throne, may inſpire a favourable prejudice of

[107] De Obitû Valentinian. tom. ii. p. 1173—1196. He is forced to ſpeak a diſcreet and obſcure language: yet he is much bolder than any layman, or perhaps any other eccleſiaſtic, would have dared to be.

[108] See c. 51. p. 1188. c. 75. p. 1193. Dom Chardon (Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 86.), who owns that St. Ambroſe moſt ſtrenuouſly maintains the *indiſpenſable* neceſſity of baptiſm, labours to reconcile the contradiction.

[109] Quem ſibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul,

is the contemptuous expreſſion of Claudian (iv Conſ. Hon. 74.). Eugenius profeſſed Chriſtianity: but his ſecret attachment to Paganiſm (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Philoſtorg. l. xi. c. 2.) is probable in a grammarian, and would ſecure the friendſhip of Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 276, 277.).

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his virtue and moderation. The ambaſſadors of the new emperor were immediately diſpatched to the court of Theodoſius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian; and, without mentioning the name of Arbogaſtes, to requeſt, that the monarch of the Eaſt would embrace, as his lawful colleague, the reſpectable citizen, who had obtained the unanimous ſuffrage of the armies and provinces of the Weſt[110]. Theodoſius was juſtly provoked, that the perfidy of a Barbarian ſhould have deſtroyed, in a moment, the labours, and the fruit, of his former victory; and he was excited by the tears of his beloved wife[111], to revenge the fate of her unhappy brother, and once more to aſſert by arms the violated majeſty of the throne. But as the ſecond conqueſt of the Weſt was a taſk of difficulty and danger, he diſmiſſed, with ſplendid preſents, and an ambiguous anſwer, the ambaſſadors of Eugenius; and almoſt two years were conſumed in the preparations of the civil war. Before he formed any deciſive reſolution, the pious emperor was anxious to diſcover the will of heaven; and as the progreſs of Chriſtianity had ſilenced the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he conſulted an Egyptian monk, who poſſeſſed, in the opinion of the age, the gift of miracles, and the knowledge of futurity. Eutropius, one of the favourite eunuchs of the palace of Conſtantinople, embarked for Alexandria, from whence he ſailed up the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or of Wolves, in the remote province of Thebais[112]. In the neighbourhood of that city, and on

Theodoſius prepares for war.

[110] Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 278.) mentions this embaſſy; but he is diverted by another ſtory from relating the event.

[111] Συνταραξεν η τουτου γαμετη Γαλλα τα βασιλεια του αδελφου ολοφυρομενη. Zoſim. l. iv. p. 277. He afterwards ſays (p. 280.), that Galla died in childbed; and intimates, that the affliction of her huſband was extreme, but ſhort.

[112] Lycopolis is the modern Siut, or Oſiot, a town of Said, about the ſize of St. Denys, which drives a profitable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar; and has a very convenient fountain, "cujus potû ſigna virginitatis eripiuntur." See d'Anville, Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 181. Abulfeda, Deſcript. Ægyp. p. 14. and the curious Annotations, p. 25. 92. of his editor Michaelis.

the

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the ſummit of a lofty mountain, the holy John [113] had conſtructed, with his own hands, an humble cell, in which he had dwelt above fifty years, without opening his door, without ſeeing the face of a woman, and without taſting any food that had been prepared by fire, or any human art. Five days of the week he ſpent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturdays and Sundays he regularly opened a ſmall window, and gave audience to the crowd of ſuppliants, who ſucceſſively flowed from every part of the Chriſtian world. The eunuch of Theodoſius approached the window with reſpectful ſteps, propoſed his queſtions concerning the event of the civil war, and ſoon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the aſſurance of a bloody, but infallible, victory [114]. The accompliſhment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could ſupply. The induſtry of the two maſter-generals, Stilicho and Timaſius, was directed to recruit the numbers, and to revive the diſcipline, of the Roman legions. The formidable troops of Barbarians marched under the enſigns of their national chieftains. The Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual aſtoniſhment, were inliſted in the ſervice of the ſame prince; and the renowned Alaric acquired, in the ſchool of Theodoſius, the knowledge of the art of war, which he afterwards ſo fatally exerted for the deſtruction of Rome [115].

His victory over Eugenius, A. D. 394, September 6.

The emperor of the Weſt, or, to ſpeak more properly, his general Arbogaſtes, was inſtructed by the miſconduct and misfortune of

[113] The life of John of Lycopolis is deſcribed by his two friends, Rufinus (l. ii. c. 1. p. 449.) and Palladius (Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 43. p. 738.), in Roſweyde's great Collection of the Vitæ Patrum. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 718. 720.) has ſettled the chronology.

[114] Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Claudian (in Eutrop. l. i. 312.) mentions the eunuch's journey: but he moſt contemptuouſly derides the Egyptian dreams, and the oracles of the Nile.

[115] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 280. Socrates, l. vii. 10. Alaric himſelf (de Bell. Getico, 524.) dwells with more complacency on his early exploits againſt the Romans.

. . . . Tot Auguſtus Hebro qui teſte fugavi.

Yet his vanity could ſcarcely have proved this *plurality* of flying emperors.

Maximus,

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Maximus, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence againſt a ſkilful antagoniſt, who was free to preſs, or to ſuſpend, to contract, or to multiply, his various methods of attack[116]. Arbogaſtes fixed his ſtation on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodoſius were permitted to occupy, without reſiſtance, the provinces of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the paſſes of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned, to the bold invader. He deſcended from the hills, and beheld, with ſome aſtoniſhment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans, that covered with arms and tents the open country, which extends to the walls of Aquileia, and the banks of the Frigidus[117], or Cold River[118]. This narrow theatre of the war, circumſcribed by the Alps and the Hadriatic, did not allow much room for the operations of military ſkill; the ſpirit of Arbogaſtes would have diſdained a pardon; his guilt extinguiſhed the hope of a negociation: and Theodoſius was impatient to ſatisfy his glory and revenge, by the chaſtiſement of the aſſaſſins of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obſtacles that oppoſed his efforts, the emperor of the Eaſt immediately attacked the fortifications of his rivals, aſſigned the poſt of honourable danger to the Goths, and cheriſhed a ſecret wiſh, that the bloody conflict might diminiſh the pride and numbers of the conquerors. Ten thouſand of thoſe auxiliaries, and Bacurius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchaſed by their

[116] Claudian (in iv Conſ. Honor. 77, &c.) contraſts the military plans of the two uſurpers.

. . . . Novitas audere priorem
Suadebat; cautumque dabant exempla ſequentem.
Hic nova moliri præceps: hic quærere tutus
Providus. Hic fuſis; collectis viribus ille.
Hic vagus excurrens; hic intra clauſtra reductus
Diſſimiles; ſed morte pares . . . .

[117] The Frigidus, a ſmall, though memorable, ſtream in the country of Goretz, now called the Vipao, falls into the Sontius, or Liſonzo, above Aquileia, ſome miles from the Hadriatic. See d'Anville's Ancient and Modern Maps, and the Italia Antiqua of Cluverius (tom. i. p. 188.).

[118] Claudian's wit is intolerable: the ſnow was dyed red; the cold river ſmoaked; and the channel muſt have been choaked with carcaſſes, if the current had not been ſwelled with blood.

blood; the Gauls maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the diſorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodoſius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills; where he paſſed a diſconſolate night, without ſleep, without proviſions, and without hopes [119]; except that ſtrong aſſurance, which, under the moſt deſperate circumſtances, the independent mind may derive from the contempt of fortune and of life. The triumph of Eugenius was celebrated by the inſolent and diſſolute joy of his camp; whilſt the active and vigilant Arbogaſtes ſecretly detached a conſiderable body of troops to occupy the paſſes of the mountains, and to encompaſs the rear of the Eaſtern army. The dawn of day diſcovered to the eyes of Theodoſius the extent and the extremity of his danger: but his apprehenſions were ſoon diſpelled, by a friendly meſſage from the leaders of thoſe troops, who expreſſed their inclination to deſert the ſtandard of the tyrant. The honourable and lucrative rewards, which they ſtipulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without heſitation; and as ink and paper could not eaſily be procured, the emperor ſubſcribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The ſpirit of his ſoldiers was revived by this ſeaſonable reinforcement: and they again marched, with confidence, to ſurpriſe the camp of a tyrant, whoſe principal officers appeared to diſtruſt, either the juſtice, or the ſucceſs, of his arms. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempeſt [120], ſuch as is often felt among the Alps, ſuddenly aroſe from the Eaſt. The

[119] Theodoret affirms, that St. John, and St. Philip, appeared to the waking, or ſleeping, emperor, on horſeback, &c. This is the firſt inſtance of apoſtolic chivalry, which afterwards became ſo popular in Spain, and in the Cruſades.

[120] Te propter, gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adverſas acies; revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit haſtas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

Theſe famous lines of Claudian (in iii Conſ. Honor. 93, &c. A. D. 396) are alleged by his contemporaries, Auguſtin and Oroſius; who ſuppreſs the Pagan deity of Æolus; and add ſome circumſtances from the information of eye-witneſſes. Within four months after the victory, it was compared by Ambroſe to the miraculous victories of Moſes and Joſhua.

army

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army of Theodoſius was ſheltered by their poſition from the impetuoſity of the wind, which blew a cloud of duſt in the faces of the enemy, diſordered their ranks, wreſted their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was ſkilfully improved; the violence of the ſtorm was magnified by the ſuperſtitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without ſhame to the inviſible powers of heaven, who ſeemed to militate on the ſide of the pious emperor. His victory was deciſive; and the deaths of his two rivals were diſtinguiſhed only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almoſt acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror; and the unrelenting ſoldiers ſeparated his head from his body, as he lay proſtrate at the feet of Theodoſius. Arbogaſtes, after the loſs of a battle in which he had diſcharged the duties of a ſoldier and a general, wandered ſeveral days among the mountains. But when he was convinced, that his cauſe was deſperate, and his eſcape impracticable, the intrepid Barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his ſword againſt his own breaſt. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate ſucceſſor of the houſe of Valentinian embraced the archbiſhop of Milan, and graciouſly received the ſubmiſſion of the provinces of the Weſt. Thoſe provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambroſe alone had reſiſted the claims of ſucceſsful uſurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other ſubject, the archbiſhop rejected the gifts of Eugenius, declined his correſpondence, and withdrew himſelf from Milan, to avoid the odious preſence of a tyrant; whoſe downfal he predicted in diſcreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambroſe was applauded by the conqueror, who ſecured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church: and the clemency of Theodoſius

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doſius is aſcribed to the humane interceſſion of the archbiſhop of Milan [121].

Death of Theodoſius, A D. 395, January 17.

After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodoſius was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his paſt conduct encouraged the moſt pleaſing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, ſeemed to extend the proſpect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was conſidered by the people as an unforeſeen and fatal event, which deſtroyed, in a moment, the hopes of the riſing generation. But the indulgence of eaſe and luxury had ſecretly nouriſhed the principles of diſeaſe [122]. The ſtrength of Theodoſius was unable to ſupport the ſudden and violent tranſition from the palace to the camp; and the increaſing ſymptoms of a dropſy announced the ſpeedy diſſolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the intereſt, of the public had confirmed the diviſion of the Eaſtern and Weſtern empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained, from the tenderneſs of their father, the title of Auguſtus, were deſtined to fill the thrones of Conſtantinople and of Rome. Thoſe princes were not permitted to ſhare the danger and glory of the civil war [123]; but as ſoon as Theodoſius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger ſon, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the ſceptre of the Weſt

[121] The events of this civil war are gathered from Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. lxii. p. 1022.), Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 26—34.), Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 35.), Sozomen (l. vii. c. 24.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 24.), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 281, 282.), Claudian (in iii Conſ. Hon. 63—105. in iv Conſ. Hon. 70—117.), and the Chronicles publiſhed by Scaliger.

[122] This diſeaſe, aſcribed by Socrates (l. v. c. 26.) to the fatigues of war, is repreſented by Philoſtorgius (l. xi. c. 2.) as the effect of ſloth and intemperance: for which Photius calls him an impudent liar (Godefroy, Diſſert. p. 438.).

[123] Zoſimus ſuppoſes, that the boy Honorius accompanied his father (l. iv. p. 280.). Yet the quanto flagrabant pectora voto, is all that flattery would allow to a contemporary poet; who clearly deſcribes the emperor's refuſal, and the journey of Honorius, *after* the victory (Claudian in iii Conſ. 78—125.).

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from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a ſplendid exhibition of the games of the Circus; and the emperor, though he was oppreſſed by the weight of his diſorder, contributed by his preſence to the public joy. But the remains of his ſtrength were exhauſted by the painful effort which he made to aſſiſt at the ſpectacles of the morning. Honorius ſupplied, during the reſt of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodoſius expired in the enſuing night. Notwithſtanding the recent animoſities of a civil war, his death was univerſally lamented. The Barbarians, whom he had vanquiſhed, and the churchmen, by whom he had been ſubdued, celebrated, with loud and ſincere applauſe, the qualities of the deceaſed emperor, which appeared the moſt valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided adminiſtration; and every diſgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loſs.

Corruption of the times.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodoſius, his imperfections have not been diſſembled; the act of cruelty, and the habits of indolence, which tarniſhed the glory of one of the greateſt of the Roman princes. An hiſtorian, perpetually adverſe to the fame of Theodoſius, has exaggerated his vices, and their pernicious effects; he boldly aſſerts, that every rank of ſubjects imitated the effeminate manners of their ſovereign; that every ſpecies of corruption polluted the courſe of public and private life; and that the feeble reſtraints of order and decency were inſufficient to reſiſt the progreſs of that degenerate ſpirit, which ſacrifices, without a bluſh, the conſideration of duty and intereſt to the baſe indulgence of ſloth and appetite [124]. The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increaſe of luxury, and depravation of manners, are commonly expreſſive of their peculiar temper and ſituation. There are few obſervers, who

[124] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 244.

poſſeſs

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poſſeſs a clear and comprehenſive view of the revolutions of ſociety; and who are capable of diſcovering the nice and ſecret ſprings of action, which impel, in the ſame uniform direction, the blind and capricious paſſions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more ſhameleſs and diſſolute in the reign of Theodoſius than in the age of Conſtantine, perhaps, or of Auguſtus, the alteration cannot be aſcribed to any beneficial improvements, which had gradually increaſed the ſtock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay muſt have checked the induſtry, and diminiſhed the wealth, of the people; and their profuſe luxury muſt have been the reſult of that indolent deſpair, which enjoys the preſent hour, and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property diſcouraged the ſubjects of Theodoſius from engaging in thoſe uſeful and laborious undertakings, which require an immediate expence, and promiſe a ſlow and diſtant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and deſolation tempted them not to ſpare the remains of a patrimony, which might, every hour, become the prey of the rapacious Goth. And the mad prodigality which prevails in the confuſion of a ſhipwreck, or a ſiege, may ſerve to explain the progreſs of luxury amidſt the misfortunes and terrors of a ſinking nation.

The infantry lay aſide their armour.

The effeminate luxury, which infected the manners of courts and cities, had inſtilled a ſecret and deſtructive poiſon into the camps of the legions: and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer, who had accurately ſtudied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman diſcipline. It is the juſt and important obſervation of Vegetius, that the infantry was invariably covered with defenſive armour, from the foundation of the city, to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of diſcipline, and the diſuſe of exerciſe, rendered the ſoldiers leſs able, and leſs willing, to ſupport the fatigues of the ſervice; they complained of the weight of the

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armour, which they ſeldom wore; and they ſucceſſively obtained the permiſſion of laying aſide both their cuiraſſes and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their anceſtors, the ſhort ſword, and the formidable *pilum*, which had ſubdued the world, inſenſibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the uſe of the ſhield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field; condemned to ſuffer, either the pain of wounds, or the ignominy of flight, and always diſpoſed to prefer the more ſhameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the uſe, of defenſive armour; and, as they excelled in the management of miſſile weapons, they eaſily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whoſe heads and breaſts were expoſed, without defence, to the arrows of the Barbarians. The loſs of armies, the deſtruction of cities, and the diſhonour of the Roman name, ineffectually ſolicited the ſucceſſors of Gratian to reſtore the helmets and cuiraſſes of the infantry. The enervated ſoldiers abandoned their own, and the public, defence; and their puſillanimous indolence may be conſidered as the immediate cauſe of the downfal of the empire [125].

[125] Vegetius, de Re Militari, l. i. c. 10. The ſeries of calamities, which he marks, compel us to believe, that the *Hero*, to whom he dedicates his book, is the laſt and moſt inglorious of the Valentinians.

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Final Deſtruction of Paganiſm.—Introduction of the Worſhip of Saints, and Relics, among the Chriſtians.

THE ruin of Paganiſm, in the age of Theodoſius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular ſuperſtition; and may therefore deſerve to be conſidered as a ſingular event in the hiſtory of the human mind. The Chriſtians, more eſpecially the clergy, had impatiently ſupported the prudent delays of Conſtantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conqueſt perfect or ſecure, as long as their adverſaries were permitted to exiſt. The influence which Ambroſe and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian, and the piety of Theodoſius, was employed to infuſe the maxims of perſecution into the breaſts of their Imperial proſelytes. Two ſpecious principles of religious juriſprudence were eſtabliſhed, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous concluſion, againſt the ſubjects of the empire, who ſtill adhered to the ceremonies of their anceſtors: *that*, the magiſtrate is, in ſome meaſure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit, or to puniſh; and, *that* the idolatrous worſhip of fabulous deities, and real dæmons, is the moſt abominable crime againſt the ſupreme majeſty of the Creator. The laws of Moſes, and the examples of Jewiſh hiſtory [1], were haſtily, perhaps

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[1] St. Ambroſe (tom. ii. de Obit. Theodoſ. p. 1208.) expreſsly praiſes and recommends the zeal of Joſiah in the deſtruction of idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus

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perhaps erroneouſly, applied, by the clergy, to the mild and univerſal reign of Chriſtianity [2]. The zeal of the emperors was excited to vindicate their own honour, and that of the Deity: and the temples of the Roman world were ſubverted, about ſixty years after the converſion of Conſtantine.

State of Paganiſm at Rome.

From the age of Numa, to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preſerved the regular ſucceſſion of the ſeveral colleges of the ſacerdotal order [3]. Fifteen PONTIFFS exerciſed their ſupreme juriſdiction over all things, and perſons, that were conſecrated to the ſervice of the gods; and the various queſtions which perpetually aroſe in a looſe and traditionary ſyſtem, were ſubmitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned AUGURS obſerved the face of the heavens, and preſcribed the actions of heroes, according to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sybilline books (their name of QUINDECEMVIRS was derived from their number) occaſionally conſulted the hiſtory of future, and, as it ſhould ſeem, of contingent, events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the ſacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been ſuffered to behold with impunity [4]. Seven EPULOS prepared the table of the gods, conducted the ſolemn proceſſion, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual

ternus on the ſame ſubject (de Errore Profan. Relig. p. 467. edit. Gronov.) is pioufly inhuman. Nec filio jubet (the Moſaic Law) parci, nec fratri, et per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit, &c.

[2] Bayle (tom. ii. p. 406. in his Commentaire Philoſophique) juſtifies, and limits, theſe intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jews. The attempt is laudable.

[3] See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in Cicero (de Legibus, ii. 7, 8.), Livy (i. 20.), Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis (l. ii. p. 119—129. edit. Hudſon), Beaufort (Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 1—90.), and Moyle (vol. i. p. 10—55.). The laſt is the work of an Engliſh Whig, as well as of a Roman antiquary.

[4] Theſe myſtic, and perhaps imaginary, ſymbols have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It ſeems probable, that the Palladium was a ſmall ſtatue (three cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance and diſtaff; that it was uſually incloſed in a *feria*, or barrel; and that a ſimilar barrel was placed by its ſide, to diſconcert curioſity, or ſacrilege. See Mezeriac (Comment. ſur les Epitres d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 60—66.) and Lipſius (tom. iii. p. 610. de Veſtâ, &c. c. 10.).

feſtival.

festival. The three FLAMENS of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus, were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three most powerful deities, who watched over the fate of Rome and of the universe. The KING of the SACRIFICES represented the person of Numa, and of his successors, in the religious functions, which could be performed only by royal hands. The confraternities of the SALIANS, the LUPERCALS, &c. practised such rites, as might extort a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favour of the immortal gods. The authority, which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the counsels of the republic, was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy, and the removal of the seat of empire. But the dignity of their sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments, attracted the admiration of the people; and they received, from the consecrated lands, and the public revenue, an ample stipend, which liberally supported the splendour of the priesthood, and all the expences of the religious worship of the state. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff, or of augur; the seats of Cicero [5] and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional splendour on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests, who composed the

[5] Cicero, frankly (ad Atticum, l. ii. epist. 5.), or indirectly (ad Familiar. l. xv. epist. 4), confesses, that the *Augurate* is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is proud to tread in the footsteps of Cicero (l. iv. epist. 8.), and the chain of tradition might be continued from history, and marbles.

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college of pontiffs, enjoyed a more diſtinguiſhed rank as the companions of their ſovereign; and the Chriſtian emperors condeſcended to accept the robe and enſigns, which were appropriated to the office of ſupreme pontiff. But when Gratian aſcended the throne, more ſcrupulous, or more enlightened, he ſternly rejected thoſe prophane ſymbols [6]; applied to the ſervice of the ſtate, or of the church, the revenues of the prieſts and veſtals; aboliſhed their honours and immunities; and diſſolved the ancient fabric of Roman ſuperſtition, which was ſupported by the opinions, and habits, of eleven hundred years. Paganiſm was ſtill the conſtitutional religion of the ſenate. The hall, or temple, in which they aſſembled, was adorned by the ſtatue and altar of Victory [7]; a majeſtic female ſtanding on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her out-ſtretched hand [8]. The ſenators were ſworn on the altar of the goddeſs, to obſerve the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a ſolemn offering of wine and incenſe was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations [9]. The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Conſtantius had offered to the ſuperſtition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again reſtored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more baniſhed from the ſenate by the zeal of Gratian [10]. But the emperor yet ſpared the ſtatues of the gods which were expoſed to the public veneration: four hundred and twenty-four temples, or chapels, ſtill remained to ſatisfy the devotion of the people; and in every quarter of Rome, the delicacy

[6] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 249, 250. I have ſuppreſſed the fooliſh pun about *Pontifex* and *Maximus*.

[7] This ſtatue was tranſported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the *Curia Julia* by Cæſar, and decorated by Auguſtus with the ſpoils of Egypt.

[8] Prudentius (l. ii. in initio) has drawn a very awkward portrait of Victory: but the curious reader will obtain more ſatisfaction from Montfaucon's Antiquities (tom. i. p. 341.).

[9] See Suetonius (in Auguſt. c. 35.), and the exordium of Pliny's Panegyric.

[10] Theſe facts are mutually allowed by the two advocates, Symmachus and Ambroſe.

of

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of the Chriſtians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous ſacrifice [11].

Petition of the ſenate for the altar of Victory. A. D. 384.

But the Chriſtians formed the leaſt numerous party in the ſenate of Rome [12]; and it was only by their abſence, that they could expreſs their diſſent from the legal, though profane, acts of a Pagan majority. In that aſſembly, the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticiſm. Four reſpectable deputations were ſucceſſively voted to the Imperial court [13], to repreſent the grievances of the prieſthood and the ſenate; and to ſolicit the reſtoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important buſineſs was entruſted to the eloquent Symmachus [14], a wealthy and noble ſenator, who united the ſacred characters of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconſul of Africa, and præfect of the city. The breaſt of Symmachus was animated by the warmeſt zeal for the cauſe of expiring Paganiſm; and his religious antagoniſts lamented the abuſe of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues [15]. The orator, whoſe petition is extant to the emperor Valentinian, was conſcious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had aſſumed. He cautiouſly avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his ſovereign;

[11] The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Conſtantine, does not find one Chriſtian church worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. xvii. p. 825.) deplores the public ſcandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the noſtrils of the faithful.

[12] Ambroſe repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common ſenſe (Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 147.), that the Chriſtians had a majority in the ſenate.

[13] The *firſt* (A. D. 382) to Gratian, who refuſed them audience. The *ſecond* (A. D. 384) to Valentinian, when the field was diſputed by Symmachus and Ambroſe. The *third* (A. D. 388) to Theodoſius; and the *fourth* (A. D. 392) to Valentinian. Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 372—399.) fairly repreſents the whole tranſaction.

[14] Symmachus, who was inveſted with all the civil and ſacerdotal honours, repreſented the emperor under the two characters of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Princeps Senatûs*. See the proud inſcription at the head of his works.

[15] As if any one, ſays Prudentius (in Symmach. i. 639.), ſhould dig in the mud with an inſtrument of gold and ivory. Even ſaints, and polemic ſaints, treat this adverſary with reſpect and civility.

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humbly declares, that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the ſchools of rhetoric, rather than from thoſe of philoſophy. Symmachus endeavours to ſeduce the imagination of a young prince, by diſplaying the attributes of the goddeſs of victory; he inſinuates, that the confiſcation of the revenues, which were conſecrated to the ſervice of the gods, was a meaſure unworthy of his liberal and diſintereſted character; and he maintains, that the Roman ſacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expence, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even ſcepticiſm is made to ſupply an apology for ſuperſtition. The great and incomprehenſible *ſecret* of the univerſe eludes the inquiry of man. Where reaſon cannot inſtruct, cuſtom may be permitted to guide; and every nation ſeems to conſult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful attachment to thoſe rites, and opinions, which have received the ſanction of ages. If thoſe ages have been crowned with glory and proſperity, if the devout people has frequently obtained the bleſſings which they have ſolicited at the altars of the gods, it muſt appear ſtill more adviſable to perſiſt in the ſame ſalutary practice; and not to riſk the unknown perils that may attend any raſh innovations. The teſt of antiquity and ſucceſs was applied with ſingular advantage to the religion of Numa; and ROME herſelf, the cæleſtial genius that preſided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cauſe before the tribunal of the emperors. "Moſt excellent princes," ſays the venerable matron, "fathers of your country! pity and reſpect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted courſe of piety. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domeſtic inſtitutions. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. Theſe rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capitol. Were my grey hairs reſerved for ſuch intolerable diſgrace? I am

"ignorant

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"ignorant of the new ſyſtem, that I am required to adopt; but I am "well aſſured, that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful "and ignominious office [16]." The fears of the people ſupplied what the diſcretion of the orator had ſuppreſſed; and the calamities, which afflicted, or threatened, the declining empire, were unanimouſly imputed, by the Pagans, to the new religion of Chriſt and of Conſtantine.

Converſion of Rome, A. D. 388, &c.

But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dexterous oppoſition of the archbiſhop of Milan; who fortified the emperors againſt the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controverſy, Ambroſe condeſcends to ſpeak the language of a philoſopher, and to aſk, with ſome contempt, why it ſhould be thought neceſſary to introduce an imaginary and inviſible power, as the cauſe of thoſe victories, which were ſufficiently explained by the valour and diſcipline of the legions. He juſtly derides the abſurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to diſcourage the improvements of art, and to replunge the human race into their original barbariſm. From thence gradually riſing to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces, that Chriſtianity alone is the doctrine of truth and ſalvation; and that every mode of Polytheiſm conducts its deluded votaries, through the paths of error, to the abyſs of eternal perdition [17]. Arguments like theſe, when

[16] See the fifty-fourth epiſtle of the tenth book of Symmachus. In the form and diſpoſition of his ten books of epiſtles, he imitated the younger Pliny; whoſe rich and florid ſtyle he was ſuppoſed, by his friends, to equal or excel (Macrob. Saturnal. l. v. c. 1.). But the luxuriancy of Symmachus conſiſts of barren leaves, without fruits, and even without flowers. Few facts, and few ſentiments, can be extracted from his verboſe correſpondence.

[17] See Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. xvii, xviii. p. 825—833.). The former of theſe epiſtles is a ſhort caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or *libel* of Symmachus. The ſame ideas are more copiouſly expreſſed in the poetry, if it may deſerve that name, of Prudentius; who compoſed his two books againſt Symmachus (A. D. 404) while that ſenator was ſtill alive. It is whimſical enough, that Monteſquieu (Conſiderations, &c. c. xix. tom. iii. p. 487.) ſhould overlook the two profeſſed antagoniſts of Symmachus; and amuſe himſelf with deſcanting on the more remote and indirect confutations of Oroſius, St. Auguſtin, and Salvian.

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they were ſuggeſted by a favourite biſhop, had power to prevent the reſtoration of the altar of Victory: but the ſame arguments fell, with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodoſius [18]. In a full meeting of the ſenate, the emperor propoſed, according to the forms of the republic, the important queſtion, Whether the worſhip of Jupiter, or that of Chriſt, ſhould be the religion of the Romans. The liberty of ſuffrages, which he affected to allow, was deſtroyed by the hopes and fears, that his preſence inſpired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppoſe the wiſhes of the monarch. On a regular diviſion of the ſenate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the ſenſe of a very large majority; and it is rather ſurpriſing, that any members ſhould be found bold enough to declare, by their ſpeeches and votes, that they were ſtill attached to the intereſt of an abdicated deity [19]. The haſty converſion of the ſenate muſt be attributed either to ſupernatural or to ſordid motives; and many of theſe reluctant proſelytes betrayed, on every favourable occaſion, their ſecret diſpoſition to throw aſide the maſk of odious diſſimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cauſe of the ancient became more hopeleſs; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the faſhion of the times, and to the

[18] See Prudentius (in Symmach. l. i. 545, &c.). The Chriſtian agrees with the Pagan Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 283.), in placing this viſit of Theodoſius after the *ſecond* civil war, gemini bis victor cæde Tyranni (l. i. 410.). But the time and circumſtances are better ſuited to his firſt triumph.

[19] Prudentius, after proving that the ſenſe of the ſenate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to ſay (609, &c.),

Adſpice quam pleno ſubſellia noſtra Senatu
Decernant infame Jovis pulvina, et omne
Idolium longe purgatâ ab urbe fugandum.
Qua vocat egregii ſententia Principis, illuc
Libera, cum pedibus, tum corde, frequentia tranſit.

Zoſimus aſcribes to the conſcript fathers an heatheniſh courage, which few of them are found to poſſeſs.

entreaties

entreaties of their wives and children [20], who were inſtigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the Eaſt. The edifying example of the Anician family was ſoon imitated by the reſt of the nobility: the Baſſi, the Paullini, the Gracchi, embraced the Chriſtian religion; and "the luminaries of the world, the venerable "aſſembly of Catos (ſuch are the high-flown expreſſions of Pruden-"tius), were impatient to ſtrip themſelves of their pontifical gar-"ment; to caſt the ſkin of the old ſerpent; to aſſume the ſnowy "robes of baptiſmal innocence; and to humble the pride of the con-"ſular faſces before the tombs of the martyrs [21]." The citizens, who ſubſiſted by their own induſtry, and the populace, who were ſupported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Lateran, and Vatican, with an inceſſant throng of devout proſelytes. The decrees of the ſenate, which proſcribed the worſhip of idols, were ratified by the general conſent of the Romans [22]; the ſplendour of the capitol was defaced, and the ſolitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt [23]. Rome ſubmitted to the yoke of the Goſpel; and the vanquiſhed provinces had not yet loſt their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.

Deſtruction of the temples in the provinces, A. D. 381, &c.

The filial piety of the emperors themſelves engaged them to proceed, with ſome caution and tenderneſs, in the reformation of the

[20] Jerom ſpecifies the pontiff Albinus, who was ſurrounded with ſuch a believing family of children, and grand-children, as would have been ſufficient to convert even Jupiter himſelf; an extraordinary proſelyte! (tom. i. ad Lætam, p. 54.)

[21] Exſultare Patres videas, pulcherrima mundi
Lumina; conciliumque ſenûm geſtire Catonum
Candidiore togâ niveum pietatis amictum
Sumere; et exuvias deponere pontificales.
The fancy of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory.

[22] Prudentius, after he has deſcribed the converſion of the ſenate and people, aſks, with ſome truth and confidence,

Et dubitamus adhuc Romam, tibi, Chriſte, dicatam
In leges transiſſe tuas?

[23] Jerom exults in the deſolation of the capitol, and the other temples of Rome (tom. i. p. 54. tom. ii. p. 95.).

eternal

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eternal city. Thoſe abſolute monarchs acted with leſs regard to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious labour which had been ſuſpended near twenty years ſince the death of Conſtantius [24], was vigorouſly reſumed, and finally accompliſhed, by the zeal of Theodoſius. Whilſt that warlike prince yet ſtruggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the ſafety, of the republic; he ventured to offend a conſiderable party of his ſubjects, by ſome acts which might perhaps ſecure the protection of heaven, but which muſt ſeem raſh and unſeaſonable in the eye of human prudence. The ſucceſs of his firſt experiments againſt the Pagans, encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proſcription: the ſame laws which had been originally publiſhed in the provinces of the Eaſt, were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the Weſtern empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodoſius contributed to the triumph of the Chriſtian and Catholic faith [25]. He attacked ſuperſtition in her moſt vital part, by prohibiting the uſe of ſacrifices, which he declared to be criminal, as well as infamous: and if the terms of his edicts more ſtrictly condemned the impious curioſity which examined the entrails of the victims [26], every ſubſequent explanation tended to involve, in the ſame guilt, the general practice of *immolation*, which eſſentially conſtituted the religion of the Pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpoſe of ſacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his ſubjects the dangerous temptation of

[24] Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 10. Genev. 1634, publiſhed by James Godefroy, and now extremely ſcarce) accuſes Valentinian and Valens of prohibiting ſacrifices. Some partial order may have been iſſued by the Eaſtern emperor: but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the ſilence of the Code, and the evidence of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

[25] See his laws in the Theodoſian Code, l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 7—11.

[26] Homer's ſacrifices are not accompanied with any inquiſition of entrails (ſee Feithius, Antiquitat. Homer. l. i. c. 10. 16.). The Tuſcans, who produced the firſt *Haruſpices*, ſubdued both the Greeks and the Romans (Cicero de Divinatione, ii. 23.).

offending

offending againſt the laws which he had enacted. A ſpecial commiſſion was granted to Cynegius, the Prætorian præfect of the Eaſt, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of diſtinguiſhed rank in the Weſt; by which they were directed to ſhut the temples, to ſeize or deſtroy the inſtruments of idolatry, to aboliſh the privileges of the prieſts, and to confiſcate the conſecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army [27]. Here the deſolation might have ſtopped: and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the ſervice of idolatry, might have been protected from the deſtructive rage of fanaticiſm. Many of thoſe temples were the moſt ſplendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture: and the emperor himſelf was intereſted not to deface the ſplendour of his own cities, or to diminiſh the value of his own poſſeſſions. Thoſe ſtately edifices might be ſuffered to remain, as ſo many laſting trophies of the victory of Chriſt. In the decline of the arts, they might be uſefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public aſſembly: and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been ſufficiently purified by holy rites, the worſhip of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they ſubſiſted, the Pagans fondly cheriſhed the ſecret hope, that an auſpicious revolution, a ſecond Julian, might again reſtore the altars of the gods; and the earneſtneſs with which they addreſſed their unavailing prayers to the throne [28], increaſed the zeal of the Chriſtian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of ſuperſtition. The laws of the emperors

[27] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 245. 249. Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. Idatius in Chron. Proſper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 389, N° 52. Libanius (pro Templis, p. 10.) labours to prove, that the commands of Theodoſius were not direct and poſitive.

[28] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 8. 18. There is room to believe, that this temple of Edeſſa, which Theodoſius wiſhed to ſave for civil uſes, was ſoon afterwards a heap of ruins (Libanius pro Templis, p. 26, 27. and Godefroy's notes, p. 59.).

exhibit

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exhibit ſome ſymptoms of a milder diſpoſition [29]: but their cold and languid efforts were inſufficient to ſtem the torrent of enthuſiaſm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the ſpiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, biſhop of Tours [30], marched at the head of his faithful monks to deſtroy the idols, the temples, and the conſecrated trees of his extenſive dioceſe; and, in the execution of this arduous taſk, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was ſupported by the aid of miraculous powers, or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus [31], as he is ſtyled by Theodoret, a biſhop animated with apoſtolic fervour, reſolved to level with the ground the ſtately temples within the dioceſe of Apamea. His attack was reſiſted, by the ſkill and ſolidity, with which the temple of Jupiter had been conſtructed. The building was ſeated on an eminence: on each of the four ſides, the lofty roof was ſupported by fifteen maſſy columns, ſixteen feet in circumference; and the large ſtones of which they were compoſed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the ſtrongeſt and ſharpeſt tools had been tried without effect. It was found neceſſary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as ſoon as the temporary wooden props had been conſumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterpriſe are deſcribed under the allegory of a black dæmon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Chriſtian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in perſon againſt the powers of dark-

[29] See this curious oration of Libanius pro Templis, pronounced, or rather compoſed, about the year 390. I have conſulted, with advantage, Dr. Lardner's verſion and remarks (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 135—163.).

[30] See the life of Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, c. 9—14. The ſaint once miſtook (as Don Quixote might have done) an harmleſs funeral for an idolatrous proceſſion, and imprudently committed a miracle.

[31] Compare Sozomen (l. vii. c. 15.) with Theodoret (l. v. c. 21.). Between them, they relate the cruſade and death of Marcellus.

neſs;

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neſs; a numerous troop of ſoldiers and gladiators marched under the epiſcopal banner, and he ſucceſſively attacked the villages and country temples of the dioceſe of Apamea. Whenever any reſiſtance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whoſe lameneſs would not allow him either to fight or fly, placed himſelf at a convenient diſtance, beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occaſion of his death: he was ſurpriſed and ſlain by a body of exaſperated ruſtics; and the ſynod of the province pronounced, without heſitation, that the holy Marcellus had ſacrificed his life in the cauſe of God. In the ſupport of this cauſe, the monks, who ruſhed, with tumultuous fury, from the deſart, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and diligence. They deſerved the enmity of the Pagans; and ſome of them might deſerve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder, and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expence of the people, who fooliſhly admired their tattered garments, loud pſalmody, and artificial paleneſs[32]. A ſmall number of temples was protected by the fears, the venality, the taſte, or the prudence, of the civil and eccleſiaſtical governors. The temple of the celeſtial Venus at Carthage, whoſe ſacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciouſly converted into a Chriſtian church[33]; and a ſimilar conſecration has preſerved inviolate the majeſtic dome of the Pantheon at Rome[34]. But in almoſt every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority, and without diſcipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the faireſt

[32] Libanius pro Templis, p. 10—13. He rails at theſe black-garbed men, the Chriſtian monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants! *they* are temperate animals.

[33] Proſper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 389, N° 58, &c. The temple had been ſhut ſome time, and the acceſs to it was overgrown with brambles.

[34] Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c. 4. p. 468. This conſecration was performed by pope Boniface IV. I am ignorant of the favourable circumſtances which had preſerved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodoſius.

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ſtructures of antiquity ſtill diſplays the ravages of *thoſe* Barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute ſuch laborious deſtruction.

The temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

In this wide and various proſpect of devaſtation, the ſpectator may diſtinguiſh the ruins of the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria [35]. Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monſters, who ſprung from the fruitful ſoil of ſuperſtitious Egypt [36]. The firſt of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the myſterious ſtranger from the coaſt of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were ſo imperfectly underſtood, that it became a ſubject of diſpute, whether he repreſented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the ſubterraneous regions [37]. The Egyptians, who were obſtinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refuſed to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities [38]. But the obſequious prieſts, who were ſeduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to the power of the god of Pontus: an honourable and domeſtic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate uſurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Oſiris [39], the huſband of Iſis, and the celeſtial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria,

[35] Sophronius compoſed a recent and ſeparate hiſtory (Jerom, in Script. Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 303.), which has furniſhed materials to Socrates (l. v. c. 16.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 22.), and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22.). Yet the laſt, who had been at Alexandria, before, and after, the event, may deſerve the credit of an original witneſs.

[36] Gerard Voſſius (Opera, tom. v. p. 80. & de Idololatria, l. i. c. 29.) ſtrives to ſupport the ſtrange notion of the Fathers; that the patriarch Joſeph was adored in Egypt, as the bull Apis, and the god Serapis.

[37] Origo dei nondum noſtris celebrata. Ægyptiorum antiſtites *ſic* memorant, &c. Tacit. Hiſt. iv. 83. The Greeks, who had travelled into Egypt, were alike ignorant of this new deity.

[38] Macrobius, Saturnal. l. i. c. 7. Such a living fact deciſively proves his foreign extraction.

[39] At Rome, Iſis and Serapis were united in the ſame temple. The precedency which the queen aſſumed may ſeem to betray her unequal alliance with the ſtranger of Pontus. But the ſuperiority of the female ſex was eſtabliſhed in Egypt as a civil and religious inſtitution (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 31. edit. Weſſeling), and the ſame order is obſerved in Plutarch's Treatiſe of Iſis and *Oſiris*; whom he identifies with Serapis.

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which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple[40], which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capitol, was erected on the ſpacious ſummit of an artificial mount, raiſed one hundred ſteps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was ſtrongly ſupported by arches, and diſtributed into vaults and ſubterraneous apartments. The conſecrated buildings were ſurrounded by a quadrangular portico; the ſtately halls, and exquiſite ſtatues, diſplayed the triumph of the arts; and the treaſures of ancient learning were preſerved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had ariſen with new ſplendour from its aſhes[41]. After the edicts of Theodoſius had ſeverely prohibited the ſacrifices of the Pagans, they were ſtill tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this ſingular indulgence was imprudently aſcribed to the ſuperſtitious terrors of the Chriſtians themſelves: as if they had feared to aboliſh thoſe ancient rites, which could alone ſecure the inundations of the Nile, the harveſts of Egypt, and the ſubſiſtence of Conſtantinople[42].

Its final deſtruction, A. D. 389.

At that time[43] the archiepiſcopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus[44], the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whoſe hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours

[40] Ammianus, xxii. 16. The Expoſitio totius Mundi (p. 8. in Hudſon's Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.), and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22.), celebrate the *Serapeum*, as one of the wonders of the world.

[41] See Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. ix. p. 397—416. The *old* library of the Ptolemies was *totally* conſumed in Cæſar's Alexandrian war. Marc Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamus (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the *new* library of Alexandria.

[42] Libanius (pro Templis, p. 21.) indiſcreetly provokes his Chriſtian maſters by this inſulting remark.

[43] We may chuſe between the date of Marcellinus (A. D. 389) or that of Proſper (A. D. 391). Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 310. 756.) prefers the former, and Pagi the latter.

[44] Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 441—500. The ambiguous ſituation of Theophilus, a *ſaint*, as the friend of Jerom; a *devil*, as the enemy of Chryſoſtom; produce a ſort of impartiality: yet, upon the whole, the balance is juſtly inclined againſt him.

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of Serapis; and the inſults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the Pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterpriſe. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the ſlighteſt provocation was ſufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whoſe ſtrength and numbers were much inferior to thoſe of their antagoniſts, roſe in arms at the inſtigation of the philoſopher Olympius [45], who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. Theſe Pagan fanatics fortified themſelves in the temple, or rather fortreſs, of Serapis; repelled the beſiegers by daring ſallies, and a reſolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exerciſed on their Chriſtian priſoners, obtained the laſt conſolation of deſpair. The efforts of the prudent magiſtrate were uſefully exerted for the eſtabliſhment of a truce, till the anſwer of Theodoſius ſhould determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties aſſembled, without arms, in the principal ſquare; and the Imperial reſcript was publicly read. But when a ſentence of deſtruction againſt the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Chriſtians ſent up a ſhout of joy and exultation, whilſt the unfortunate Pagans, whoſe fury had given way to conſternation, retired with haſty and ſilent ſteps, and eluded, by their flight or obſcurity, the reſentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demoliſh the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties, than thoſe which he found in the weight and ſolidity of the materials; but theſe obſtacles proved ſo inſuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations; and to content himſelf with reducing the edifice itſelf to a heap of rubbiſh, a part of which was ſoon afterwards cleared away, to make room for a church, erected in honour of the Chriſtian martyrs. The valuable library of Alex-

[45] Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 411.) has alleged a beautiful paſſage from Suidas, or rather from Damaſcius, which ſhews the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, but of a prophet.

andria

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andria was pillaged or deſtroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty ſhelves excited the regret and indignation of every ſpectator, whoſe mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice [46]. The compoſitions of ancient genius, ſo many of which have irretrievably periſhed, might ſurely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amuſement and inſtruction of ſucceeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbiſhop [47], might have been ſatiated with the rich ſpoils, which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vaſes of gold and ſilver were carefully melted, and thoſe of a leſs valuable metal were contemptuouſly broken, and caſt into the ſtreets, Theophilus laboured to expoſe the frauds and vices of the miniſters of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadſtone; their ſecret methods of introducing an human actor into a hollow ſtatue; and their ſcandalous abuſe of the confidence of devout huſbands, and unſuſpecting females [48]. Charges like theſe may ſeem to deſerve ſome degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the crafty and intereſted ſpirit of ſuperſtition. But the ſame ſpirit is equally prone to the baſe practice of inſulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection, that it is much leſs difficult to invent a fictitious ſtory, than to ſupport a practical fraud. The co-

[46] Nos vidimus armaria librorum, quibus direptis, exinanita ea a noſtris hominibus, noſtris temporibus memorant. Oroſius, l. vi. c. 15. p. 421. edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot, and a controverſial writer, Oroſius ſeems to bluſh.

[47] Eunapius, in the lives of Antoninus and Ædeſius, execrates the ſacrilegious rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 453.) quotes an epiſtle of Iſidore of Peluſium, which reproaches the primate with the *idolatrous* worſhip of gold, the auri *ſacra* fames.

[48] Rufinus names the prieſt of Saturn, who, in the character of the god, familiarly converſed with many pious ladies of quality; till he betrayed himſelf, in a moment of tranſport, when he could not diſguiſe the tone of his voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Æſchines (ſee Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, SCAMANDRE), and the adventure of Mundus (Joſeph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. xviii. c. 3. p. 877. edit. Havercamp), may prove that ſuch amorous frauds have been practiſed with ſucceſs.

loſſal

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loſſal ſtatute of Serapis [49] was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, compoſed the majeſtic figure of the deity, who touched on either ſide the walls of the ſanctuary. The aſpect of Serapis, his ſitting poſture, and the ſceptre, which he bore in his left hand, were extremely ſimilar to the ordinary repreſentations of Jupiter. He was diſtinguiſhed from Jupiter by the baſket, or buſhel, which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monſter, which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a ſerpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed, that if any impious hand ſhould dare to violate the majeſty of the god, the heavens and the earth would inſtantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid ſoldier, animated by zeal and armed with a weighty battle-axe, aſcended the ladder; and even the Chriſtian multitude expected, with ſome anxiety, the event of the combat [50]. He aimed a vigorous ſtroke againſt the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was ſtill ſilent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preſerve their accuſtomed order and tranquillity. The victorious ſoldier repeated his blows: the huge idol was overthrown, and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets of Alexandria. His mangled carcaſe was burnt in the Amphitheatre, amidſt the ſhouts of the populace; and many perſons attributed their converſion to this diſcovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity. The popular modes

[49] See the images of Serapis, in Montfaucon (tom. ii. p. 297.): but the deſcription of Macrobius (Saturnal. l. i. c. 20.) is much more picturesque and ſatisfactory.

[50] Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verendâ
Majeſtate loci, ſi robora ſacra ferirent
In ſua credebant redituras membra ſecures.
(Lucan. iii. 429.) "Is it true (ſaid Auguſtus to a veteran of Italy, at whoſe houſe he ſupped), that the man, who gave the firſt blow to the golden ſtatue of Anaitis, was inſtantly deprived of his eyes, and of his life?" "I was that man (replied the clear-ſighted veteran), and you now ſup on one of the legs of the goddeſs." (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 24.).

of

of religion, that propoſe any viſible and material objects of worſhip, have the advantage of adapting and familiariſing themſelves to the ſenſes of mankind: but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is expoſed. It is ſcarcely poſſible, that, in every diſpoſition of mind, he ſhould preſerve his implicit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye, and the profane hand, are unable to diſtinguiſh from the moſt common productions of art, or nature; and if, in the hour of danger, their ſecret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preſervation, he ſcorns the vain apologies of his prieſts, and juſtly derides the object, and the folly, of his ſuperſtitious attachment [51]. After the fall of Serapis, ſome hopes were ſtill entertained by the Pagans, that the Nile would refuſe his annual ſupply to the impious maſters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the inundation ſeemed to announce the diſpleaſure of the river-god. But this delay was ſoon compenſated by the rapid ſwell of the waters. They ſuddenly roſe to ſuch an unuſual height, as to comfort the diſcontented party with the pleaſing expectation of a deluge; till the peaceful river again ſubſided to the well-known and fertiliſing level of ſixteen cubits, or about thirty Engliſh feet [52].

The temples of the Roman empire were deſerted, or deſtroyed; but the ingenious ſuperſtition of the Pagans ſtill attempted to elude the laws of Theodoſius, by which all ſacrifices had been ſeverely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whoſe conduct was leſs expoſed to the eye of malicious curioſity, diſguiſed their *religious*, under the appearance of *convivial*, meetings. On the days of ſo-

The Pagan religion is prohibited, A. D. 390.

[51] The hiſtory of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the ſudden change from ſuperſtition to contempt.

[52] Sozomen, l. vii. c. 20. I have ſupplied the meaſure. The ſame ſtandard, of the inundation and conſequently of the cubit, has uniformly ſubſiſted ſince the time of Herodotus. See Freret, in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvi. p. 344—353. Greaves's Miſcellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 233. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-two inches of the Engliſh meaſure.

lemn

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lemn feſtivals, they aſſembled in great numbers under the ſpreading ſhade of ſome conſecrated trees; ſheep and oxen were ſlaughtered and roaſted; and this rural entertainment was ſanctified by the uſe of incenſe, and by the hymns, which were ſung in honour of the gods. But it was alleged, that, as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of ſalt cakes, and the concluding ceremony of libations, were carefully omitted, theſe feſtal meetings did not involve the gueſts in the guilt, or penalty, of an illegal ſacrifice[53]. Whatever might be the truth of the facts, or the merit of the diſtinction[54], theſe vain pretences were ſwept away by the laſt edict of Theodoſius; which inflicted a deadly wound on the ſuperſtition of the Pagans[55]. This prohibitory law is expreſſed in the moſt abſolute and comprehenſive terms. "It is our will and pleaſure," ſays the emperor, "that none of our ſubjects, whether magiſtrates or "private citizens, however exalted, or however humble may be "their rank and condition, ſhall preſume, in any city, or in any "place, to worſhip an inanimate idol, by the ſacrifice of a guiltleſs "victim." The act of ſacrificing, and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the object of the inquiry) a crime of high-treaſon againſt the ſtate; which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of Pagan ſuperſtition, which might ſeem leſs bloody and atrocious, are aboliſhed, as highly injurious to the truth and honour of reli-

[53] Libanius (pro Templis, p. 15, 16, 17.) pleads their cauſe with gentle and inſinuating rhetoric. From the earlieſt age, ſuch feaſts had enlivened the country; and thoſe of Bacchus (Georgic ii. 380.) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Godefroy, ad loc. Liban. and Codex Theodoſ. tom. vi. p. 284.

[54] Honorius tolerated theſe ruſtic feſtivals (A. D. 399). "Abſque ullo ſacrificio, atque ullâ ſuperſtitione damnabili." But nine years afterwards he found it neceſſary to reiterate and enforce the ſame proviſo (Codex Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 17. 19.).

[55] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 12. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſ. Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 134.) cenſures, with becoming aſperity, the ſtyle and ſentiments of this intolerant law.

gion;

gion; luminaries, garlands, frankincenſe, and libations of wine, are ſpecially enumerated and condemned; and the harmleſs claims of the domeſtic genius, of the houſehold gods, are included in this rigorous proſcription. The uſe of any of theſe profane and illegal ceremonies, ſubjects the offender to the forfeiture of the houſe, or eſtate, where they have been performed; and if he has artfully choſen the property of another for the ſcene of his impiety, he is compelled to diſcharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thouſand pounds ſterling. A fine, not leſs conſiderable, is impoſed on the connivance of the ſecret enemies of religion, who ſhall neglect the duty of their reſpective ſtations, either to reveal, or to puniſh, the guilt of idolatry. Such was the perſecuting ſpirit of the laws of Theodoſius, which were repeatedly enforced by his ſons and grandſons, with the loud and unanimous applauſe of the Chriſtian world [56].

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, Chriſtianity had been proſcribed, as a revolt from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjuſt ſuſpicions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction, were, in ſome meaſure, countenanced by the inſeparable union, and rapid conqueſts, of the Catholic church. But the ſame excuſes of fear and ignorance cannot be applied to the Chriſtian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the goſpel. The experience of ages had betrayed the weakneſs, as well as folly, of Paganiſm; the light of reaſon and of faith had already expoſed, to the greateſt part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining ſect, which ſtill adhered to their worſhip, might

oppreſſed.

[56] Such a charge ſhould not be lightly made; but it may ſurely be juſtified by the authority of St. Auguſtin, who thus addreſſed the Donatiſts: "Quis noſtrûm, quis veſtrûm non "laudat leges ab Imperatoribus datas adverſus ſacrificia Paganorum? Et certe longe "ibi pœna ſeverior conſtituta eſt; illius "quippe impietatis capitale ſupplicium eſt." Epiſt. xciii. N° 10. quoted by Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choiſie, tom. viii. p. 277.), who adds ſome judicious reflections on the intolerance of the victorious Chriſtians.

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have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obſcurity, the religious cuſtoms of their anceſtors. Had the Pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal which poſſeſſed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church muſt have been ſtained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But ſuch obſtinate zeal was not congenial to the looſe and careleſs temper of polytheiſm. The violent and repeated ſtrokes of the orthodox princes, were broken by the ſoft and yielding ſubſtance againſt which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the Pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodoſian Code [57]. Inſtead of aſſerting, that the authority of the gods was ſuperior to that of the emperor, they deſiſted, with a plaintive murmur, from the uſe of thoſe ſacred rites which their ſovereign had condemned. If they were ſometimes tempted, by a ſally of paſſion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite ſuperſtition; their humble repentance diſarmed the ſeverity of the Chriſtian magiſtrate, and they ſeldom refuſed to atone for their raſhneſs, by ſubmitting, with ſome ſecret reluctance, to the yoke of the Goſpel. The churches were filled with the increaſing multitude of theſe unworthy proſelytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and whilſt they devoutly imitated the poſtures, and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they ſatisfied their conſcience by the ſilent and ſincere invocation of the gods of antiquity [58]. If the Pagans wanted patience to ſuffer, they wanted ſpirit to reſiſt; and the ſcattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples,

[57] Oroſius, l. vii. c. 28. p. 537. Auguſtin (Enarrat. in Pſalm. cxl. apud Lardner, Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 458.) inſults their cowardice. "Quis eorum comprehenſus eſt in ſacrificio (cum his legibus iſta prohiberentur) et non negavit?"

[58] Libanius (pro Templis, p. 17, 18.) mentions, without cenſure, the occaſional conformity, and as it were theatrical play, of theſe hypocrites.

yielded,

yielded, without a conteſt, to the fortune of their adverſaries. The diſorderly oppoſition [59] of the peaſants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticiſm, was ſilenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The Pagans of the Weſt, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, diſgraced, by their partial attachment, the cauſe and character of the uſurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apoſtacy; that, by his permiſſion, the altar of Victory was again reſtored; and that the idolatrous ſymbols of Jupiter and Hercules were diſplayed in the field, againſt the invincible ſtandard of the croſs. But the vain hopes of the Pagans were ſoon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left expoſed to the reſentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deſerve the favour of Heaven by the extirpation of idolatry [60].

and finally extinguiſhed, A. D. 390—420, &c.

A nation of ſlaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their maſter, who, in the abuſe of abſolute power, does not proceed to the laſt extremes of injuſtice and oppreſſion. Theodoſius might undoubtedly have propoſed to his Pagan ſubjects the alternative of baptiſm or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praiſed the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any poſitive law, that all his ſubjects ſhould immediately embrace and practiſe the religion of their ſovereign [61]. The profeſſion of Chriſtianity was not made an eſſential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of ſociety, nor were any peculiar hardſhips impoſed on the ſectaries, who credulouſly received the fables of Ovid, and obſtinately rejected the

[59] Libanius concludes his apology (p. 32.), by declaring to the emperor, that unleſs he expreſsly warrants the deſtruction of the temples, ισθι τους των αγρων δεσποτας, και αυτοις, και τω νομω βοηθησοντας, the proprietors will defend themſelves and the laws.

[60] Paulinus, in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 26. Auguſtin de Civitat. Dei, l. v. c. 26. Theodoret, l. v. c. 24.

[61] Libanius ſuggeſts the form of a perſecuting edict, which Theodoſius might enact (pro Templis, p. 32.); a raſh joke, and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

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miracles of the Goſpel. The palace, the ſchools, the army, and the ſenate, were filled with declared and devout Pagans; they obtained, without diſtinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodoſius diſtinguiſhed his liberal regard for virtue and genius by the conſular dignity, which he beſtowed on Symmachus [62]; and by the perſonal friendſhip which he expreſſed to Libanius [63]; and the two eloquent apologiſts of Paganiſm were never required either to change, or to diſſemble, their religious opinions. The Pagans were indulged in the moſt licentious freedom of ſpeech and writing; the hiſtorical and philoſophic remains of Eunapius, Zoſimus [64], and the fanatic teachers of the ſchool of Plato, betray the moſt furious animoſity, and contain the ſharpeſt invectives againſt the ſentiments and conduct of their victorious adverſaries. If theſe audacious libels were publicly known, we muſt applaud the good ſenſe of the Chriſtian princes, who viewed, with a ſmile of contempt, the laſt ſtruggles of ſuperſtition and deſpair [65]. But the Imperial laws, which prohibited the ſacrifices and ceremonies of Paganiſm, were rigidly executed; and every hour contributed to deſtroy the influence of a religion, which was ſupported by cuſtom, rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet, or the philoſopher, may be ſecretly nouriſhed by prayer, meditation, and ſtudy;

[62] Denique pro meritis terreſtribus æque rependens
Munera, ſacricolis ſummos impertit honores.
- - - - -
Ipſe magiſtratum tibi conſulis, ipſe tribunal
Contulit.
Prudent. in Symmach. i. 617, &c.

[63] Libanius (pro Templis, p. 32.) is proud that Theodoſius ſhould thus diſtinguiſh a man, who even in his *preſence* would ſwear by Jupiter. Yet this preſence ſeems to be no more than a figure of rhetoric.

[64] Zoſimus, who ſtyles himſelf Count and Ex-advocate of the Treaſury, reviles, with partial and indecent bigotry, the Chriſtian princes, and even the father of his ſovereign. His work muſt have been privately circulated, ſince it eſcaped the invectives of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians prior to Evagrius (l. iii. c. 40—42.), who lived towards the end of the ſixth century.

[65] Yet the Pagans of Africa complained, that the times would not allow them to anſwer with freedom the City of God: nor does St. Auguſtin (v. 26.) deny the charge.

but

but the exercise of public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may consummate, in the period of a few years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preserved, without the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books[66]. The ignorant vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be soon persuaded by their superiors, to direct their vows to the reigning deities of the age; and will insensibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation of the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first compelled them to accept. The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the Imperial laws, was attracted within the pale of the Catholic church: and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of Paganism, that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator[67].

The worship of the Christian martyrs.

The ruin of the Pagan religion is described by the sophists, as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and that the holy places, which had been adorned by the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by the relics of Christian martyrs. "The monks" (a race of filthy animals, to

[66] The Moors of Spain, who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion, above a century, under the tyranny of the Inquisition, possessed the Koran, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue. See the curious and honest story of their expulsion in Geddes (Miscellanies, vol. i. p. 1—198.).

[67] Paganos qui superſunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, &c. Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 22. A. D. 423. The younger Theodosius was afterwards satisfied, that his judgment had been somewhat premature.

whom

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whom Eunapius is tempted to refuſe the name of men) "are the "authors of the new worſhip, which, in the place of thoſe deities "who are conceived by the underſtanding, has ſubſtituted the "meaneſt and moſt contemptible ſlaves. The heads, ſalted and "pickled, of thoſe infamous malefactors, who for the multitude of "their crimes have ſuffered a juſt and ignominious death; their "bodies, ſtill marked by the impreſſion of the laſh, and the ſcars "of thoſe tortures which were inflicted by the ſentence of the ma-"giſtrate; ſuch" (continues Eunapius) "are the gods which the "earth produces in our days; ſuch are the martyrs, the ſupreme "arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the Deity, whoſe tombs "are now conſecrated as the objects of the veneration of the peo-"ple[68]." Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to ſhare the ſurpriſe, of the Sophiſt, the ſpectator of a revolution, which raiſed thoſe obſcure victims of the laws of Rome, to the rank of celeſtial and inviſible protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful reſpect of the Chriſtians for the martyrs of the faith, was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration; and the moſt illuſtrious of the ſaints and prophets were deſervedly aſſociated to the honours of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the Oſtian road were diſtinguiſhed by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of thoſe ſpiritual heroes[69]. In the age which followed the converſion of Conſtantine, the emperors, the conſuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly viſited the ſepulchres of a tent-maker and a fiſherman[70];

[68] See Eunapius, in the life of the ſophiſt Ædeſius; in that of Euſtathius he foretels the ruin of Paganiſm, και τι μυθωδες, και αιδες ὁποτος τυραννησει τα επι γης καλλιστα.

[69] Caius (apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. c. 25.), a Roman preſbyter, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus (A. D. 202—219), is an early witneſs of this ſuperſtitious practice.

[70] Chryſoſtom. Quod Chriſtus ſit Deus. Tom. i. nov. edit. N° 9. I am indebted for this quotation to Benedict the XIVth's paſtoral letter on the jubilee of the year 1750. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tom. iii.

and their venerable bones were depoſited under the altars of Chriſt, on which the biſhops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody ſacrifice [71]. The new capital of the eaſtern world, unable to produce any ancient and domeſtic trophies, was enriched by the ſpoils of dependent provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had repoſed, near three hundred years, in the obſcure graves, from whence they were tranſported, in ſolemn pomp, to the church of the Apoſtles, which the magnificence of Conſtantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Boſphorus [72]. About fifty years afterwards, the ſame banks were honoured by the preſence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Iſrael. His aſhes, depoſited in a golden vaſe, and covered with a ſilken veil, were delivered by the biſhops into each others hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people, with the ſame joy and reverence which they would have ſhewn to the living prophet; the highways, from Paleſtine to the gates of Conſtantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted proceſſion; and the emperor Arcadius himſelf, at the head of the moſt illuſtrious members of the clergy and ſenate, advanced to meet his extraordinary gueſt, who had always deſerved and claimed the homage of kings [73]. The example of Rome and Conſtantinople confirmed the faith and diſcipline of the Catholic world. The honours of the ſaints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane reaſon [74], were univerſally eſtabliſhed; and in the

[71] Male facit ergo Romanus epiſcopus? qui, ſuper mortuorum hominum, Petri & Pauli, ſecundum nos, oſſa veneranda . . . . offert Domino ſacrificia, et tumulos eorum, Chriſti arbitratur altaria. Jerom. tom. ii. adverſ. Vigilant. p. 153.

[72] Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122.) bears witneſs to theſe tranſlations, which are neglected by the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. The paſſion of St. Andrew at Patræ, is deſcribed in an epiſtle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 60, N°34.) wiſhes to believe, and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the ſpiritual founder of Conſtantinople (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 317—323. 588—594.).

[73] Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122.) pompouſly deſcribes the tranſlation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

[74] The preſbyter Vigilantius, the proteſtant of his age, firmly, though ineffectually, withſtood the ſuperſtition of monks, relics, ſaints,

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the age of Ambroſe and Jerom, ſomething was ſtill deemed wanting to the ſanctity of a Chriſtian church, till it had been conſecrated by ſome portion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful.

General reflections.

In the long period of twelve hundred years, which elapſed between the reign of Conſtantine and the reformation of Luther, the worſhip of ſaints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect ſimplicity of the Chriſtian model; and ſome ſymptoms of degeneracy may be obſerved even in the firſt generations which adopted and cheriſhed this pernicious innovation.

I. Fabulous martyrs and relics.

I. The ſatisfactory experience, that the relics of ſaints were more valuable than gold or precious ſtones [75], ſtimulated the clergy to multiply the treaſures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for ſkeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apoſtles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never exiſted, except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that Tours might not be the only dioceſe in which the bones of a malefactor were adored, inſtead of thoſe of a ſaint [76]. A ſuperſtitious practice, which tended to increaſe the temptations of fraud,

ſaints, faſts, &c. for which Jerom compares him to the Hydra, Cerberus, the Centaurs, &c. and conſiders him only as the organ of the Dæmon (tom. ii. p. 120—126.). Whoever will peruſe the controverſy of St. Jerom and Vigilantius, and St. Auguſtin's account of the miracles of St. Stephen, may ſpeedily gain ſome idea of the ſpirit of the Fathers.

[75] M. de Beauſobre (Hiſt. du Manicheiſme, tom. ii. p. 648.) has applied a worldly ſenſe to the pious obſervation of the clergy of Smyrna, who carefully preſerved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr.

[76] Martin of Tours (ſee his life, c. 8. by Sulpicius Severus) extorted this confeſſion from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be natural; the diſcovery is ſuppoſed to be miraculous. Which of the two was likely to happen moſt frequently?

and

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and credulity, inſenſibly extinguiſhed the light of hiſtory, and of reaſon, in the Chriſtian world.

II. Miracles.

II. But the progreſs of ſuperſtition would have been much leſs rapid and victorious, if the faith of the people had not been aſſiſted by the ſeaſonable aid of viſions and miracles, to aſcertain the authenticity and virtue of the moſt ſuſpicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theodoſius, Lucian [77], a preſbyter of Jeruſalem, and the eccleſiaſtical miniſter of the village of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very ſingular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three ſucceſſive Saturdays. A venerable figure ſtood before him, in the ſilence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod; announced himſelf by the name of Gamaliel, and revealed to the aſtoniſhed preſbyter, that his own corpſe, with the bodies of his ſon Abibas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illuſtrious Stephen, the firſt martyr of the Chriſtian faith, were ſecretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with ſome impatience, that it was time to releaſe himſelf, and his companions, from their obſcure priſon; that their appearance would be ſalutary to a diſtreſſed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the biſhop of Jeruſalem of their ſituation, and their wiſhes. The doubts and difficulties which ſtill retarded this important diſcovery, were ſucceſſively removed by new viſions; and the ground was opened by the biſhop, in the preſence of an innumerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his ſon, and of his friend, were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was ſhewn to the light, the

[77] Lucian compoſed in Greek his original narrative, which has been tranſlated by Avitus, and publiſhed by Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 415, N° 7—16.). The Benedictine editors of St. Auguſtin have given (at the end of the work De Civitate Dei) two ſeveral copies, with many various readings. It is the character of falſehood to be looſe and inconſiſtent. The moſt incredible parts of the legend are ſmoothed and ſoftened by Tillemon (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ii. p. 9, &c.).

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earth trembled, and an odour, ſuch as that of paradiſe, was ſmelt, which inſtantly cured the various diſeaſes of ſeventy-three of the aſſiſtants. The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful reſidence of Caphargamala: but the relics of the firſt martyr were tranſported, in ſolemn proceſſion, to a church conſtructed in their honour on Mount Sion; and the minute particles of thoſe relics, a drop of blood[78], or the ſcrapings of a bone, were acknowledged, in almoſt every province of the Roman world, to poſſeſs a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned Auguſtin[79], whoſe underſtanding ſcarcely admits the excuſe of credulity, has atteſted the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa, by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inſerted in the elaborate work of the City of God, which the biſhop of Hippo deſigned as a ſolid and immortal proof of the truth of Chriſtianity. Auguſtin ſolemnly declares, that he has ſelected thoſe miracles only which were publicly certified by the perſons, who were either the objects, or the ſpectators, of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted, or forgotten; and Hippo had been leſs favourably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the biſhop enumerates above ſeventy miracles, of which three were reſurrections from the dead, in the ſpace of two years, and within the limits of his own dioceſe[80]. If we enlarge our view to all the dioceſes, and all the ſaints, of the Chriſtian world, it will not be

[78] A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually liquefied at Naples, till he was ſuperſeded by St. Januarius (Ruinart, Hiſt. Perſecut. Vandal. p. 529.).

[79] Auguſtin compoſed the two-and-twenty books de Civitate Dei in the ſpace of thirteen years, A. D. 413—426 (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 608, &c.). His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent deſign, vigorouſly, and not unſkilfully, executed.

[80] See Auguſtin de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 22. and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evodius, biſhop of Uzalis. Freculphus (apud Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 249.) has preſerved a Gallic or Spaniſh proverb, "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies."

eaſy

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eaſy to calculate the fables, and the errors, which iſſued from this inexhauſtible ſource. But we may ſurely be allowed to obſerve, that a miracle, in that age of ſuperſtition and credulity, loſt its name and its merit, ſince it could ſcarcely be conſidered as a deviation from the ordinary, and eſtabliſhed, laws of nature.

III. Revival of polytheiſm.

III. The innumerable miracles, of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer the actual ſtate and conſtitution of the inviſible world; and his religious ſpeculations appeared to be founded on the firm baſis of fact and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar ſouls, in the long interval between the diſſolution and the reſurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the ſuperior ſpirits of the ſaints and martyrs did not conſume that portion of their exiſtence in ſilent and inglorious ſleep[81]. It was evident (without preſuming to determine the place of their habitation, or the nature of their felicity) that they enjoyed the lively and active conſciouſneſs of their happineſs, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already ſecured the poſſeſſion of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties, ſurpaſſed the meaſure of the human imagination; ſince it was proved by *experience*, that they were capable of hearing and underſtanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries; who, in the ſame moment of time, but in the moſt diſtant parts of the world, invoked the name and aſſiſtance of Stephen or of Martin[82].

[81] Burnet (de Statû Mortuorum, p. 56—84.) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they aſſert the ſleep, or repoſe, of human ſouls till the day of judgment. He afterwards expoſes (p. 91, &c.) the inconveniencies which muſt ariſe, if they poſſeſſed a more active and ſenſible exiſtence.

[82] Vigilantius placed the ſouls of the prophets and martyrs, either in the boſom of Abraham (in loco refrigerii), or elſe under the altar of God. Nec poſſe ſuis tumulis et ubi voluerunt adeſſe præſentes. But Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122.) ſternly refutes this *blaſphemy*. Tu Deo leges pones? Tu apoſtolis vincula injicies, ut uſque ad diem judicii teneantur cuſtodiâ, nec ſint cum Domino ſuo; de quibus ſcriptum eſt, Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi, qui cum Agno ſunt, ubique eſſe credendi ſunt. Et cum diabolus et dæmones toto vagentur in orbe, &c.

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The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the perſuaſion, that the ſaints, who reigned with Chriſt, caſt an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly intereſted in the proſperity of the Catholic church; and that the individuals, who imitated the example of their faith and piety, were the peculiar and favourite objects of their moſt tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendſhip might be influenced by conſiderations of a leſs exalted kind: they viewed, with partial affection, the places which had been conſecrated by their birth, their reſidence, their death, their burial, or the poſſeſſion of their relics. The meaner paſſions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celeſtial breaſt; yet the ſaints themſelves condeſcended to teſtify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the ſharpeſt bolts of puniſhment were hurled againſt thoſe impious wretches, who violated their magnificent ſhrines, or diſbelieved their ſupernatural power [83]. Atrocious, indeed, muſt have been the guilt, and ſtrange would have been the ſcepticiſm, of thoſe men, if they had obſtinately reſiſted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the ſubtle and inviſible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey [84]. The immediate, and almoſt inſtantaneous, effects, that were ſuppoſed to follow the prayer, or the offence, ſatisfied the Chriſtians, of the ample meaſure of favour and authority, which the ſaints enjoyed in the preſence of the Supreme God; and it ſeemed almoſt ſuperfluous to inquire, whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exerciſe, according to the

[83] Fleury, Diſcours ſur l'Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique, iii. p. 80.

[84] At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted, in eight days, 540 Jews; with the help, indeed, of ſome wholeſome ſeverities, ſuch as burning the ſynagogue, driving the obſtinate infidels to ſtarve among the rocks, &c. See the original letter of Severus biſhop of Minorca (ad calcem St. Auguſtin. de Civ. Dei), and the judicious remarks of Baſnage (tom. viii. p. 245—251.).

dictates

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dictates of their benevolence and juſtice, the delegated powers of their ſubordinate miniſtry. The imagination, which had been raiſed by a painful effort to the contemplation and worſhip of the Univerſal Cauſe, eagerly embraced ſuch inferior objects of adoration, as were more proportioned to its groſs conceptions and imperfect faculties. The ſublime and ſimple theology of the primitive Chriſtians was gradually corrupted; and the MONARCHY of heaven, already clouded by metaphyſical ſubtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to reſtore the reign of polytheiſm [85].

IV. Introduction of Pagan ceremonies.

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the ſtandard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that ſeemed moſt powerfuly to affect the ſenſes of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century [86], Tertullian, or Lactantius [87], had been ſuddenly raiſed from the dead, to aſſiſt at the feſtival of ſome popular ſaint, or martyr [88]; they would have gazed with aſtoniſhment, and indignation, on the profane ſpectacle, which had ſucceeded to the pure and ſpiritual worſhip of a Chriſtian congregation. As ſoon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they muſt have been offended by the ſmoke of incenſe, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffuſed, at noonday, a gawdy, ſuperfluous, and, in their opinion, a ſacrilegious

[85] Mr. Hume (Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 434.) obſerves, like a philoſopher, the natural flux and reflux of polytheiſm and theiſm.

[86] D'Aubigné (See his own Memoires, p. 156—160.) frankly offered, with the conſent of the Huguenot miniſters, to allow the firſt 400 years as the rule of faith. The cardinal du Perron haggled for forty years more, which were indiſcreetly given. Yet neither party would have found their account in this fooliſh bargain.

[87] The worſhip practiſed and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c. is ſo *extremely* pure and ſpiritual, that their declamations againſt the Pagan, ſometimes glance againſt the Jewiſh, ceremonies.

[88] Fauſtus the Manichæan accuſes the Catholics of idolatry. Vertitis idola in martyres . . . quos votis ſimilibus colitis. M. de Beauſobre (Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, tom. ii. p. 629—700.), a Proteſtant, but a philoſopher, has repreſented, with candour and learning, the introduction of *Chriſtian idolatry* in the fourth and fifth centuries.

light.

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light. If they approached the baluſtrade of the altar, they made their way through the proſtrate crowd, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of ſtrangers and pilgrims, who reſorted to the city on the vigil of the feaſt; and who already felt the ſtrong intoxication of fanaticiſm, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kiſſes were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the ſacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the aſhes of the ſaint, which were uſually concealed, by a linen or ſilken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The Chriſtians frequented the tombs of the martys, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful interceſſion, every ſort of ſpiritual, but more eſpecially of temporal, bleſſings. They implored the preſervation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulneſs of their barren wives, or the ſafety and happineſs of their children. Whenever they undertook any diſtant or dangerous journey, they requeſted, that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned, without having experienced any misfortune, they again haſtened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thankſgivings, their obligations to the memory and relics of thoſe heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with ſymbols of the favours, which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and ſilver: and edifying pictures, which could not long eſcape the abuſe of indiſcreet or idolatrous devotion, repreſented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar ſaint. The ſame uniform original ſpirit of ſuperſtition might ſuggeſt, in the moſt diſtant ages and countries, the ſame methods of deceiving the credulity, and of affecting the ſenſes of mankind [89]: but it muſt ingenuouſly be confeſſed, that the

[89] The reſemblance of ſuperſtition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has ſeized this idea, which he diſtorts, by rendering it too general and abſolute (Divine Legation, vol. iv. p. 126, &c.).

miniſters

miniſters of the Catholic church imitated the profane model, which they were impatient to deſtroy. The moſt reſpectable biſhops had perſuaded themſelves, that the ignorant ruſtics would more cheerfully renounce the ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm, if they found ſome reſemblance, ſome compenſation, in the boſom of Chriſtianity. The religion of Conſtantine atchieved, in leſs than a century, the final conqueſt of the Roman empire: but the victors themſelves were inſenſibly ſubdued by the arts of their vanquiſhed rivals [90].

[90] The imitation of Paganiſm is the ſubject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadverſions obliged him to connect (vol. iii. p. 120—132.) the hiſtory of the two religions; and to prove the antiquity of the Chriſtian copy.

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Final Diviſion of the Roman Empire between the Sons of Theodoſius.—Reign of Arcadius and Honorius.—Adminiſtration of Rufinus and Stilicho.—Revolt and Defeat of Gildo in Africa.

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Diviſion of the empire between Arcadius and Honorius, A. D. 395, January 17.

THE genius of Rome expired with Theodoſius; the laſt of the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus and Conſtantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whoſe authority was univerſally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues ſtill continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two ſons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were ſaluted, by the unanimous conſent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the Eaſt, and of the Weſt; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the ſtate; the ſenates of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magiſtrates, the ſoldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private family. But he received a princely education in the palace of Conſtantinople; and his inglorious life was ſpent in that peaceful and ſplendid ſeat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Aſia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Perſia and Æthiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, aſſumed, in the eleventh year of his age,

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age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, were oppoſed, on one ſide, to the Caledonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial præfecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes: the defence and poſſeſſion of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, ſtill belonged to the Weſtern empire; but the two large dioceſes of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had entruſted to the valour of Theodoſius, were for ever united to the empire of the Eaſt. The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now ſeparates the Germans and the Turks; and the reſpective advantages of territory, riches, populouſneſs, and military ſtrength, were fairly balanced and compenſated, in this final and permanent diviſion of the Roman empire. The hereditary ſceptre of the ſons of Theodoſius appeared to be the gift of nature, and of their father; the generals and miniſters had been accuſtomed to adore the majeſty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admoniſhed of their rights, and of their power, by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual diſcovery of the weakneſs of Arcadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not ſufficient to obliterate the deep and early impreſſions of loyalty. The ſubjects of Rome, who ſtill reverenced the perſons, or rather the names, of their ſovereigns, beheld, with equal abhorrence, the rebels who oppoſed, and the miniſters who abuſed, the authority of the throne.

Character and adminiſtration of Rufinus, A. D. 386—395.

Theodoſius had tarniſhed the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deſerved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The ſtrong impulſe of ambition and avarice [a] had urged

[a] Alecto, envious of the public felicity, convenes an infernal ſynod. Megæra recommends her pupil Rufinus, and excites him to deeds of miſchief, &c. But there is

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urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obſcure corner of Gaul [2], to advance his fortune in the capital of the Eaſt: the talent of bold and ready elocution [3] qualified him to ſucceed in the lucrative profeſſion of the law; and his ſucceſs in that profeſſion was a regular ſtep to the moſt honourable and important employments of the ſtate. He was raiſed, by juſt degrees, to the ſtation of maſter of the offices. In the exerciſe of his various functions, ſo eſſentially connected with the whole ſyſtem of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch, who ſoon diſcovered his diligence and capacity in buſineſs, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetouſneſs of his diſpoſition. Theſe vices were concealed beneath the maſk of profound diſſimulation [4]; his paſſions were ſubſervient only to the paſſions of his maſter: yet, in the horrid maſſacre of Theſſalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodoſius. The miniſter, who viewed with proud indifference the reſt of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his perſonal enemies had forfeited, in his opinion, the merit of all public ſervices. Promotus, the maſter-general of the infantry, had ſaved the empire from the invaſion of the Oſtrogoths; but he indignantly ſupported the pre-eminence of a rival, whoſe character and profeſſion he deſpiſed; and, in the midſt of a public council, the impatient ſoldier was provoked to chaſtiſe with a blow the indecent pride of the favourite. This act of violence was repreſented to the emperor as an inſult, which it was incumbent on *his* dignity to reſent. The diſgrace and exile of Promotus were ſignified by a peremptory order,

as much difference between Claudian's fury and that of Virgil, as between the characters of Turnus and Rufinus.

[2] It is evident (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 770.), though de Marca is aſhamed of his countryman, that Rufinus was born at Eluſa, the metropolis of Novempopulania, now a ſmall village of Gaſcony (d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 289.).

[3] Philoſtorgius, l. xi. c. 3. with Godefroy's Diſſert. p. 440.

[4] A paſſage of Suidas is expreſſive of his profound diſſimulation; βαθυγνωμων ανθρωπος και κρυψινος.

to

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to repair, without delay, to a military ſtation on the banks of the Danube: and the death of that general (though he was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh with the Barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus [5]. The ſacrifice of an hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the conſulſhip elated his vanity; but his power was ſtill imperfect and precarious, as long as the important poſts of præfect of the Eaſt, and of præfect of Conſtantinople, were filled by Tatian [6], and his ſon Proculus; whoſe united authority balanced, for ſome time, the ambition and favour of the maſter of the offices. The two præfects were accuſed of rapine and corruption in the adminiſtration of the laws and finances. For the trial of theſe illuſtrious offenders, the emperor conſtituted a ſpecial commiſſion: ſeveral judges were named to ſhare the guilt and reproach of injuſtice; but the right of pronouncing ſentence was reſerved to the preſident alone, and that preſident was Rufinus himſelf. The father, ſtripped of the præfecture of the Eaſt, was thrown into a dungeon; but the ſon, conſcious that few miniſters can be found innocent, where an enemy is their judge, had ſecretly eſcaped; and Rufinus muſt have been ſatisfied with the leaſt obnoxious victim, if deſpotiſm had not condeſcended to employ the baſeſt and moſt ungenerous artifice. The proſecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favourable event; his confidence was fortified by the ſolemn aſſurances, and perfidious oaths, of the preſident, who preſumed to interpoſe the ſacred name of Theodoſius himſelf; and the unhappy father was at laſt perſuaded to recal, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was inſtantly

[5] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 272, 273.

[6] Zoſimus, who deſcribes the fall of Tatian and his ſon (l. iv. p. 273, 274.), aſſerts their innocence: and even *his* teſtimony may outweigh the charges of their enemies (Cod. Theodoſ. tom. iv. p. 489.), who accuſe them of oppreſſing the *Curiæ*. The connection of Tatian with the Arians, while he was præfect of Egypt (A. D. 373), inclines Tillemont to believe that he was guilty of every crime (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 360. Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 589.).

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ſtantly ſeized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, with a precipitation which diſappointed the clemency of the emperor. Without reſpecting the misfortunes of a conſular ſenator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his ſon: the fatal cord was faſtened round his own neck; but in the moment when he expected, and perhaps deſired, the relief of a ſpeedy death, he was permitted to conſume the miſerable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile[7]. The puniſhment of the two præfects might, perhaps, be excuſed by the exceptionable parts of their own conduct; the enmity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unſociable nature of ambition. But he indulged a ſpirit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to juſtice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia, from the rank of Roman provinces; ſtigmatiſed a guiltleſs people with a mark of ignominy; and declared, that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus ſhould for ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage, under the Imperial government[8]. The new præfect of the Eaſt (for Rufinus inſtantly ſucceeded to the vacant honours of his adverſary) was not diverted, however, by the moſt criminal purſuits, from the performance of the religious duties, which in that age were conſidered as the moſt eſſential to ſalvation. In the ſuburb of Chalcedon, ſurnamed the *Oak*, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added a ſtately church, conſecrated to the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, and con-

[7] —— Juvenum rorantia colla
Ante patrum vultus ſtrictâ cecidere ſecuri.
Ibat grandævus nato moriente ſuperſtes
Poſt trabeas exſul. In Rufin. i. 248.

The *facts* of Zoſimus explain the *alluſions* of Claudian; but his claſſic interpreters were ignorant of the fourth century. The *fatal cord*, I found, with the help of Tillemont, in a ſermon of St. Aſterius of Amaſea.

[8] This odious law is recited, and repealed, by Arcadius (A. D. 396), in the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 9. The ſenſe, as it is explained by Claudian (in Rufin. i. 234.) and Godefroy (tom. iii. p. 279.), is perfectly clear.

——Exſcindere cives
Funditus; et nomen gentis delere laborat:

The ſcruples of Pagi and Tillemont can ariſe only from their zeal for the glory of Theodoſius.

tinually

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tinually ſanctified by the prayers, and pennance, of a regular ſociety of monks. A numerous, and almoſt general, ſynod of the biſhops of the Eaſtern empire was ſummoned to celebrate, at the ſame time, the dedication of the church, and the baptiſm of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the ſins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt raſhly propoſed himſelf as the ſponſor of a proud and ambitious ſtateſman[9].

He oppreſſes the Eaſt, A. D. 395.

The character of Theodoſius impoſed on his miniſter the taſk of hypocriſy, which diſguiſed, and ſometimes reſtrained, the abuſe of power; and Rufinus was apprehenſive of diſturbing the indolent ſlumber of a prince, ſtill capable of exerting the abilities, and the virtue, which had raiſed him to the throne[10]. But the abſence, and, ſoon afterwards, the death, of the emperor, confirmed the abſolute authority of Rufinus over the perſon and dominions of Arcadius; a feeble youth, whom the imperious præfect conſidered as his pupil, rather than his ſovereign. Regardleſs of the public opinion, he indulged his paſſions without remorſe, and without reſiſtance; and his malignant and rapacious ſpirit rejected every paſſion that might have contributed to his own glory, or the happineſs of the people. His avarice[11], which ſeems to have prevailed, in his

[9] Ammonius . . . Rufinum propriis manibus ſuſcepit ſacro fonte mundatum. See Roſweyde's Vitæ Patrum, p. 947. Sozomen (l. viii. c. 17.) mentions the church and monaſtery; and Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 593.) records this ſynod, in which St. Gregory of Nyſſa performed a conſpicuous part.

[10] Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 12.) praiſes one of the laws of Theodoſius, addreſſed to the præfect Rufinus (l. ix. tit. iv. leg. unic.), to diſcourage the proſecution of treaſonable, or ſacrilegious, words. A tyrannical ſtatute always proves the exiſtence of tyranny: but a laudable edict may only contain the ſpecious profeſſions, or ineffectual wiſhes, of the prince, or his miniſters. This, I am afraid, is a juſt, though mortifying, canon of criticiſm.

[11] ——— fluctibus auri
Expleri ille calor nequit ——
- - - - - - - - -
Congeſtæ cumulantur opes; orbiſque rapinas
Accipit una domus ——

This character (Claudian. in Rufin. i. 184—220.) is confirmed by Jerom, a diſintereſted witneſs (dedecus inſatiabilis avaritiæ, tom. i. ad Heliodor. p. 26.), by Zoſimus (l. v. p. 286.), and by Suidas, who copied the hiſtory of Eunapius.

corrupt

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corrupt mind, over every other ſentiment, attracted the wealth of the Eaſt, by the various arts of partial, and general, extortion; oppreſſive taxes, ſcandalous bribery, immoderate fines, unjuſt confiſcations, forced or fictitious teſtaments, by which the tyrant deſpoiled of their lawful inheritance the children of ſtrangers, or enemies; and the public ſale of juſtice, as well as of favour, which he inſtituted in the palace of Conſtantinople. The ambitious candidate eagerly ſolicited, at the expence of the faireſt part of his patrimony, the honours and emoluments of ſome provincial government: the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned to the moſt liberal purchaſer; and the public diſcontent was ſometimes appeaſed by the ſacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whoſe puniſhment was profitable only to the præfect of the Eaſt, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindeſt of the human paſſions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curioſity; and we might be tempted to enquire, with what view he violated every principle of humanity and juſtice, to accumulate thoſe immenſe treaſures, which he could not ſpend without folly, nor poſſeſs without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined, that he laboured for the intereſt of an only daughter, on whom he intended to beſtow his royal pupil, and the auguſt rank of empreſs of the Eaſt. Perhaps he deceived himſelf by the opinion, that his avarice was the inſtrument of his ambition. He aſpired to place his fortune on a ſecure and independent baſis, which ſhould no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the ſoldiers and people, by the liberal diſtribution of thoſe riches, which he had acquired with ſo much toil, and with ſo much guilt. The extreme parſimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach, and envy, of ill-gotten wealth; his dependents ſerved him without attachment; the univerſal hatred of mankind was repreſſed only by the influence of ſervile fear. The fate of Lucian proclaimed to the Eaſt, that the præfect, whoſe induſtry was

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much abated in the diſpatch of ordinary buſineſs, was active and indefatigable in the purſuit of revenge. Lucian, the ſon of the præfect Florentius, the oppreſſor of Gaul, and the enemy of Julian, had employed a conſiderable part of his inheritance, the fruit of rapine and corruption, to purchaſe the friendſhip of Rufinus, and the high office of count of the Eaſt. But the new magiſtrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court, and of the times; diſgraced his benefactor, by the contraſt of a virtuous and temperate adminiſtration; and preſumed to refuſe an act of injuſtice, which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Arcadius was eaſily perſuaded to reſent the ſuppoſed inſult; and the præfect of the Eaſt reſolved to execute in perſon the cruel vengeance, which he meditated againſt this ungrateful delegate of his power. He performed with inceſſant ſpeed the journey of ſeven or eight hundred miles, from Conſtantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead of night, and ſpread univerſal conſternation among a people, ignorant of his deſign, but not ignorant of his character. The count of the fifteen provinces of the Eaſt was dragged, like the vileſt malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithſtanding the cleareſt evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuſer, Lucian was condemned, almoſt without a trial, to ſuffer a cruel and ignominious puniſhment. The miniſters of the tyrant, by the order, and in the preſence, of their maſter, beat him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the extremities with lead; and when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a cloſe litter, to conceal his dying agonies from the eyes of the indignant city. No ſooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the ſole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidſt the deep, and ſilent, curſes of a trembling people, from Antioch to Conſtantinople; and his diligence was accelerated by

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by the hope of accompliſhing, without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the emperor of the Eaſt [12].

He is diſappointed, by the marriage of Arcadius, A. D. 395, April 27.

But Rufinus ſoon experienced, that a prudent miniſter ſhould conſtantly ſecure his royal captive by the ſtrong, though inviſible, chain, of habit; and that the merit, and much more eaſily the favour, of the abſent, are obliterated in a ſhort time from the mind of a weak and capricious ſovereign. While the præfect ſatiated his revenge at Antioch, a ſecret conſpiracy of the favourite eunuchs, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power in the palace of Conſtantinople. They diſcovered that Arcadius was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been choſen, without his conſent, for his bride; and they contrived to ſubſtitute in her place the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto [13], a general of the Franks in the ſervice of Rome; and who was educated, ſince the death of her father, in the family of the ſons of Promotus. The young emperor, whoſe chaſtity had been ſtrictly guarded by the pious care of his tutor Arſenius [14], eagerly liſtened to the artful and flattering deſcriptions of the charms of Eudoxia: he gazed with impatient ardour on her picture, and he underſtood the neceſſity of concealing his amorous deſigns from the knowledge of a miniſter, who was ſo deeply intereſted to oppoſe the conſummation of his happineſs. Soon after the return of Rufinus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptials was announced to the people of Con-

[12] ——— Cætera ſegnis;
Ad facinus velox; penitus regione remotas
Impiger ire vias.

This alluſion of Claudian (in Rufin. i. 241.) is again explained by the circumſtantial narrative of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 288, 289.).

[13] Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 243.) praiſes the valour, prudence, and integrity, of Bauto the Frank. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 771.

[14] Arſenius eſcaped from the palace of Conſtantinople, and paſſed fifty-five years in rigid pennance in the monaſteries of Egypt. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 676—702.; and Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. v. p. 1, &c.: but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the legend of Metaphraſtes.

ſtantinople,

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ſtantinople, who prepared to celebrate, with falſe and hollow acclamations, the fortune of his daughter. A ſplendid train of eunuchs and officers iſſued, in hymeneal pomp, from the gates of the palace; bearing aloft the diadem, the robes, and the ineſtimable ornaments, of the future empreſs. The ſolemn proceſſion paſſed through the ſtreets of the city, which were adorned with garlands, and filled with ſpectators; but, when it reached the houſe of the ſons of Promotus, the principal eunuch reſpectfully entered the manſion, inveſted the fair Eudoxia with the Imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius [15]. The ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, with which this conſpiracy againſt Rufinus had been conducted, imprinted a mark of indelible ridicule on the character of a miniſter, who had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, in a poſt where the arts of deceit and diſſimulation conſtitute the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit. He conſidered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aſpiring eunuch, who had ſecretly captivated the favour of his ſovereign; and the diſgrace of his daughter, whoſe intereſt was inſeparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderneſs, or, at leaſt, the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himſelf that he ſhould become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the houſe of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the Imperial bed; and Eudoxia ſoon diſplayed a ſuperiority of ſenſe and ſpirit, to improve the aſcendant which her beauty muſt acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful huſband. The emperor would ſoon be inſtructed to hate, to fear, and to deſtroy, the powerful ſubject, whom he had injured; and the conſciouſneſs of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of ſafety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he ſtill poſſeſſed the moſt effectual means of

[15] This ſtory (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 290.) proves that the hymeneal rites of antiquity were ſtill practiſed without idolatry, by the Chriſtians of the Eaſt; and the bride was *forcibly* conducted from the houſe of her parents to that of her huſband. Our form of marriage requires, with leſs delicacy, the expreſs and public conſent of a virgin.

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defending his dignity, and perhaps of oppreſſing his enemies. The præfect ſtill exerciſed an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the Eaſt: and his treaſures, if he could reſolve to uſe them, might be employed to procure proper inſtruments, for the execution of the blackeſt deſigns, that pride, ambition, and revenge, could ſuggeſt to a deſperate ſtateſman. The character of Rufinus ſeemed to juſtify the accuſations, that he conſpired againſt the perſon of his ſovereign, to ſeat himſelf on the vacant throne; and that he had ſecretly invited the Huns, and the Goths, to invade the provinces of the empire, and to increaſe the public confuſion. The ſubtle præfect, whoſe life had been ſpent in the intrigues of the palace, oppoſed, with equal arms, the artful meaſures of the eunuch Eutropius; but the timid ſoul of Rufinus was aſtoniſhed by the hoſtile approach of a more formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the maſter, of the empire of the Weſt [16].

Character of Stilicho, the miniſter, and general, of the Weſtern empire.

The celeſtial gift, which Achilles obtained, and Alexander envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate the actions of heroes, has been enjoyed by Stilicho, in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining ſtate of genius, and of art. The muſe of Claudian [17], devoted to his ſervice, was always prepared to ſtigmatiſe his adverſaries, Rufinus, or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to paint, in the moſt ſplendid colours, the victories, and virtues, of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently ſupplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuſe to illuſtrate the annals of Honorius, from the invectives, or the panegyrics, of a contemporary writer; but as Claudian appears to have indulged the moſt ample privilege of a poet, and a courtier, ſome criticiſm will

[16] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 290.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 37.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 7—100.) paints, in lively colours, the diſtreſs and guilt of the præfect.

[17] Stilicho, directly, or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth, and private life of the hero, are vaguely expreſſed in the poem on his firſt conſulſhip, 35—140.

be

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be requiſite to tranſlate the language of fiction, or exaggeration, into the truth and ſimplicity of hiſtoric proſe. His ſilence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof, that his patron was neither able, nor deſirous, to boaſt of a long ſeries of illuſtrious progenitors; and the ſlight mention of his father, an officer of Barbarian cavalry, in the ſervice of Valens, ſeems to countenance the aſſertion, that the general, who ſo long commanded the armies of Rome, was deſcended from the ſavage and perfidious race of the Vandals[18]. If Stilicho had not poſſeſſed the external advantages of ſtrength and ſtature, the moſt flattering bard, in the preſence of ſo many thouſand ſpectators, would have heſitated to affirm, that he ſurpaſſed the meaſure of the demi-gods of antiquity; and, that whenever he moved, with lofty ſteps, through the ſtreets of the capital, the aſtoniſhed crowd made room for the ſtranger, who diſplayed, in a private condition, the awful majeſty of a hero. From his earlieſt youth he embraced the profeſſion of arms; his prudence and valour were ſoon diſtinguiſhed in the field; the horſemen and archers of the Eaſt admired his ſuperior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the ſovereign. He was named by Theodoſius, to ratify a ſolemn treaty with the monarch of Perſia: he ſupported, during that important embaſſy, the dignity of the Roman name; and after his return to Conſtantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honourable alliance with the Imperial family. Theodoſius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt, for his own, the daughter of his brother Honorius; the beauty and accompliſhments of Serena[19] were univerſally admired

[18] Vandalorum, imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ, et doloſæ, gentis, genere editus. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 38. Jerom (tom. i. ad Gerontiam, p. 93.) calls him a Semi-Barbarian.

[19] Claudian, in an imperfect poem, has drawn a fair, perhaps a flattering, portrait of Serena. That favourite niece of Theodoſius was born, as well as her ſiſter Thermantia, in Spain; from whence, in their earlieſt youth, they were honourably conducted to the palace of Conſtantinople.

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by the obſequious court; and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who ambitiouſly diſputed the hand of the princeſs, and the favour of her adoptive father [20]. The aſſurance that the huſband of Serena would be faithful to the throne, which he was permitted to approach, engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes, and to employ the abilities, of the ſagacious and intrepid Stilicho.

His military command.

He roſe through the ſucceſſive ſteps of maſter of the horſe, and count of the domeſtics, to the ſupreme rank of maſter-general of all the cavalry and infantry of the Roman, or at leaſt of the Weſtern, empire [21]; and his enemies confeſſed, that he invariably diſdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to defraud the ſoldiers of the pay and gratifications, which they deſerved, or claimed, from the liberality of the ſtate [22]. The valour and conduct which he afterwards diſplayed, in the defence of Italy, againſt the arms of Alaric and Radagaiſus, may juſtify the fame of his early atchievements: and in an age leſs attentive to the laws of honour, or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-eminence of rank, to the aſcendant of ſuperior genius [23]. He lamented, and revenged, the murder of Promotus, his rival and his friend; and the maſſacre of many thouſands of the flying Baſtarnæ is repreſented by the poet, as a bloody ſacrifice, which the Roman Achilles offered to the manes of another Patroclus. The virtues and victories of Stilicho

A. D. 385—408.

[20] Some doubt may be entertained, whether this adoption was legal or only metaphorical (ſee Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 75.). An old inſcription gives Stilicho the ſingular title of *Pro-gener Divi Theodoſii*.

[21] Claudian (Laus Serenæ, 190. 193.) expreſſes, in poetic language, the "dilectus equorum," and the "gemino mox idem culmine duxit agmina." The inſcription adds, "count of the domeſtics," an important command, which Stilicho, in the height of his grandeur, might prudently retain.

[22] The beautiful lines of Claudian (in i Conſ. Stilich. ii. 113.) diſplay *his* genius: but the integrity of Stilicho (in the military adminiſtration) is much more firmly eſtabliſhed by the unwilling evidence of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 345.).

[23] —— Si bellica moles
Ingrueret, quamvis annis et jure minori,
Cedere grandævos equitum peditumque magiſtros
Adſpiceres.
Claudian, Laus Seren. p. 196, &c.
A modern general would deem their ſubmiſſion, either heroic patriotiſm, or abject ſervility.

deſerved

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deſerved the hatred of Rufinus: and the arts of calumny might have been ſucceſsful, if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her huſband againſt his domeſtic foes, whilſt he vanquiſhed in the field the enemies of the empire[24]. Theodoſius continued to ſupport an unworthy miniſter, to whoſe diligence he delegated the government of the palace, and of the Eaſt; but when he marched againſt the tyrant Eugenius, he aſſociated his faithful general to the labours and glories of the civil war; and, in the laſt moments of his life, the dying monarch recommended to Stilicho, the care of his ſons, and of the republic[25]. The ambition and the abilities of Stilicho were not unequal to the important truſt; and he claimed the guardianſhip of the two empires, during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius[26]. The firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration, or rather of his reign, diſplayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a ſpirit worthy to command. He paſſed the Alps in the depth of winter; deſcended the ſtream of the Rhine, from the fortreſs of Baſil, to the marſhes of Batavia; reviewed the ſtate of the garriſons; repreſſed the enterpriſes of the Germans; and, after eſtabliſhing along the banks a firm and honourable peace, returned with incredible ſpeed to the palace of Milan[27]. The perſon and court of Honorius were ſubject to the maſter-general of the Weſt; and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, with-

[24] Compare the poem on the firſt conſulſhip (i. 95—115.), with the *Laus Serenæ* (227—237. where it unfortunately breaks off). We may perceive the deep inveterate malice of Rufinus.

[25] ——Quem *fratribus* ipſe
Diſcedens, clypeumque defenſoremque
dediſti.

Yet the nomination (iv Conſ. Hon. 432.) was private (iii Conſ. Hon. 142.), cunctos diſcedere . . . jubet; and may therefore be ſuſpected. Zoſimus, and Suidas, apply to Stilicho, and Rufinus, the ſame equal title of Ἐπιτρόπους, guardians, or procurators.

[26] The Roman law diſtinguiſhes two ſorts of *minority*, which expired at the age of fourteen, and of twenty-five. The one was ſubject to the *tutor*, or guardian of the perſon; the other to the *curator*, or truſtee, of the eſtate (Heineccius, Antiquitat. Rom. ad Juriſprudent. pertinent. l. i. tit. xxii, xxiii. p. 218—232.). But theſe legal ideas were never accurately transferred into the conſtitution of an elective monarchy.

[27] See Claudian (i Conſ. Stilich. i. 188—242.); but he muſt allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return, between Milan and Leyden.

out

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out hesitation, a regular authority, which was exercised in the name of their young sovereign. Two rivals only remained to dispute the claims, and to provoke the vengeance, of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Gildo, the Moor, maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the minister of Constantinople asserted his equal reign over the emperor, and the empire, of the East.

The fall and death of Rufinus, A. D. 395, Novem. 27.

The impartiality which Stilicho affected, as the common guardian of the royal brothers, engaged him to regulate the equal division of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent wardrobe and furniture of the deceased emperor[28]. But the most important object of the inheritance consisted of the numerous legions, cohorts, and squadrons, of Romans, or Barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the standard of Theodosius. The various multitudes of Europe and Asia, exasperated by recent animosities, were overawed by the authority of a single man; and the rigid discipline of Stilicho protected the lands of the citizen from the rapine of the licentious soldier[29]. Anxious however, and impatient, to relieve Italy from the presence of this formidable host, which could be useful only on the frontiers of the empire, he listened to the just requisition of the minister of Arcadius, declared his intention of reconducting in person the troops of the East; and dexterously employed the rumour of a Gothic tumult, to conceal his private designs of ambition and revenge[30]. The guilty soul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival, whose enmity he de-

[28] I. Conf. Stilich. ii. 88—94. Not only the robes and diadems of the deceased emperor, but even the helmets, sword-hilts, belts, cuirasses, &c. were enriched with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds.

[29] ——Tantoque remoto
Principe, mutatas orbis non sensit habenas.
This high commendation (i Conf. Stil. i. 149.) may be justified by the fears of the dying emperor (de Bell. Gildon. 292—301.); and the peace and good order which were enjoyed after his death (i Conf. Stil. i. 150—168.).

[30] Stilicho's march, and the death of Rufinus, are described by Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 101—453.), Zosimus (l. v. p. 296, 297.), Sozomen (l. viii. c. 1.), Socrates (l. vi. c. 1.), Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 3. with Godefroy, p. 441.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

served;

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ſerved; he computed, with increaſing terror, the narrow ſpace of his life and greatneſs; and, as the laſt hope of ſafety, he interpoſed the authority of the emperor Arcadius. Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the ſea-coaſt of the Hadriatic, was not far diſtant from the city of Theſſalonica, when he received a peremptory meſſage to recal the troops of the Eaſt, and to declare, that *his* nearer approach would be conſidered, by the Byzantine court, as an act of hoſtility. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the Weſt, convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation; and, as he had already engaged the affection of the Eaſtern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody deſign, which might be accompliſhed in his abſence, with leſs danger perhaps, and with leſs reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the Eaſt to Gainas, the Goth, on whoſe fidelity he firmly relied; with an aſſurance, at leaſt, that the hardy Barbarian would never be diverted from his purpoſe by any conſideration of fear or remorſe. The ſoldiers were eaſily perſuaded to puniſh the enemy of Stilicho, and of Rome; and ſuch was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited, that the fatal ſecret, communicated to thouſands, was faithfully preſerved during the long march from Theſſalonica to the gates of Conſtantinople. As ſoon as they had reſolved his death, they condeſcended to flatter his pride; the ambitious præfect was ſeduced to believe, that thoſe powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head; and the treaſures which he diſtributed, with a tardy and reluctant hand, were accepted by the indignant multitude, as an inſult, rather than as a gift. At the diſtance of a mile from the capital, in the field of Mars, before the palace of Hebdomon, the troops halted: and the emperor, as well as his miniſter, advanced, according to ancient cuſtom, reſpectfully to ſalute the power which ſupported their throne. As Rufinus paſſed along the ranks, and diſguiſed, with ſtudied courteſy, his in-

nate

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nate haughtineſs, the wings inſenſibly wheeled from the right and left, and incloſed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his ſituation, Gainas gave the ſignal of death; a daring and forward ſoldier plunged his ſword into the breaſt of the guilty præfect, and Rufinus fell, groaned, and expired, at the feet of the affrighted emperor. If the agonies of a moment could expiate the crimes of a whole life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathleſs corpſe could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumſtances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either ſex, who haſtened in crowds, from every quarter of the city, to trample on the remains of the haughty miniſter, at whoſe frown they had ſo lately trembled. His right hand was cut off, and carried through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, in cruel mockery, to extort contributions for the avaricious tyrant, whoſe head was publicly expoſed, borne aloft on the point of a long lance [31]. According to the ſavage maxims of the Greek republics, his innocent family would have ſhared the puniſhment of his crimes. The wife and daughter of Rufinus were indebted for their ſafety to the influence of religion. *Her* ſanctuary protected them from the raging madneſs of the people; and they were permitted to ſpend the remainder of their lives in the exerciſes of Chriſtian devotion, in the peaceful retirement of Jeruſalem [32].

Diſcord of the two empires, A. D. 396, &c.

The ſervile poet of Stilicho applauds, with ferocious joy, this horrid deed, which, in the execution, perhaps, of juſtice, violated

[31] The *diſſection* of Rufinus, which Claudian performs with the ſavage coolneſs of an anatomiſt (in Rufin. ii. 405—415.), is likewiſe ſpecified by Zoſimus and Jerom (tom. i. p. 26.).

[32] The Pagan Zoſimus mentions their ſanctuary and pilgrimage. The ſiſter of Rufinus, Sylvania, who paſſed her life at Jeruſalem, is famous in monaſtic hiſtory. 1. The ſtudious virgin had diligently, and even repeatedly, peruſed the commentators on the Bible, Origen, Gtegory, Baſil, &c. to the amount of five millions of lines. 2. At the age of threeſcore, ſhe could boaſt, that ſhe had never waſhed her hands, face, or any part of her whole body; except the tips of her fingers, to receive the communion. See the Vitæ Patrum, p. 779. 977.

every law of nature and ſociety, profaned the majeſty of the prince, and renewed the dangerous examples of military licence. The contemplation of the univerſal order and harmony had ſatisfied Claudian of the exiſtence of the Deity; but the proſperous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his moral attributes; and the fate of Rufinus was the only event which could diſpel the religious doubts of the poet [33]. Such an act might vindicate the honour of Providence; but it did not much contribute to the happineſs of the people. In leſs than three months they were informed of the maxims of the new adminiſtration, by a ſingular edict, which eſtabliſhed the excluſive right of the treaſury over the ſpoils of Rufinus; and ſilenced, under heavy penalties, the preſumptuous claims of the ſubjects of the Eaſtern empire, who had been injured by his rapacious tyranny [34]. Even Stilicho did not derive from the murder of his rival, the fruit which he had propoſed; and though he gratified his revenge, his ambition was diſappointed. Under the name of a favourite, the weakneſs of Arcadius required a maſter; but he naturally preferred the obſequious arts of the eunuch Eutropius, who had obtained his domeſtic confidence; and the emperor contemplated, with terror and averſion, the ſtern genius of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the jealouſy of power, the ſword of Gainas, and the charms of Eudoxia, ſupported the favour of the great chamberlain of the palace: the perfidious Goth, who was appointed maſter-general of the Eaſt, betrayed, without ſcruple, the intereſt of his benefactor; and the ſame troops, who had ſo lately maſſacred the enemy of Stilicho, were engaged to ſupport, againſt him, the independence of the throne of Conſtantinople. The favourites of Arcadius fomented a ſecret and irrecon-

[33] See the beautiful exordium of his invective againſt Rufinus, which is curiouſly diſcuſſed by the ſceptic Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, RUFIN. Not. E.

[34] See the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 14, 15. The new miniſters attempted, with inconſiſtent avarice, to ſeize the ſpoils of their predeceſſor, and to provide for their own future ſecurity.

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cilable war againſt a formidable hero, who aſpired to govern, and to defend, the two empires of Rome, and the two ſons of Theodoſius. They inceſſantly laboured, by dark and treacherous machinations, to deprive him of the eſteem of the prince, the reſpect of the people, and the friendſhip of the Barbarians. The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired aſſaſſins; and a decree was obtained, from the ſenate of Conſtantinople, to declare him an enemy of the republic, and to confiſcate his ample poſſeſſions in the provinces of the Eaſt. At a time when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman name, depended on the firm union, and reciprocal aid, of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated, the ſubjects of Arcadius and Honorius were inſtructed, by their reſpective maſters, to view each other in a foreign, and even hoſtile, light; to rejoice in their mutual calamities, and to embrace, as their faithful allies, the Barbarians, whom they excited to invade the territories of their countrymen[35]. The natives of Italy affected to deſpiſe the ſervile and effeminate Greeks of Byzantium, who preſumed to imitate the dreſs, and to uſurp the dignity, of Roman ſenators[36]; and the Greeks had not yet forgot the ſentiments of hatred and contempt, which their poliſhed anceſtors had ſo long entertained for the rude inhabitants of the Weſt. The diſtinction of two governments, which ſoon produced the ſeparation of two nations, will juſtify my deſign of ſuſpending the ſeries of the Byzantine hiſtory, to proſecute, without interruption, the diſgraceful, but memorable, reign of Honorius.

[35] See Claudian, i. Conf. Stilich. l. i. 275. 292. 296. l. ii. 83.; and Zoſimus, l. v. p. 302.

[36] Claudian turns the conſulſhip of the eunuch Eutropius into a national reflection (l. ii. 134.).

——— Plaudentem cerne ſenatum
Et Byzantinos proceres, *Graioſque* Quirites:
O patribus plebes, O digni conſule patres.

It is curious to obſerve the firſt ſymptoms of jealouſy and ſchiſm, between old and new Rome, between the Greeks and Latins.

The

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Revolt of Gildo in Africa, A. D. 386—398.

The prudent Stilicho, inſtead of perſiſting to force the inclinations of a prince, and people, who rejected his government, wiſely abandoned Arcadius to his unworthy favourites; and his reluctance to involve the two empires in a civil war, diſplayed the moderation of a miniſter, who had ſo often ſignalized his military ſpirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolt of Africa, he would have betrayed the ſecurity of the capital, and the majeſty of the Weſtern emperor, to the capricious inſolence of a Mooriſh rebel. Gildo[37], the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had preſerved and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immenſe patrimony which was forfeited by treaſon; long and meritorious ſervice, in the armies of Rome, raiſed him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodoſius had adopted the miſchievous expedient, of ſupporting a legal government by the intereſt of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was inveſted with the command of Africa. His ambition ſoon uſurped the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of the finances, without account, and without controul; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the poſſeſſion of an office, from which it was impoſſible to remove him, without the danger of a civil war. During thoſe twelve years, the provinces of Africa groaned under the dominion of a tyrant, who ſeemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a ſtranger, with the partial reſentments of domeſtic faction. The forms of law were often ſuperſeded by the uſe of poiſon; and if the trembling gueſts, who were invited to the table of Gildo, preſumed to expreſs their fears, the inſolent ſuſpicion ſerved only to excite his fury, and he loudly ſummoned the miniſters of death. Gildo alternately indulged the paſſions

[37] Claudian may have exaggerated the vices of Gildo; but his Mooriſh extraction, his notorious actions, and the complaints of St. Auguſtin, may juſtify the poet's invectives. Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 398, N° 35—56.) has treated the African rebellion with ſkill and learning.

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of avarice and luſt[38]; and if his *days* were terrible to the rich, his *nights* were not leſs dreadful to huſbands and parents. The faireſt of their wives and daughters were proſtituted to the embraces of the tyrant; and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of Barbarians and aſſaſſins, the black, or ſwarthy, natives of the deſert; whom Gildo conſidered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodoſius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the ſovereign, of Africa, maintained a haughty and ſuſpicious neutrality; refuſed to aſſiſt either of the contending parties with troops or veſſels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reſerved for the conqueror, the vain profeſſions of his allegiance. Such profeſſions would not have ſatisfied the maſter of the Roman world: but the death of Theodoſius, and the weakneſs and diſcord of his ſons, confirmed the power of the Moor; who condeſcended, as a proof of his moderation, to abſtain from the uſe of the diadem, and to ſupply Rome with the cuſtomary tribute, or rather ſubſidy, of corn. In every diviſion of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably aſſigned to the Weſt; and Gildo had conſented to govern that extenſive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and deſigns of Stilicho, ſoon engaged him to addreſs his homage to a more diſtant and feeble ſovereign. The miniſters of Arcadius embraced the cauſe of a perfidious rebel; and the deluſive hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the Eaſt, tempted them to aſſert a claim, which they were incapable of ſupporting, either by reaſon, or by arms[39].

When

[38] Inſtat terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres,
Virginibus raptor, thalamis obſcænus adulter.
Nulla quies: oritur prædâ ceſſante libido,
Divitibuſque dies, et nox metuenda maritis.
——— Mauris clariſſima quæque
Faſtidita datur.———

Baronius condemns, ſtill more ſeverely, the licentiouſneſs of Gildo; as his wife, his daughter, and his ſiſter, were examples of perfect chaſtity. The adulteries of the African ſoldiers are checked by one of the Imperial laws.

[39] Inque tuam ſortem numeroſas tranſtulit urbes.

Claudian (de Bell. Gildonico, 230—324.) has

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He is condemned by the Roman ſenate, A. D. 397.

When Stilicho had given a firm and deciſive anſwer to the pretenſions of the Byzantine court, he ſolemnly accuſed the tyrant of Africa before the tribunal, which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of Honorius. The emperor tranſmitted an accurate and ample detail of the complaints of the provincials, and the crimes of Gildo, to the Roman ſenate; and the members of that venerable aſſembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous ſuffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decree of the ſenate added a ſacred, and legitimate, ſanction to the Roman arms[40]. A people, who ſtill remembered, that their anceſtors had been the maſters of the world, would have applauded, with conſcious pride, the repreſentation of ancient freedom; if they had not long ſince been accuſtomed to prefer the ſolid aſſurance of bread, to the unſubſtantial viſions of liberty and greatneſs. The ſubſiſtence of Rome depended on the harveſts of Africa; and it was evident, that a declaration of war would be the ſignal of famine. The præfect Symmachus, who preſided in the deliberations of the ſenate, admoniſhed the miniſter of his juſt apprehenſion, that as ſoon as the revengeful Moor ſhould prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the ſafety, of the capital, would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude[41]. The prudence of Stilicho conceived, and executed, without delay, the moſt effectual meaſure for the relief of the Roman people. A large and ſeaſonable ſupply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was embarked on the rapid ſtream

has touched, with political delicacy, the intrigues of the Byzantine court, which are likewiſe mentioned by Zoſimus (l. v. p. 302.).

[40] Symmachus (l. iv. epiſt. 4.) expreſſes the judicial forms of the ſenate; and Claudian (i Conſ. Stilich. l. i. 325, &c.) ſeems to feel the ſpirit of a Roman.

[41] Claudian finely diſplays theſe complaints of Symmachus, in a ſpeech of the goddeſs of Rome, before the throne of Jupiter (de Bell. Gildon. 28—128.).

of

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of the Rhone, and tranſported, by an eaſy navigation, from the Rhone to the Tyber. During the whole term of the African war, the granaries of Rome were continually filled, her dignity was vindicated from the humiliating dependence, and the minds of an immenſe people were quieted by the calm confidence of peace and plenty [42].

The African war, A. D. 398.

The cauſe of Rome, and the conduct of the African war, were entruſted by Stilicho, to a general, active and ardent to avenge his private injuries on the head of the tyrant. The ſpirit of diſcord, which prevailed in the houſe of Nabal, had excited a deadly quarrel between two of his ſons, Gildo and Maſcezel [43]. The uſurper purſued, with implacable rage, the life of his younger brother, whoſe courage and abilities he feared; and Maſcezel, oppreſſed by ſuperior power, took refuge in the court of Milan; where he ſoon received the cruel intelligence, that his two innocent and helpleſs children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle. The affliction of the father was ſuſpended only by the deſire of revenge. The vigilant Stilicho already prepared to collect the naval and military forces of the Weſtern empire; and he had reſolved, if the tyrant ſhould be able to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march againſt him in perſon. But as Italy required his preſence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more adviſable, that Maſcezel ſhould attempt this arduous adventure, at the head of a choſen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately ſerved under the ſtandard of Eugenius. Theſe troops, who were exhorted to convince the world, that they could ſubvert, as well as defend,

[42] See Claudian in Eutrop. l. i. 401, &c. i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 306, &c. ii Conſ. Stilich. 91, &c.

[43] He was of a mature age; ſince he had formerly (A. D. 373) ſerved againſt his brother Firmus (Ammian. xxix. 5.). Claudian, who underſtood the court of Milan, dwells on the injuries, rather than the merits, of Maſcezel (de Bell. Gild. 389—414.). The Mooriſh war was not worthy of Honorius, or Stilicho, &c.

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the throne of an uſurper, conſiſted of the *Jovian*, the *Herculian*, and the *Auguſtan* legions; of the *Nervian* auxiliaries; of the ſoldiers, who diſplayed in their banners the ſymbol of a *lion*, and of the troops which were diſtinguiſhed by the auſpicious names of *Fortunate*, and *Invincible*. Yet ſuch was the ſmallneſs of their eſtabliſhments, or the difficulty of recruiting, that theſe *ſeven* bands [44], of high dignity and reputation in the ſervice of Rome, amounted to no more than five thouſand effective men [45]. The fleet of gallies and tranſports ſailed in tempeſtuous weather from the port of Piſa, in Tuſcany, and ſteered their courſe to the little iſland of Capraria; which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original inhabitants, whoſe place was now occupied by a new colony of a ſtrange and ſavage appearance. "The whole iſland (ſays an ingenious traveller "of thoſe times) is filled, or rather defiled, by men, who fly from "the light. They call themſelves *Monks*, or ſolitaries, becauſe "they chuſe to live alone, without any witneſſes of their actions. "They fear the gifts of fortune, from the apprehenſion of loſing "them; and, leſt they ſhould be miſerable, they embrace a life of "voluntary wretchedneſs. How abſurd is their choice! how per-"verſe their underſtanding! to dread the evils, without being able to "ſupport the bleſſings, of the human condition. Either this melan-"choly madneſs is the effect of diſeaſe, or elſe the conſciouſneſs of "guilt urges theſe unhappy men to exerciſe on their own bodies the tor-"tures which are inflicted on fugitive ſlaves by the hand of juſtice [46]."

[44] Claudian, Bell. Gild. 415—423. The change of diſcipline allowed him to uſe indifferently the names of *Legio*, *Cohors*, *Manipulus*. See the *Notitia Imperii*, S. 38. 40.

[45] Oroſius (l. vii. c. 36. p. 565.) qualifies this account with an expreſſion of doubt (ut aiunt); and it ſcarcely coincides with the δυναμεις ἀδρας of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 303.). Yet Claudian, after ſome declamation about Cadmus's ſoldiers, frankly owns, that Stilicho ſent a ſmall army; leſt the rebel ſhould fly, ne timeare times (i Conſ. Stilich. l. i. 314, &c.).

[46] Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. i. 439—448. He afterwards (515—526.) mentions a religious madman on the iſle of Gorgona. For ſuch profane remarks, Rutilius, and his accomplices, are ſtyled, by his commentator, Barthius, rabioſi canes diaboli. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 471.) more calmly obſerves, that the unbelieving poet praiſes where he means to cenſure.

Such

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Such was the contempt of a profane magiſtrate for the monks of Capraria, who were revered, by the pious Maſcezel, as the choſen ſervants of God [47]. Some of them were perſuaded, by his intreaties, to embark on board the fleet; and it is obſerved, to the praiſe of the Roman general, that his days and nights were employed in prayer, faſting, and the occupation of ſinging pſalms. The devout leader, who, with ſuch a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corſica, coaſted along the eaſtern ſide of Sardinia, and ſecured his ſhips againſt the violence of the ſouth wind, by caſting anchor in the ſafe and capacious harbour of Cagliari, at the diſtance of one hundred and forty miles from the African ſhores [48].

Defeat and Death of Gildo, A. D. 398.

Gildo was prepared to reſiſt the invaſion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promiſes, he endeavoured to ſecure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman ſoldiers, whilſt he attracted to his ſtandard the diſtant tribes of Gætulia and Æthiopia. He proudly reviewed an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and boaſted, with the raſh preſumption which is the forerunner of diſgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horſes feet, the troops of Maſcezel, and involve, in a cloud of burning ſand, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany [49]. But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Honorius, was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen, to entertain any ſerious apprehenſion of a naked and diſorderly hoſt of Barbarians; whoſe left arm, inſtead of a ſhield, was protected only by a mantle; who were totally diſarmed as ſoon as they had darted their javelin from their

[47] Oroſius, l. vii. c. 36. p. 564. Auguſtin commends two of theſe ſavage ſaints of the iſle of Goats (epiſt. lxxxi. apud Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 317. and Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 398, N° 51.).

[48] Here the firſt book of the Gildonic war is terminated. The reſt of Claudian's poem has been loſt; and we are ignorant *how*, or *where*, the army made good their landing in Africa.

[49] Oroſius muſt be reſponſible for the account. The preſumption of Gildo and his various train of Barbarians is celebrated by Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 345—355.).

right

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right hand; and whoſe horſes had never been taught to bear the control, or to obey the guidance, of the bridle. He fixed his camp of five thouſand veterans in the face of a ſuperior enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the ſignal of a general engagement [50]. As Maſcezel advanced before the front with fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremoſt ſtandard-bearers of the Africans, and, on his refuſal to yield, ſtruck him on the arm with his ſword. The arm, and the ſtandard, ſunk under the weight of the blow; and the imaginary act of ſubmiſſion was haſtily repeated by all the ſtandards of the line. At this ſignal, the diſaffected cohorts proclaimed the name of their lawful ſovereign: the Barbarians, aſtoniſhed by the defection of their Roman allies, diſperſed, according to their cuſtom, in tumultuary flight; and Maſcezel obtained the honours of an eaſy, and almoſt bloodleſs, victory [51]. The tyrant eſcaped from the field of battle to the ſea-ſhore; and threw himſelf into a ſmall veſſel, with the hope of reaching in ſafety ſome friendly port of the empire of the Eaſt: but the obſtinacy of the wind drove him back into the harbour of Tabraca [52], which had acknowledged, with the reſt of the province, the dominion of Honorius, and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and loyalty, ſeized and confined the perſon of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own deſpair ſaved him from the intolerable torture of ſupporting the preſence of an injured, and victorious, brother [53].

[50] St. Ambroſe, who had been dead about a year, revealed, in a viſion, the time and place of the victory. Maſcezel afterwards related his dream to Paulinus, the original biographer of the ſaint, from whom it might eaſily paſs to Oroſius.

[51] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 303.) ſuppoſes an obſtinate combat; but the narrative of Oroſius appears to conceal a real fact, under the diſguiſe of a miracle.

[52] Tabraca lay between the two Hippos (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 112.; d'Anville, tom. iii. p. 84.). Oroſius has diſtinctly named the field of battle, but our ignorance cannot define the preciſe ſituation.

[53] The death of Gildo is expreſſed by Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. 357.), and his beſt interpreters, Zoſimus and Oroſius.

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The captives, and the ſpoils, of Africa, were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whoſe moderation appeared more conſpicuous, and more ſincere, in the midſt of proſperity, ſtill affected to conſult the laws of the republic; and referred to the ſenate and people of Rome, the judgment of the moſt illuſtrious criminals [54]. Their trial was public and ſolemn; but the judges, in the exerciſe of this obſolete and precarious juriſdiction, were impatient to puniſh the African magiſtrates, who had intercepted the ſubſiſtence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was oppreſſed by the Imperial miniſters, who had a viſible intereſt to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius ſeems to check the malicious induſtry of informers, a ſubſequent edict, at the diſtance of ten years, continues and renews the proſecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion [55]. The adherents of the tyrant who eſcaped the firſt fury of the ſoldiers, and the judges, might derive ſome conſolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary ſervices which he had performed. After he had finiſhed an important war in the ſpace of a ſingle winter, Maſcezel was received at the court of Milan with loud applauſe, affected gratitude, and ſecret jealouſy [56]; and his death, which, perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been conſidered as the crime of Stilicho. In the paſſage of a bridge, the Mooriſh prince, who accompanied the maſter-general of the Weſt, was ſuddenly thrown from his horſe into

[54] Claudian (ii Conſ. Stilich. 99—119.) deſcribes their trial (tremuit quos Africa nuper, cernunt roſtra reos), and applauds the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution. It is here that he introduces the famous ſentence, ſo familiar to the friends of deſpotiſm:

—— Nunquam libertas gratior exſtat
Quam ſub rege pio.

But the freedom, which depends on royal piety, ſcarcely deſerves that appellation.

[55] See the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxix. leg. 3. tit. xl. leg. 19.

[56] Stilicho, who claimed an equal ſhare in all the victories of Theodoſius and his ſon, particularly aſſerts, that Africa was recovered by the wiſdom of *his* counſels (ſee an Inſcription produced by Baronius).

the

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the river; the officious haſte of the attendants was reſtrained by a cruel and perfidious ſmile, which they obſerved on the countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the neceſſary aſſiſtance, the unfortunate Maſcezel was irrecoverably drowned [57].

Marriage, and character, of Honorius, A. D. 398.

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius, and of his couſin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho: and this equal and honourable alliance ſeemed to inveſt the powerful miniſter with the authority of a parent over his ſubmiſſive pupil. The muſe of Claudian was not ſilent on this propitious day [58]: he ſung, in various and lively ſtrains, the happineſs of the royal pair; and the glory of the hero, who confirmed their union, and ſupported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almoſt ceaſed to be the object of religious faith, were ſaved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyprian grove, the ſeat of harmony and love; the triumphant progreſs of Venus over her native ſeas, and the mild influence which her preſence diffuſed in the palace of Milan, expreſſes to every age the natural ſentiments of the heart, in the juſt and pleaſing language of allegorical fiction. But the amorous impatience, which Claudian attributes to the young prince [59], muſt excite the ſmiles of the court; and his beauteous ſpouſe (if ſhe deſerved the praiſe of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the paſſions of her lover. Honorius

[57] I have ſoftened the narrative of Zoſimus, which, in its crude ſimplicity, is almoſt incredible (l. v. p. 303.). Oroſius damns the victorious general (p. 538.), for violating the right of ſanctuary.

[58] Claudian, as the poet laureat, compoſed a ſerious and elaborate epithalamium of 340 lines; beſides ſome gay Feſcennines which were ſung, in a more licentious tone, on the wedding-night.

[59] ——————— Calet obvius ire
Jam princeps, tardumque cupit diſcedere ſolem.
Nobilis haud aliter *ſonipes*.
(de Nuptiis Honor. et Mariæ, 287.); and more freely in the Feſcennines (112—126.):
Dices, O *quoties*, hoc mihi dulcius
Quam flavos *decies* vincere Sarmatas
- - - - - - -
Tum victor madido profilias toro
Nocturni referens vulnera prœlii.

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was only in the fourteenth year of his age; Serena, the mother of his bride, deferred, by art or perſuaſion, the conſummation of the royal nuptials; Maria died a virgin, after ſhe had been ten years a wife; and the chaſtity of the emperor was ſecured by the coldneſs, or, perhaps, the debility, of his conſtitution [60]. His ſubjects, who attentively ſtudied the character of their young ſovereign, diſcovered that Honorius was without paſſions, and conſequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid diſpoſition was alike incapable of diſcharging the duties of his rank, or of enjoying the pleaſures of his age. In his early youth he made ſome progreſs in the exerciſes of riding and drawing the bow: but he ſoon relinquiſhed theſe fatiguing occupations, and the amuſement of feeding poultry became the ſerious and daily care of the monarch of the Weſt [61], who reſigned the reins of empire to the firm and ſkilful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of hiſtory will countenance the ſuſpicion, that a prince who was born in the purple, received a worſe education than the meaneſt peaſant of his dominions; and that the ambitious miniſter ſuffered him to attain the age of manhood, without attempting to excite his courage, or to enlighten his underſtanding [62]. The predeceſſors of Honorius were accuſtomed to animate, by their example, or at leaſt by their preſence, the valour of the legions; and the dates of their laws atteſt the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the ſon of Theodoſius paſſed the ſlumber of his life, a captive in his palace, a ſtranger in his country, and the patient,

[60] See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 333.

[61] Procopius de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. 2. I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius without adopting the ſingular, and, indeed, improbable tale, which is related by the Greek hiſtorian.

[62] The leſſons of Theodoſius, or rather Claudian (iv Conſ. Honor. 214—418.), might compoſe a fine inſtitution for the future prince of a great and free nation. It was far above Honorius, and his degenerate ſubjects.

almoſt the indifferent, ſpectator of the ruin of the Weſtern empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally ſubverted, by the arms of the Barbarians. In the eventful hiſtory of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will ſeldom be neceſſary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius.

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Revolt of the Goths.—They plunder Greece.—Two great Invaſions of Italy by Alaric and Radagaiſus.—They are repulſed by Stilicho.—The Germans over-run Gaul.—Uſurpation of Conſtantine in the Weſt.—Diſgrace and Death of Stilicho.

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Revolt of the Goths, A. D. 395.

IF the ſubjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodoſius, they were too ſoon convinced, how painfully the ſpirit and abilities of their deceaſed emperor had ſupported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January; and before the end of the winter of the ſame year, the Gothic nation was in arms[1]. The Barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent ſtandard; and boldly avowed the hoſtile deſigns, which they had long cheriſhed in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned, by the conditions of the laſt treaty, to a life of tranquillity and labour, deſerted their farms at the firſt ſound of the trumpet; and eagerly reſumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the ſavage warriors of Scythia iſſued from their foreſts; and the uncommon ſeverity of the winter allowed the poet to remark, "that they rolled their ponderous waggons over the broad "and icy bank of the indignant river[2]." The unhappy natives of the

[1] The revolt of the Goths, and the blockade of Conſtantinople, are diſtinctly mentioned by Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 7—100.), Zoſimus (l. v. p. 292.), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 29.).

[2] ——— Alii per terga ferocis Danubii

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the provinces to the South of the Danube, ſubmitted to the calamities, which, in the courſe of twenty years, were almoſt grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of Barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic name, were irregularly ſpread from the woody ſhores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Conſtantinople [3]. The interruption, or at leaſt the diminution, of the ſubſidy, which the Goths had received from the prudent liberality of Theodoſius, was the ſpecious pretence of their revolt: the affront was embittered by their contempt for the unwarlike ſons of Theodoſius; and their reſentment was inflamed by the weakneſs, or treachery, of the miniſter of Arcadius. The frequent viſits of Rufinus to the camp of the Barbarians, whoſe arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were conſidered as a ſufficient evidence of his guilty correſpondence: and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive, amidſt the general devaſtation, to ſpare the private eſtates of the unpopular præfect. The Goths, inſtead of being impelled by the blind and headſtrong paſſions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader was deſcended from the noble race of the Balti [4]; which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali: he had ſolicited the command of the Roman armies; and the Imperial court provoked him to demonſtrate the

Danubii ſolidata ruunt; expertaque remis
Frangunt ſtagna rotis.

Claudian and Ovid often amuſe their fancy by interchanging the metaphors and properties of *liquid* water, and *ſolid* ice. Much falſe wit has been expended in this eaſy exerciſe.

[3] Jerom, tom. i. p. 26. He endeavours to comfort his friend Heliodorus, biſhop of Altinum, for the loſs of his nephew Nepotian, by a curious recapitulation of all the public and private misfortunes of the times. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 200, &c.

[4] *Baltha*, or *bold*: origo mirifica, ſays Jornandes (c. 29.). This illuſtrious race long continued to flouriſh in France, in the Gothic province of Septimania, or Languedoc; under the corrupted appellation of *Baux*: and a branch of that family afterwards ſettled in the kingdom of Naples (Grotius in Prolegom. ad Hiſt. Gothic. p. 53.). The lords of Baux, near Arles, and of ſeventy-nine ſubordinate places, were independent of the counts of Provence (Longuerue, Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 357.).

folly

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folly of their refuſal, and the importance of their loſs. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, the judicious general ſoon abandoned an impracticable enterpriſe. In the midſt of a divided court, and a diſcontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aſpect of the Gothic arms: but the want of wiſdom and valour was ſupplied by the ſtrength of the city; and the fortifications, both of the ſea and land, might ſecurely brave the impotent and random darts of the Barbarians. Alaric diſdained to trample any longer on the proſtrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he reſolved to ſeek a plentiful harveſt of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto eſcaped the ravages of war [5].

Alaric marches into Greece, A. D. 396.

The character of the civil and military officers, on whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public ſuſpicion, that he had betrayed the ancient ſeat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconſul Antiochus was the unworthy ſon of a reſpectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppreſſive orders of a tyrant, than to defend, with courage and ability, a country moſt remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alaric had traverſed, without reſiſtance, the plains of Macedonia and Theſſaly, as far as the foot of Mount Oeta, a ſteep and woody range of hills, almoſt impervious to his cavalry. They ſtretched from Eaſt to Weſt, to the edge of the ſea-ſhore; and left, between the precipice and the Malian Gulf, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in ſome places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a ſingle carriage [6]. In this narrow paſs of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas and the three

[5] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 293—295.) is our beſt guide for the conqueſt of Greece: but the hints and alluſions of Claudian are ſo many rays of hiſtoric light.

[6] Compare Herodotus (l. vii. c. 176.) and Livy (xxxvi. 15.). The narrow entrance of Greece was probably enlarged by each ſucceſſive raviſher.

hundred

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hundred Spartans had glorioufly devoted their lives, the Goths might have been ſtopped, or deſtroyed, by a ſkilful general; and perhaps the view of that ſacred ſpot might have kindled ſome ſparks of military ardour in the breaſts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which had been poſted to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, retired, as they were directed, without attempting to diſturb the ſecure and rapid paſſage of Alaric[7]; and the fertile fields of Phocis, and Bæotia, were inſtantly covered by a deluge of Barbarians; who maſſacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the ſpoil, and cattle, of the flaming villages. The travellers, who viſited Greece ſeveral years afterwards, could eaſily diſcover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths; and Thebes was leſs indebted for her preſervation to the ſtrength of her ſeven gates, than to the eager haſte of Alaric, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens, and the important harbour of the Piræus. The ſame impatience urged him to prevent the delay and danger of a ſiege, by the offer of a capitulation; and as ſoon as the Athenians heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were eaſily perſuaded to deliver the greateſt part of their wealth, as the ranſom of the city of Minerva, and its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified by ſolemn oaths, and obſerved with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a ſmall and ſelect train, was admitted within the walls; he indulged himſelf in the refreſhment of the bath, accepted a ſplendid banquet which was provided by the magiſtrate, and affected to ſhew that he was not ignorant of the manners of civilized nations[8]. But the whole territory

[7] He paſſed, ſays Eunapius (in Vit. Philoſoph. p. 93. edit. Commelin, 1596), through the ſtreights, δια των πυλων (of Thermopylæ) παρηλθεν, ωσπερ δια ϛαδιου, και ιπποκροτου πεδιον τειχων.

[8] In obedience to Jerom, and Claudian (in Ruſin. l. ii. 191.), I have mixed ſome darker colours in the mild repreſentation of Zoſimus, who wiſhed to ſoften the calamities of Athens.

Nec fera Cecropias traxiſſent vincula matres.

Syneſius (Epiſt. clvi. p. 272. edit. Petav.) obſerves, that Athens, whoſe ſufferings he imputes to the proconſul's avarice, was at that time leſs famous for her ſchools of philoſophy than for her trade of honey.

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of Attica, from the promontory of Sunium to the town of Megara, was blaſted by his baleful preſence; and, if we may uſe the compariſon of a contemporary philoſopher, Athens itſelf reſembled the bleeding and empty ſkin of a ſlaughtered victim. The diſtance between Megara and Corinth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the *bad road*, an expreſſive name, which it ſtill bears among the Greeks, was, or might eaſily have been made, impaſſable for the march of an enemy. The thick and gloomy woods of Mount Cithæron covered the inland country; the Scironian rocks approached the water's edge, and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above ſix miles along the ſea-ſhore [9]. The paſſage of thoſe rocks, ſo infamous in every age, was terminated by the iſthmus of Corinth; and a ſmall body of firm and intrepid ſoldiers might have ſucceſsfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or ſix miles from the Ionian to the Ægean ſea. The confidence of the cities of Peloponneſus, in their natural rampart, had tempted them to neglect the care of their antique walls; and the avarice of the Roman governors had exhauſted and betrayed the unhappy province [10]. Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without reſiſtance to the arms of the Goths; and the moſt fortunate of the inhabitants were ſaved, by death, from beholding the ſlavery of their families, and the conflagration of their cities [11]. The vaſes and ſtatues were diſtributed among the Barbarians, with more regard to the value of the materials, than to the

[9] ——Vallata mari Scironia rupes,
Et duo continuo connectens æquora muro
Iſthmos ——

Claudian de Bell. Getico, 188. The Scironian rocks are deſcribed by Pauſanias (l. i. c. 44. p. 107. edit. Kuhn) and our modern travellers, Wheeler (p. 436.) and Chandler (p. 298.). Hadrian made the road paſſable for two carriages.

[10] Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 186. and de Bello Getico, 611, &c.) vaguely, though forcibly, delineates the ſcene of rapine and deſtruction.

[11] Τρις μαχαρες Δαναοι και τετρακις, &c. Theſe generous lines of Homer (Odyſſ. l. v. 306.) were tranſcribed by one of the captive youths of Corinth: and the tears of Mummius may prove that the rude conqueror, though he was ignorant of the value of an original picture, poſſeſſed the pureſt ſource of good taſte, a benevolent heart (Plutarch, Sympoſiac. l. ix. tom. ii. p. 737. edit. Wechel).

elegance

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elegance of the workmanſhip; the female captives ſubmitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour; and the Greeks could not reaſonably complain of an abuſe, which was juſtified by the example of the heroic times[12]. The deſcendants of that extraordinary people, who had conſidered valour and diſcipline as the walls of Sparta, no longer remembered the generous reply of their anceſtors to an invader more formidable than Alaric. "If thou "art a god, thou wilt not hurt thoſe who have never injured thee; "if thou art a man, advance:—and thou wilt find men equal to "thyſelf[13]." From Thermopylæ to Sparta, the leader of the Goths purſued his victorious march without encountering any mortal antagoniſts: but one of the advocates of expiring Paganiſm has confidently aſſerted, that the walls of Athens were guarded by the goddeſs Minerva, with her formidable Ægis, and by the angry phantom of Achilles[14]; and that the conqueror was diſmayed by the preſence of the hoſtile deities of Greece. In an age of miracles, it would perhaps be unjuſt to diſpute the claim of the hiſtorian Zoſimus to the common benefit; yet it cannot be diſſembled, that the mind of Alaric was ill prepared to receive, either in ſleeping or waking viſions, the impreſſions of Greek ſuperſtition. The ſongs of Homer, and the fame of Achilles, had probably never reached the ear of the illiterate *Barbarian*; and the *Chriſtian* faith, which he had devoutly embraced, taught him to deſpiſe the imaginary deities of Rome and Athens. The invaſion of the Goths, inſtead of vindicating the honour, contributed, at leaſt accidentally, to extirpate the laſt remains,

[12] Homer perpetually deſcribes the exemplary patience of thoſe female captives, who gave their charms, and even their hearts, to the murderers of their fathers, brothers, &c. Such a paſſion (of Eriphile for Achilles) is touched with admirable delicacy by Racine.

[13] Plutarch (in Pyrrho, tom. ii. p. 471. edit. Brian) gives the genuine anſwer in the Laconic dialect. Pyrrhus attacked Sparta with 25,000 foot, 2000 horſe, and 24 elephants: and the defence of that open town is a fine comment on the laws of Lycurgus, even in the laſt ſtage of decay.

[14] Such, perhaps, as Homer (Iliad, xx. 164.) has ſo nobly painted him.

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of Paganiſm; and the myſteries of Ceres, which had ſubſiſted eighteen hundred years, did not ſurvive the deſtruction of Eleuſis, and the calamities of Greece [15].

He is attacked by Stilicho, A. D. 397.

The laſt hope of a people who could no longer depend on their arms, their gods, or their ſovereign, was placed in the powerful aſſiſtance of the general of the Weſt; and Stilicho, who had not been permitted to repulſe, advanced to chaſtiſe, the invaders of Greece [16]. A numerous fleet was equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after a ſhort and proſperous navigation over the Ionian ſea, were ſafely diſembarked on the iſthmus, near the ruins of Corinth. The woody and mountainous country of Arcadia, the fabulous reſidence of Pan and the Dryads, became the ſcene of a long and doubtful conflict between two generals not unworthy of each other. The ſkill and perſeverance of the Roman at length prevailed: and the Goths, after ſuſtaining a conſiderable loſs from diſeaſe and deſertion, gradually retreated to the lofty mountain of Pholoe, near the ſources of the Peneus, and on the frontiers of Elis; a ſacred country, which had formerly been exempted from the calamities of war [17]. The camp of the Barbarians was immediately beſieged: the waters of the river [18] were diverted into another channel; and while they laboured under

[15] Eunapius (in Vit. Philoſoph. p. 90—93.) intimates, that a troop of monks betrayed Greece, and followed the Gothic camp.

[16] For Stilicho's Greek war, compare the honeſt narrative of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 295, 296.), with the curious circumſtantial flattery of Claudian (i Conſ. Stilich. l. i. 172—186. iv Conſ. Hon. 459—487.). As the event was not glorious, it is artfully thrown into the ſhade.

[17] The troops who marched through Elis delivered up their arms. This ſecurity enriched the Eleans, who were lovers of a rural life. Riches begat pride; they diſdained their privilege, and they ſuffered. Polybius adviſes them to retire once more within their magic circle. See a learned and judicious diſcourſe on the Olympic games, which Mr. Weſt has prefixed to his tranſlation of Pindar.

[18] Claudian (in iv Conſ. Hon. 480.) alludes to the fact, without naming the river: perhaps the Alpheus (i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 185.).

—— Et Alpheus Geticis anguſtus acervis
Tardior ad Siculos etiamnum pergit amores.

Yet I ſhould prefer the Peneus, a ſhallow ſtream in a wide and deep bed, which runs through

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under the intolerable preſſure of thirſt and hunger, a ſtrong line of circumvallation was formed to prevent their eſcape. After theſe precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph, in the theatrical games, and laſcivious dances, of the Greeks: his ſoldiers, deſerting their ſtandards, ſpread themſelves over the country of their allies, which they ſtripped of all that had been ſaved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. Alaric appears to have ſeized the favourable moment to execute one of thoſe hardy enterpriſes, in which the abilities of a general are diſplayed with more genuine luſtre, than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extricate himſelf from the priſon of Peloponneſus, it was neceſſary that he ſhould pierce the intrenchments which ſurrounded his camp; that he ſhould perform a difficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, as far as the Gulf of Corinth; and that he ſhould tranſport his troops, his captives, and his ſpoil, over an arm of the ſea, which, in the narrow interval between Rhium and the oppoſite ſhore, is at leaſt half a mile in breadth [19]. The operations of Alaric muſt have been ſecret, prudent, and rapid; ſince the Roman general was confounded by the intelligence, that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in full poſſeſſion of the important province of Epirus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric ſufficient time to conclude the treaty, which he ſecretly negotiated, with the miniſters of Conſtantinople. The apprehenſion of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he reſpected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and ſervant of the emperor of the Eaſt.

eſcapes to Epirus.

through Elis, and falls into the ſea below Cyllene. It had been joined with the Alpheus, to cleanſe the Augean ſtable (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 760. Chandler's Travels, p. 286.).

[19] Strabo, l. viii. p. 517. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. iv. 3. Wheeler, p. 308. Chandler, p. 275. They meaſured, from different points, the diſtance between the two lands.

A Grecian

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Alaric is declared master-general of the Eastern Illyricum, A. D. 398.

A Grecian philosopher [20], who visited Constantinople soon after the death of Theodosius, published his liberal opinions concerning the duties of kings, and the state of the Roman republic. Synesius observes, and deplores, the fatal abuse, which the imprudent bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the military service. The citizens, and subjects, had purchased an exemption from the indispensable duty of defending their country; which was supported by the arms of Barbarian mercenaries. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who disdained the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches, than to imitate the arts, of a people, the object of their contempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the stone of Tantalus, perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted state. The measures, which Synesius recommends, are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects, by the example of manly virtue; to banish luxury from the court, and from the camp; to substitute, in the place of the Barbarian mercenaries, an army of men, interested in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his shop, and the philosopher from his school; to rouse the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name, and would display the spirit, of Romans, he animates the son of Theodosius to encounter a race of Barbarians, who were destitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till he had

[20] Synesius passed three years (A. D. 397—400) at Constantinople, as deputy from Cyrene to the emperor Arcadius. He presented him with a crown of gold, and pronounced before him the instructive oration de Regno (p. 1—32. edit. Petav. Paris 1612). The philosopher was made bishop of Ptolemais, A. D. 410, and died about 430. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 499. 554. 683—685.

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chaſed them far away into the ſolitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the ſtate of ignominious ſervitude, which the Lacedæmonians formerly impoſed on the captive Helots [21]. The court of Arcadius indulged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice, of Syneſius. Perhaps the philoſopher, who addreſſes the emperor of the Eaſt, in the language of reaſon and virtue, which he might have uſed to a Spartan king, had not condeſcended to form a practicable ſcheme, conſiſtent with the temper, and circumſtances, of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the miniſters, whoſe buſineſs was ſeldom interrupted by reflection, might reject, as wild and viſionary, every propoſal, which exceeded the meaſure of their capacity, and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the oration of Syneſius, and the downfal of the Barbarians, were the topics of popular converſation, an edict was publiſhed at Conſtantinople, which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of maſter-general of the Eaſtern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies, who had reſpected the faith of treaties, were juſtly indignant, that the ruin of Greece and Epirus ſhould be ſo liberally rewarded. The Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magiſtrate, in the cities which he had ſo lately beſieged. The fathers, whoſe ſons he had maſſacred, the huſbands, whoſe wives he had violated, were ſubject to his authority: and the ſucceſs of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The uſe to which Alaric applied his new command, diſtinguiſhes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He iſſued his orders to the four magazines and manufactures of offenſive and defenſive arms, Margus, Ratiaria, Naiſſus, and Theſſalonica, to provide his troops with an extraordinary ſupply of ſhields, helmets, ſwords, and ſpears; the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the inſtruments of their own deſtruction; and the Barbarians removed the only defect

[21] Syneſius de Regno, p. 21—26.

which

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which had ſometimes diſappointed the efforts of their courage [22]. The birth of Alaric, the glory of his paſt exploits, and the confidence in his future deſigns, inſenſibly united the body of the nation under his victorious ſtandard; and, with the unanimous conſent of the Barbarian chieftains, the maſter-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient cuſtom, on a ſhield, and ſolemnly proclaimed king of the Viſigoths [23]. Armed with this double power, ſeated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately ſold his deceitful promiſes to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius [24]; till he declared and executed his reſolution of invading the dominions of the Weſt. The provinces of Europe which belonged to the Eaſtern emperor, were already exhauſted; thoſe of Aſia were inacceſſible; and the ſtrength of Conſtantinople had reſiſted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the beauty, the wealth of Italy, which he had twice viſited; and he ſecretly aſpired to plant the Gothic ſtandard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated ſpoils of three hundred triumphs [25].

and king of the Viſigoths.

He invades Italy, A. D. 400—403.

The ſcarcity of facts [26], and the uncertainty of dates [27], oppoſe our attempts to deſcribe the circumſtances of the firſt invaſion of Italy by

[22] ——— qui fœdera rumpit
Ditatur: qui ſervat, eget: vaſtator Achivæ
Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
Præſidet Illyrico: jam, quos obſedit, amicos
Ingreditur muros; illis reſponſa daturus
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natoſque peremit.
Claudian in Eutrop. l. ii. 212. Alaric applauds his own policy (de Bell. Getic. 533—543.), in the uſe which he had made of this Illyrian juriſdiction.

[23] Jornandes, c. 29. p. 651. The Gothic hiſtorian adds, with unuſual ſpirit, Cum ſuis deliberans ſuaſit ſuo labore quærere regna, quam alienis per otium ſubjacere.

[24] —— Diſcors odiiſque anceps civilibus Orbis
Non ſua vis tutata diu, dum fœdera fallax
Ludit, et alternæ perjuria venditat aulæ.
Claudian de Bell. Get. 565.

[25] Alpibus Italiæ ruptis penetrabis ad *Urbem*.
This authentic prediction was announced by Alaric, or at leaſt by Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 547.), ſeven years before the event. But as it was not accompliſhed within the term which has been raſhly fixed, the interpreters eſcaped through an ambiguous meaning.

[26] Our beſt materials are 970 verſes of Claudian, in the poem on the Getic War, and the beginning of that which celebrates the ſixth conſulſhip of Honorius. Zoſimus is totally ſilent; and we are reduced to ſuch ſcraps, or rather crumbs, as we can pick from Oroſius and the Chronicles.

[27] Notwithſtanding the groſs errors of Jornandes, who confounds the Italian wars of Alaric (c. 29.), his date of the conſulſhip of

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by the arms of Alaric. His march, perhaps from Theſſalonica, through the warlike and hoſtile country of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; his paſſage of thoſe mountains, which were ſtrongly guarded by troops and intrenchments; the ſiege of Aquileia, and the conqueſt of the provinces of Iſtria and Venetia, appear to have employed a conſiderable time. Unleſs his operations were extremely cautious and ſlow, the length of the interval would ſuggeſt a probable ſuſpicion, that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube; and reinforced his army with freſh ſwarms of Barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy. Since the public and important events eſcape the diligence of the hiſtorian, he may amuſe himſelf with contemplating, for a moment, the influence of the arms of Alaric on the fortunes of two obſcure individuals, a preſbyter of Aquileia, and an huſbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was ſummoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman ſynod [28], wiſely preferred the dangers of a beſieged city; and the Barbarians, who furiouſly ſhook the walls of Aquileia, might ſave him from the cruel ſentence of another heretic, who, at the requeſt of the ſame biſhops, was ſeverely whipped, and condemned to perpetual exile on a deſert iſland [29]. The *old man* [30], who had paſſed his

of Stilicho and Aurelian (A. D. 400) is firm and reſpectable. It is certain, from Claudian (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 804.), that the battle of Pollentia was fought A. D. 403; but we cannot eaſily fill the interval.

[28] Tantum Romanæ urbis judicium fugis, ut magis obſidionem barbaricam, quam *pacatæ* urbis judicium velis ſuſtinere. Jerom. tom. ii. p. 239. Rufinus underſtood his own danger: the *peaceful* city was inflamed by the beldam Marcella, and the reſt of Jerom's faction.

[29] Jovinian, the enemy of faſts and of celibacy, who was perſecuted, and inſulted, by the furious Jerom (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 104, &c.). See the original edict of baniſhment in the Theodoſian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 43.

[30] This epigram (de Sene Veronenſi qui ſuburbium nuſquam egreſſus eſt) is one of the earlieſt and moſt pleaſing compoſitions of Claudian. Cowley's imitation (Hurd's edition, vol. ii. p. 241.) has ſome natural and happy ſtrokes: but it is much inferior to the original portrait, which is evidently drawn from the life.

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ſimple and innocent life in the neighbourhood of Verona, was a ſtranger to the quarrels both of kings and of biſhops; *his* pleaſures, his deſires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal farm; and a ſtaff ſupported his aged ſteps, on the ſame ground where he had ſported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and ruſtic felicity (which Claudian deſcribes with ſo much truth and feeling) was ſtill expoſed to the undiſtinguiſhing rage of war. His trees, his old *contemporary* trees [31], muſt blaze in the conflagration of the whole country; a detachment of Gothic cavalry might ſweep away his cottage and his family; and the power of Alaric could deſtroy this happineſs, which he was not able, either to taſte, or to beſtow. "Fame," ſays the poet, "encircling with terror her gloomy wings, proclaimed the march "of the Barbarian army, and filled Italy with conſternation:" the apprehenſions of each individual were increaſed in juſt proportion to the meaſure of his fortune: and the moſt timid, who had already embarked their valuable effects, meditated their eſcape to the iſland of Sicily, or the African coaſt. The public diſtreſs was aggravated by the fears and reproaches of ſuperſtition [32]. Every hour produced ſome horrid tale of ſtrange and portentous accidents: the Pagans deplored the neglect of omens, and the interruption of ſacrifices; but the Chriſtians ſtill derived ſome comfort from the powerful interceſſion of the ſaints and martyrs [33].

[31] Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum
Æquævumque videt conſenuiſſe nemus.

A neighbouring wood born with himſelf he ſees,
And loves his old contemporary trees.

In this paſſage, Cowley is perhaps ſuperior to his original; and the Engliſh poet, who was a good botaniſt, has concealed the *oaks*, under a more general expreſſion.

[32] Claudian de Bell. Get. 199—266. He may ſeem prolix: but fear and ſuperſtition occupied as large a ſpace in the minds of the Italians.

[33] From the paſſages of Paulinus, which Baronius has produced (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 403, N° 51.), it is manifeſt, that the general alarm had pervaded all Italy, as far as Nola in Campania, where that famous penitent had fixed his abode.

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Honorius flies from Milan, A. D. 403.

The emperor Honorius was diſtinguiſhed, above his ſubjects, by the pre-eminence of fear, as well as of rank. The pride and luxury in which he was educated, had not allowed him to ſuſpect, that there exiſted on the earth any power preſumptuous enough to invade the repoſe of the ſucceſſor of Auguſtus. The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger, till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when the ſound of war had awakened the young emperor, inſtead of flying to arms with the ſpirit, or even the raſhneſs, of his age, he eagerly liſtened to thoſe timid counſellors, who propoſed to convey his ſacred perſon, and his faithful attendants, to ſome ſecure and diſtant ſtation in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone [34] had courage and authority to reſiſt this diſgraceful meaſure, which would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the Barbarians; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhætian frontier, and as the reſource of new levies was ſlow and precarious, the general of the Weſt could only promiſe, that, if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during his abſence, he would ſoon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without loſing a moment (while each moment was ſo important to the public ſafety) Stilicho haſtily embarked on the Larian lake, aſcended the mountains of ice and ſnow, amidſt the ſeverity of an Alpine winter, and ſuddenly repreſſed, by his unexpected preſence, the enemy, who had diſturbed the tranquillity of Rhætia [35]. The Barbarians, perhaps ſome tribes of the Alemanni, reſpected the firmneſs of a chief, who ſtill aſſumed the language of command; and the choice which he condeſcended to make, of a ſelect number of their braveſt youth, was conſidered as a mark of

[34] Solus erat Stilicho, &c. is the excluſive commendation which Claudian beſtows (de Bell. Get. 267), without condeſcending to except the emperor. How inſignificant muſt Honorius have appeared in his own court!

[35] The face of the country, and the hardineſs of Stilicho, are finely deſcribed (de Bell. Get. 340—363.).

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his eſteem and favour. The cohorts, who were delivered from the neighbouring foe, diligently repaired to the Imperial ſtandard; and Stilicho iſſued his orders to the moſt remote troops of the Weſt, to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of Honorius and of Italy. The fortreſſes of the Rhine were abandoned; and the ſafety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans, and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legion, which had been ſtationed to guard the wall of Britain againſt the Caledonians of the North, was haſtily recalled [36]; and a numerous body of the cavalry of the Alani was perſuaded to engage in the ſervice of the emperor, who anxiouſly expected the return of his general. The prudence and vigour of Stilicho were conſpicuous on this occaſion, which revealed, at the ſame time, the weakneſs of the falling empire. The legions of Rome, which had long ſince languiſhed in the gradual decay of diſcipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars; and it was found impoſſible, without exhauſting and expoſing the provinces, to aſſemble an army for the defence of Italy.

He is purſued and beſieged by the Goths.

When Stilicho ſeemed to abandon his ſovereign in the unguarded palace of Milan, he had probably calculated the term of his abſence, the diſtance of the enemy, and the obſtacles that might retard their march. He principally depended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincius, the Oglio, and the Addua; which, in the winter or ſpring, by the fall of rains, or by the melting of the ſnows, are commonly ſwelled into broad and impetuous torrents [37]. But the ſeaſon

[36] Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci.
De Bell. Get. 416.
Yet the moſt rapid march from Edinburgh, or Newcaſtle, to Milan, muſt have required a longer ſpace of time than Claudian ſeems willing to allow for the duration of the Gothic war.

[37] Every traveller muſt recollect the face of Lombardy (ſee Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 279.), which is often tormented by the capricious and irregular abundance of waters. The Auſtrians, before Genoa, were encamped in

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ſeaſon happened to be remarkably dry; and the Goths could traverſe, without impediment, the wide and ſtony beds, whoſe centre was faintly marked by the courſe of a ſhallow ſtream. The bridge and paſſage of the Addua were ſecured by a ſtrong detachment of the Gothic army; and as Alaric approached the walls, or rather the ſuburbs, of Milan, he enjoyed the proud ſatisfaction of ſeeing the emperor of the Romans fly before him. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of ſtateſmen and eunuchs, haſtily retreated towards the Alps, with a deſign of ſecuring his perſon in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal reſidence of his predeceſſors. But Honorius [38] had ſcarcely paſſed the Po, before he was overtaken by the ſpeed of the Gothic cavalry [39]; ſince the urgency of the danger compelled him to ſeek a temporary ſhelter within the fortification of Aſta, a town of Liguria or Piemont, ſituate on the banks of the Tanarus [40]. The ſiege of an obſcure place, which contained ſo rich a prize, and ſeemed incapable of a long reſiſtance, was inſtantly formed, and indefatigably preſſed, by the king of the Goths; and the bold declaration, which the emperor might afterwards make, that his breaſt had never been ſuſceptible of fear, did not probably obtain much credit, even in his own court [41]. In the laſt, and almoſt hopeleſs extremity, after the Barbarians had already propoſed the indignity

in the dry bed of the Polcevera. "Ne ſa-" rebbe" (ſays Muratori) "mai paſſato per " mente a qué buoni Alemanni, che quel pic-" ciolo torrente poteſſe, per coſi dire in un in-" ſtante cangiarſi in un terribil gigante." (Annal. d'Italia, tom. xvi. p. 443. Milan, 1753, 8vo edit.)

[38] Claudian does not clearly anſwer our queſtion, Where was Honorius himſelf? Yet the flight is marked by the purſuit; and my idea of the Gothic war is juſtified by the Italian critics, Sigonius (tom. i. P. ii. p. 369. de Imp. Occident. l. x.) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 45.).

[39] One of the roads may be traced in the Itineraries (p. 98. 288. 294. with Weſſeling's notes). Aſta lay ſome miles on the right-hand.

[40] Aſta, or Aſti, a Roman colony, is now the capital of a pleaſant county, which, in the ſixteenth century, devolved to the Dukes of Savoy (Leandro Alberti Deſcrizzione d'Italia, p. 382.).

[41] Nec me timor impulit ullus. He might hold this proud language the next year at Rome, five hundred miles from the ſcene of danger (vi Conſ. Hon. 449.).

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of a capitulation, the Imperial captive was ſuddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and at length the preſence of the hero, whom he had ſo long expected. At the head of a choſen and intrepid vanguard, Stilicho ſwam the ſtream of the Addua, to gain the time which he muſt have loſt in the attack of the bridge; the paſſage of the Po was an enterpriſe of much leſs hazard and difficulty; and the ſucceſsful action, in which he cut his way through the Gothic camp under the walls of Aſta, revived the hopes, and vindicated the honour, of Rome. Inſtead of graſping the fruit of his victory, the Barbarian was gradually inveſted, on every ſide, by the troops of the Weſt, who ſucceſſively iſſued through all the paſſes of the Alps; his quarters were ſtraightened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to beſiege the lines of the beſiegers. A military council was aſſembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of aged warriors, whoſe bodies were wrapped in furs, and whoſe ſtern countenances were marked with honourable wounds. They weighed the glory of perſiſting in their attempt, againſt the advantage of ſecuring their plunder; and they recommended the prudent meaſure of a ſeaſonable retreat. In this important debate, Alaric diſplayed the ſpirit of the conqueror of Rome; and after he had reminded his countrymen of their atchievements and of their deſigns, he concluded his animating ſpeech, by the ſolemn and poſitive aſſurance, that he was reſolved to find in Italy, either a kingdom, or a grave [42].

Battle of Pollentia, A. D. 403. March 29.

The looſe diſcipline of the Barbarians always expoſed them to the danger of a ſurpriſe; but, inſtead of chuſing the diſſolute hours

[42] Hanc ego vel victor regno, vel morte tenebo
Victus, humum ——
The ſpeeches (de Bell. Get. 479—549.) of the Gothic Neſtor, and Achilles, are ſtrong, characteriſtic, adapted to the circumſtances; and poſſibly not leſs genuine than thoſe of Livy.

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of riot and intemperance, Stilicho reſolved to attack the *Chriſtian* Goths whilſt they were devoutly employed in celebrating the feſtival of Eaſter [43]. The execution of the ſtratagem, or, as it was termed by the clergy, of the ſacrilege, was entruſted to Saul, a Barbarian and a Pagan, who had ſerved, however, with diſtinguiſhed reputation among the veteran generals of Theodoſius. The camp of the Goths, which Alaric had pitched in the neighbourhood of Pollentia [44], was thrown into confuſion by the ſudden and impetuous charge of the Imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the undaunted genius of their leader gave them an order, and a field, of battle; and, as ſoon as they had recovered from their aſtoniſhment, the pious confidence, that the God of the Chriſtians would aſſert their cauſe, added new ſtrength to their native valour. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and ſucceſs, the chief of the Alani, whoſe diminutive and ſavage form concealed a magnanimous ſoul, approved his ſuſpected loyalty, by the zeal with which he fought, and fell, in the ſervice of the republic; and the fame of this gallant Barbarian has been imperfectly preſerved in the verſes of Claudian, ſince the poet, who celebrates his virtue, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and diſmay of the ſquadrons which he commanded; and the defeat of the wing of cavalry might have decided the victory of Alaric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and Barbarian infantry to the attack. The ſkill of the general, and the bravery of the

[43] Oroſius (l. vii. c. 37.) is ſhocked at the impiety of the Romans, who attacked, on Eaſter-Sunday, ſuch pious Chriſtians. Yet, at the ſame time, public prayers were offered at the ſhrine of St. Thomas of Edeſſa, for the deſtruction of the Arian robber. See Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 529.), who quotes an homily, which has been erroneouſly aſcribed to St. Chryſoſtom.

[44] The veſtiges of Pollentia are twenty-five miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Turin. *Urbs*, in the ſame neighbourhood, was a royal chace of the kings of Lombardy, and a ſmall river, which excuſed the prediction, "penetrabis ad "urbem." (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 83—85.)

ſoldiers,

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ſoldiers, ſurmounted every obſtacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths retreated from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced, and the ſcene of rapine and ſlaughter made ſome atonement for the calamities which they had inflicted on the ſubjects of the empire [45]. The magnificent ſpoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the Weſt; the captive wife of Alaric, who had impatiently claimed his promiſe of Roman jewels and Patrician handmaids [46], was reduced to implore the mercy of the inſulting foe; and many thouſand priſoners, releaſed from the Gothic chains, diſperſed through the provinces of Italy the praiſes of their heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho [47] was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marius; who, in the ſame part of Italy, had encountered and deſtroyed another army of northern Barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets, of the Cimbri and of the Goths, would eaſily be confounded by ſucceeding generations; and poſterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two moſt illuſtrious generals, who had vanquiſhed, on the ſame memorable ground, the two moſt formidable enemies of Rome [48].

Boldneſs and retreat of Alaric.

The eloquence of Claudian [49] has celebrated, with laviſh applauſe, the victory of Pollentia, one of the moſt glorious days in the life of

[45] Oroſius wiſhes, in doubtful words, to inſinuate the defeat of the Romans. "Pugnantes vicimus, victores victi ſumus." Proſper (in Chron.) makes it an equal and bloody battle; but the Gothic writers, Caſſiodorius (in Chron.) and Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29.) claim a deciſive victory.

[46] Demens Auſonidum gemmata monilia matrum,
Romanaſque altâ famulas cervice petebat.
De Bell. Get. 627.

[47] Claudian (de Bell. Get. 580—647.) and Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. 694—719.) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are poetical and party writers; yet ſome credit is due to the moſt ſuſpicious witneſſes, who are checked by the recent notoriety of facts.

[48] Claudian's peroration is ſtrong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbric and Gothic fields, muſt be underſtood (like Virgil's Philippi, Georgic i. 490.) according to the looſe geography of a poet. Vercellæ and Pollentia are ſixty miles from each other; and the latitude is ſtill greater, if the Cimbri were defeated in the wide and barren plain of Verona (Maffei, Verona Illuſtrata, P. i. p. 54—62.).

[49] Claudian and Prudentius muſt be ſtrictly examined to reduce the figures, and extort the hiſtoric ſenſe, of thoſe poets.

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his patron; but his reluctant and partial muſe beſtows more genuine praiſe on the character of the Gothic king. His name is indeed branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are ſo juſtly entitled; but the poet of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge, that Alaric poſſeſſed the invincible temper of mind, which riſes ſuperior to every misfortune, and derives new reſources from adverſity. After the total defeat of his infantry, he eſcaped, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle, with the greateſt part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without waſting a moment to lament the irreparable loſs of ſo many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king[10]; and boldly reſolved to break through the unguarded paſſes of the Apennine, to ſpread deſolation over the fruitful face of Tuſcany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was ſaved by the active and inceſſant diligence of Stilicho: but he reſpected the deſpair of his enemy; and, inſtead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he propoſed to purchaſe the abſence of the Barbarians. The ſpirit of Alaric would have rejected ſuch terms, the permiſſion of a retreat, and the offer of a penſion, with contempt and indignation; but he exerciſed a limited and precarious authority over the independent chieftains, who had raiſed him, for *their* ſervice, above the rank of his equals; they were ſtill leſs diſpoſed to follow an unſucceſsful general, and many of them were tempted to conſult their intereſt by a private negotiation with the miniſter of Honorius. The king ſubmitted to the voice of his people, ratified

[10] Et gravant en airain ſes frêles avantages
De mes etats conquis enchainer les images.
The practice of expoſing in triumph the images of kings and provinces, was familiar to the Romans. The buſt of Mithridates himſelf was twelve feet high, of maſſy gold (Freinſhem. Supplement. Livian. ciii. 47.).

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the treaty with the empire of the Weſt, and repaſſed the Po, with the remains of the flouriſhing army which he had led into Italy. A conſiderable part of the Roman forces ſtill continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho, who maintained a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the Barbarian chiefs, was punctually appriſed of the deſigns that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The king of the Goths, ambitious to ſignalize his retreat by ſome ſplendid atchievement, had reſolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal paſſage of the Rhætian Alps; and, directing his march through the territories of thoſe German tribes, whoſe alliance would reſtore his exhauſted ſtrength, to invade, on the ſide of the Rhine, the wealthy and unſuſpecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treaſon, which had already betrayed his bold and judicious enterpriſe, he advanced towards the paſſes of the mountains, already poſſeſſed by the Imperial troops; where he was expoſed, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, to a general attack in the front, on his flanks, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a ſmall diſtance from the walls of Verona, the loſs of the Goths was not leſs heavy than that which they had ſuſtained in the defeat of Pollentia; and their valiant king, who eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, muſt either have been ſlain or made priſoner, if the haſty raſhneſs of the Alani had not diſappointed the meaſures of the Roman general. Alaric ſecured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himſelf, with undaunted reſolution, to maintain a ſiege againſt the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, who inveſted him on all ſides. But he could not oppoſe the deſtructive progreſs of hunger and diſeaſe; nor was it poſſible for him to check the continual deſertion of his impatient and capricious Barbarians. In this extremity he ſtill found reſources in his own courage, or in the moderation of his adverſary; and the retreat of the Gothic king

king was considered as the deliverance of Italy [51]. Yet the people, and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arraign the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often dismissed, the implacable enemy of the republic. The first moment of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the second is diligently occupied by envy and calumny [52].

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The citizens of Rome had been astonished by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they laboured to restore the walls of the capital, confessed their own fears, and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the Barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate, in the Imperial city, the auspicious æra of the Gothic victory, and of his sixth consulship [53]. The suburbs and the streets, from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the space of an hundred years, had only thrice been honoured with the presence of their sovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chariot where Stilicho was deservedly seated by the side of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph, which was not stained, like that of Constantine, or of Theodosius, with civil blood. The procession passed under a lofty arch, which had been purposely erected: but in less than seven years, the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the superb inscription of that monument, which attested the total defeat and destruction of their nation [54]. The emperor resided several months in the capital, and every part of

The triumph of Honorius at Rome, A. D. 404.

[51] The Getic war, and the sixth consulship of Honorius, obscurely connect the events of Alaric's retreat and losses.

[52] Taceo de Alarico . . . sæpe victo, sæpe concluso, semperque dimisso. Orosius, l. vii. c. 37. p. 567. Claudian (vi Cons. Hon. 320.) drops the curtain with a fine image.

[53] The remainder of Claudian's poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius, describes the journey, the triumph, and the games (330—660.).

[54] See the inscription in Mascou's History of the Ancient Germans, viii. 12. The words are positive and indiscreet, Getarum nationem in omne ævum domitam, &c.

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his behaviour was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the ſenate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent viſits, and liberal gifts, to the ſhrines of the apoſtles. The ſenate, who, in the triumphal proceſſion, had been excuſed from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the Imperial chariot, was treated with the decent reverence which Stilicho always affected for that aſſembly. The people was repeatedly gratified by the attention and courteſy of Honorius in the public games, which were celebrated on that occaſion with a magnificence not unworthy of the ſpectator. As ſoon as the appointed number of chariot-races was concluded, the decoration of the Circus was ſuddenly changed; the hunting of wild beaſts afforded a various and ſplendid entertainment; and the chaſe was ſucceeded by a military dance, which ſeems, in the lively deſcription of Claudian, to preſent the image of a modern tournament.

The gladiators aboliſhed.

In theſe games of Honorius, the inhuman combats of gladiators[55] polluted, for the laſt time, the amphitheatre of Rome. The firſt Chriſtian emperor may claim the honour of the firſt edict, which condemned the art and amuſement of ſhedding human blood[56]; but this benevolent law expreſſed the wiſhes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuſe, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of ſavage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps ſeveral thouſand, victims were annually ſlaughtered in the great cities of the empire; and the month of December, more peculiarly devoted to the combats of gladiators, ſtill exhibited, to the eyes of the Roman people, a grateful ſpectacle of blood and cruelty. Amidſt the general joy of the victory of Pollentia, a Chriſtian poet exhorted

[55] On the curious, though horrid, ſubject of the gladiators, conſult the two books of the Saturnalia of Lipſius, who, as an *antiquarian*, is inclined to excuſe the practice of *antiquity* (tom. iii. p. 483—545.).

[56] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xv. tit. xii. leg. 1. The Commentary of Godefroy affords large materials (tom. v. p. 396.) for the hiſtory of gladiators.

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the emperor to extirpate, by his authority, the horrid cuſtom which had ſo long reſiſted the voice of humanity and religion [57]. The pathetic repreſentations of Prudentius were leſs effectual than the generous boldneſs of Telemachus, an Aſiatic monk, whoſe death was more uſeful to mankind than his life [58]. The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleaſures; and the raſh monk, who had deſcended into the arena, to ſeparate the gladiators, was overwhelmed under a ſhower of ſtones. But the madneſs of the people ſoon ſubſided; they reſpected the memory of Telemachus, who had deſerved the honours of martyrdom; and they ſubmitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which aboliſhed for ever the human ſacrifices of the amphitheatre. The citizens, who adhered to the manners of their anceſtors, might perhaps inſinuate, that the laſt remains of a martial ſpirit were preſerved in this ſchool of fortitude, which accuſtomed the Romans to the ſight of blood, and to the contempt of death: a vain and cruel prejudice, ſo nobly confuted by the valour of ancient Greece, and of modern Europe [59].

Honorius fixes his reſidence at Ravenna, A. D. 404.

The recent danger, to which the perſon of the emperor had been expoſed in the defenceleſs palace of Milan, urged him to ſeek a retreat in ſome inacceſſible fortreſs of Italy, where he might ſecurely remain, while the open country was covered by a deluge of Barbarians. On the coaſt of the Hadriatic, about ten or twelve miles from the moſt ſouthern of the ſeven mouths of the Po, the Theſſa-

[57] See the peroration of Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. 1121—1131.), who had doubtleſs read the eloquent invective of Lactantius (Divin. Inſtitut. l. vi. c. 20.). The Chriſtian apologiſts have not ſpared theſe bloody games, which were introduced in the religious feſtivals of Paganiſm.

[58] Theodoret, l. v. c. 26. I wiſh to believe the ſtory of St. Telemachus. Yet no church has been dedicated, no altar has been erected, to the only monk who died a martyr in the cauſe of humanity.

[59] Crudele gladiatorum ſpectaculum et inhumanum *nonnullis* videri ſolet; et *haud ſcio* an ita ſit, ut nunc ſit. Cicero Tuſculan. ii. 17. He faintly cenſures the *abuſe*, and warmly defends the *uſe*, of theſe ſports; oculis nulla poterat eſſe fortior contra dolorem et mortem diſciplina. Seneca (epiſt. vii.) ſhews the feelings of a man.

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lians had founded the ancient colony of RAVENNA[60], which they afterwards reſigned to the natives of Umbria. Auguſtus, who had obſerved the opportunity of the place, prepared, at the diſtance of three miles from the old town, a capacious harbour, for the reception of two hundred and fifty ſhips of war. This naval eſtabliſhment, which included the arſenals and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the houſes of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent ſtation of the Roman fleet; the intermediate ſpace was ſoon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extenſive and populous quarters of Ravenna gradually contributed to form one of the moſt important cities of Italy. The principal canal of Auguſtus poured a copious ſtream of the waters of the Po through the midſt of the city, to the entrance of the harbour; the ſame waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompaſſed the walls; they were diſtributed, by a thouſand ſubordinate canals, into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of ſmall iſlands; the communication was maintained only by the uſe of boats and bridges; and the houſes of Ravenna, whoſe appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raiſed on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the diſtance of many miles, was a deep and impaſſable moraſs; and the artificial cauſeway, which connected Ravenna with the continent, might be eaſily guarded, or deſtroyed, on the approach of an hoſtile army. Theſe moraſſes were interſperſed, however, with vineyards; and though the ſoil was exhauſted by four or five crops, the town

[60] This account of Ravenna is drawn from Strabo (l. v. p. 327.), Pliny (iii. 20.), Stephen of Byzantium (ſub voce Ραβεννα, p. 651. edit. Berkel), Claudian (in vi Conſ. Honor. 494, &c.), Sidonius Apollinaris (l. i. epiſt. v. 8.), Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29.), Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. l. i. c. 1. p. 309. edit. Louvre), and Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 301—307.). Yet I ſtill want a local antiquarian, and a good topographical map.

enjoyed

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enjoyed a more plentiful ſupply of wine than of freſh water[61]. The air, inſtead of receiving the ſickly, and almoſt peſtilential, exhalations of low and marſhy grounds, was diſtinguiſhed, like the neighbourhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and ſalubrious; and this ſingular advantage was aſcribed to the regular tides of the Hadriatic, which ſwept the canals, interrupted the unwholeſome ſtagnation of the waters, and floated, every day, the veſſels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravenna. The gradual retreat of the ſea has left the modern city at the diſtance of four miles from the Hadriatic; and as early as the fifth or ſixth century of the Chriſtian æra, the port of Auguſtus was converted into pleaſant orchards; and a lonely grove of pines covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor[62]. Even this alteration contributed to increaſe the natural ſtrength of the place; and the ſhallowneſs of the water was a ſufficient barrier againſt the large ſhips of the enemy. This advantageous ſituation was fortified by art and labour; and in the twentieth year of his age, the emperor of the Weſt, anxious only for his perſonal ſafety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and moraſſes of Ravenna. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble ſucceſſors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the Exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and, till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was conſidered as the ſeat of government, and the capital of Italy[63].

[61] Martial (epigram iii. 56, 57.) plays on the trick of the knave, who had ſold him wine inſtead of water; but he ſeriouſly declares, that a ciſtern, at Ravenna, is more valuable than a vineyard. Sidonius complains that the town is deſtitute of fountains and aqueducts; and ranks the want of freſh water among the local evils, ſuch as the croaking of frogs, the ſtinging of gnats, &c.

[62] The fable of Theodore and Honoria, which Dryden has ſo admirably tranſplanted from Bocaccio (Giornata iii. novell viii.), was acted in the wood of *Chiaſſi*, a corrupt word from *Claſſis*, the naval ſtation, which, with the intermediate road or ſuburb, the *Via Cæſaris*, conſtituted the *triple* city of Ravenna.

[63] From the year 404, the dates of the Theodoſian Code become ſedentary at Conſtantinople and Ravenna. See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, tom. i. p. cxlviii. &c.

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The revolutions of Scythia, A. D. 400.

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempeſt was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irreſiſtible impulſe, that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eaſtern extremity of the continent of Aſia. The Chineſe annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned induſtry of the preſent age, may be uſefully applied to reveal the ſecret and remote cauſes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extenſive territory to the north of the great wall, was poſſeſſed, after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Sienpi; who were ſometimes broken into independent tribes, and ſometimes re-united under a ſupreme chief; till at length ſtyling themſelves *Topa*, or maſters of the earth, they acquired a more ſolid conſiſtence, and a more formidable power. The Topa ſoon compelled the paſtoral nations of the eaſtern deſert to acknowledge the ſuperiority of their arms; they invaded China in a period of weakneſs and inteſtine diſcord; and theſe fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquiſhed people, founded an Imperial dynaſty, which reigned near one hundred and ſixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they aſcended the throne of China, one of the Topa princes had enliſted in his cavalry a ſlave of the name of Moko, renowned for his valour; but who was tempted, by the fear of puniſhment, to deſert his ſtandard, and to range the deſert at the head of an hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws ſwelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Geougen*; and their hereditary chieftains, the poſterity of Moko the ſlave, aſſumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greateſt of his deſcendants, was exerciſed by thoſe misfortunes which are the ſchool of heroes. He bravely ſtruggled with adverſity, broke the imperious yoke of the Topa, and became the legiſlator of his nation, and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops

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were distributed into regular bands of an hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stoned to death; the most splendid honours were proposed as the reward of valour; and Toulun, who had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only such arts and institutions as were favourable to the military spirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter season to a more southern latitude, were pitched, during the summer, on the fruitful banks of the Selinga. His conquests stretched from Corea far beyond the river Irtish. He vanquished, in the country to the North of the Caspian sea, the nation of the *Huns*; and the new title of *Khan*, or *Cagan*, expressed the fame and power which he derived from this memorable victory[64].

Emigration of the northern Germans, A. D. 405.

The chain of events is interrupted, or rather is concealed, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval, which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese, and of the Roman, geography. Yet the temper of the Barbarians, and the experience of successive emigrations, sufficiently declare, that the Huns, who were oppressed by the arms of the Geougen, soon withdrew from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the Euxine were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their hasty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plains, through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic sea. The North must again have been alarmed, and agitated, by the invasion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them, must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany[65]. The inhabitants of those regions, which the ancients have assigned to

[64] See M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 179—189. tom. ii. p. 295. 334—338.

[65] Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. iii. p. 182.) has observed an emigration from the Palus Mæotis to the north of Germany, which he ascribes to famine. But his views of ancient history are strangely darkened by ignorance and error.

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the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace the reſolution of abandoning to the fugitives of Sarmatia, their woods and moraſſes; or at leaſt of diſcharging their ſuperfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire[66]. About four years after the victorious Toulun had aſſumed the title of Khan of the Geougen, another Barbarian, the haughty Rhodogaſt, or Radagaiſus[67], marched from the northern extremities of Germany almoſt to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to atchieve the deſtruction of the Weſt. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the ſtrength of this mighty hoſt; but the Alani, who had found an hoſpitable reception in their new ſeats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded ſo eagerly to the ſtandard of Radagaiſus, that, by ſome hiſtorians, he has been ſtyled the king of the Goths. Twelve thouſand warriors, diſtinguiſhed above the vulgar by their noble birth, or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van[68]; and the whole multitude, which was not leſs than two hundred thouſand fighting men, might be increaſed, by the acceſſion of women, of children, and of ſlaves, to the amount of four hundred thouſand perſons. This formidable emigration iſſued from the ſame coaſt of the Baltic, which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Teutones, to aſſault Rome and Italy in the vigour of the republic. After the departure of thoſe Barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the veſtiges of their greatneſs, long ramparts, and gigantic moles[69], re-

[66] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 331.) uſes the general deſcription of, the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their ſituation, and conſequently their names, are manifeſtly ſhewn, even in the various epithets which each ancient writer may have caſually added.

[67] The name of Rhadagaſt was that of a local deity of the Obotrites (in Mecklenburgh). A hero might naturally aſſume the appellation of his tutelar god; but it is not probable that the Barbarians ſhould worſhip an unſucceſsful hero. See Maſcou, Hiſt. of the Germans, viii. 14.

[68] Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180.) uſes the Greek word, Οπτιματοι; which does not convey any preciſe idea. I ſuſpect that they were the princes and nobles, with their faithful companions; the knights with their 'ſquires, as they would have been ſtyled ſome centuries afterwards.

[69] Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, c. 37.

mained,

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mained, during ſome ages, a vaſt and dreary ſolitude; till the human ſpecies was renewed by the powers of generation, and the vacancy was filled by the influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now uſurp an extent of land, which they are unable to cultivate, would ſoon be aſſiſted by the induſtrious poverty of their neighbours, if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

Radagaiſus invades Italy, A. D. 406.

The correſpondence of nations was, in that age, ſo imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of the North might eſcape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna; till the dark cloud, which was collected along the coaſt of the Baltic, burſt in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The emperor of the Weſt, if his miniſters diſturbed his amuſements by the news of the impending danger, was ſatisfied with being the occaſion, and the ſpectator, of the war [70]. The ſafety of Rome was entruſted to the counſels, and the ſword, of Stilicho; but ſuch was the feeble and exhauſted ſtate of the empire, that it was impoſſible to reſtore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent, by a vigorous effort, the invaſion of the Germans [71]. The hopes of the vigilant miniſter of Honorius were confined to the defence of Italy. He once more abandoned the provinces, recalled the troops, preſſed the new levies, which were rigorouſly exacted, and puſillanimouſly eluded; employed the moſt efficacious means to arreſt, or allure, the deſerters; and offered the gift of freedom, and of two pieces of gold, to all the ſlaves who would

[70] ——Cujus agendi
Spectator vel cauſa fui,
(Claudian, vi Conſ. Hon. 439.)
is the modeſt language of Honorius, in ſpeaking of the Gothic war, which he had ſeen ſomewhat nearer.

[71] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 331.) tranſports the war, and the victory of Stilicho, beyond the Danube. A ſtrange error, which is awkwardly and imperfectly cured, by reading Ἄρνου for Ἴστρου (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v, p. 807.). In good policy, we muſt uſe the ſervice of Zoſimus, without eſteeming or truſting him.

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enlist[72]. By these efforts he painfully collected, from the subjects of a great empire, an army of thirty or forty thousand men, which, in the days of Scipio or Camillus, would have been instantly furnished by the free citizens of the territory of Rome[73]. The thirty legions of Stilicho were reinforced by a large body of Barbarian auxiliaries; the faithful Alani were personally attached to his service; and the troops of Huns and of Goths, who marched under the banners of their native princes, Huldin and Sarus, were animated by interest and resentment to oppose the ambition of Radagaisus. The king of the confederate Germans passed, without resistance, the Alps, the Po, and the Apennine; leaving on one hand the inaccessible palace of Honorius, securely buried among the marshes of Ravenna; and, on the other, the camp of Stilicho, who had fixed his head-quarters at Ticinum, or Pavia, but who seems to have avoided a decisive battle, till he had assembled his distant forces. Many cities of Italy were pillaged, or destroyed; and the siege of Florence[74], by Radagaisus, is one of the earliest events in the history of that celebrated republic; whose firmness checked and delayed the unskilful fury of the Barbarians. The senate and people trembled at their approach within an hundred and eighty miles of Rome; and anxiously compared the danger which they had escaped,

Besieges Florence,

[72] Codex Theodos. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 16. The date of this law (A. D. 406, May 18.) satisfies me, as it had done Godefroy (tom. ii. p. 387.), of the true year of the invasion of Radagaisus. Tillemont, Pagi, and Muratori, prefer the preceding year; but they are bound, by certain obligations of civility and respect, to St. Paulinus of Nola.

[73] Soon after Rome had been taken by the Gauls, the senate, on a sudden emergency, armed ten legions, 3000 horse, and 42,000 foot; a force which the city could not have sent forth under Augustus (Livy, vii. 25.). This declaration may puzzle an antiquary, but it is clearly explained by Montesquieu.

[74] Machiavel has explained, at least as a philosopher, the origin of Florence, which insensibly descended, for the benefit of trade, from the rock of Fæsulæ to the banks of the Arno (Istoria Fiorentina, tom. i. l. ii. p. 36. Londra, 1747). The Triumvirs sent a colony to Florence, which, under Tiberius (Tacit. Annal. i. 79.), deserved the reputation and name of a *flourishing* city. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 507, &c.

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with the new perils to which they were expoſed. Alaric was a Chriſtian and a ſoldier, the leader of a diſciplined army; who underſtood the laws of war, who reſpected the ſanctity of treaties, and who had familiarly converſed with the ſubjects of the empire in the ſame camps, and the ſame churches. The ſavage Radagaiſus was a ſtranger to the manners, the religion, and even the language, of the civilized nations of the South. The fierceneſs of his temper was exaſperated by cruel ſuperſtition; and it was univerſally believed, that he had bound himſelf, by a ſolemn vow, to reduce the city into a heap of ſtones and aſhes, and to ſacrifice the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman ſenators, on the altars of thoſe gods, who were appeaſed by human blood. The public danger, which ſhould have reconciled all domeſtic animoſities, diſplayed the incurable madneſs of religious faction. The oppreſſed votaries of Jupiter and Mercury reſpected, in the implacable enemy of Rome, the character of a devout Pagan; loudly declared, that they were more apprehenſive of the ſacrifices, than of the arms, of Radagaiſus; and ſecretly rejoiced in the calamities of their country, which condemned the faith of their Chriſtian adverſaries[75].

and threatens Rome.

Florence was reduced to the laſt extremity; and the fainting courage of the citizens was ſupported only by the authority of St. Ambroſe; who had communicated, in a dream, the promiſe of a ſpeedy deliverance[76]. On a ſudden they beheld, from their walls, the banners of Stilicho, who advanced, with his united force, to the relief of the faithful city; and who ſoon marked that fatal ſpot for the grave of the Barbarian hoſt. The apparent contradictions of

Defeat and deſtruction of his army by Stilicho, A. D. 406.

[75] Yet the Jupiter of Radagaiſus, who worſhipped Thor and Woden, was very different from the Olympic or Capitoline Jove. The accommodating temper of Polytheiſm might unite thoſe various and remote deities; but the genuine Romans abhorred the human ſacrifices of Gaul and Germany.

[76] Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 50.) relates this ſtory, which he received from the mouth of Panſophia herſelf, a religious matron of Florence. Yet the archbiſhop ſoon ceaſed to take an active part in the buſineſs of the world, and never became a popular ſaint.

thoſe

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those writers who variously relate the defeat of Radagaisus, may be reconciled, without offering much violence to their respective testimonies. Orosius and Augustin, who were intimately connected by friendship and religion, ascribe this miraculous victory to the providence of God, rather than to the valour of man[77]. They strictly exclude every idea of chance, or even of bloodshed; and positively affirm, that the Romans, whose camp was the scene of plenty and idleness, enjoyed the distress of the Barbarians, slowly expiring on the sharp and barren ridge of the hills of Fæsulæ, which rise above the city of Florence. Their extravagant assertion, that not a single soldier of the Christian army was killed, or even wounded, may be dismissed with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Augustin and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war, and the character of Stilicho. Conscious that he commanded the *last* army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it, in the open field, to the headstrong fury of the Germans. The method of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale, and with more considerable effect. The examples of Cæsar must have been familiar to the most illiterate of the Roman warriors; and the fortifications of Dyrrachium, which connected twenty-four castles, by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an entrenchment which might confine, and starve, the most numerous host of Barbarians[78]. The Roman troops had less

[77] Augustin de Civitat. Dei, v. 23. Orosius, l. vii. c. 37. p. 567—571. The two friends wrote in Africa, ten or twelve years after the victory; and their authority is implicitly followed by Isidore of Seville (in Chron. p. 713. edit. Grot.). How many interesting facts might Orosius have inserted in the vacant space which is devoted to pious nonsense!

[78] Franguntur montes, planumque per arduа Cæsar
Ducit opus: pandit fossas, turritaque summis
Disponit castella jugis, magnoque recessû
Amplexus fines; saltus nemorosaque tesqua
Et silvas, vastâque feras indagine claudit.
Yet the simplicity of truth (Cæsar, de Bell. Civ. iii. 44.) is far greater than the amplifications of Lucan (Pharsal. l. vi. 29—63.).

degenerated

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degenerated from the induſtry, than from the valour, of their anceſtors; and if the ſervile and laborious work offended the pride of the ſoldiers, Tuſcany could ſupply many thouſand peaſants, who would labour, though, perhaps, they would not fight, for the ſalvation of their native country. The impriſoned multitude of horſes and men[79] was gradually deſtroyed by famine, rather than by the ſword; but the Romans were expoſed, during the progreſs of ſuch an extenſive work, to the frequent attacks of an impatient enemy. The deſpair of the hungry Barbarians would precipitate them againſt the fortifications of Stilicho; the general might ſometimes indulge the ardour of his brave auxiliaries, who eagerly preſſed to aſſault the camp of the Germans; and theſe various incidents might produce the ſharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zoſimus, and the Chronicles of Proſper and Marcellinus[80]. A ſeaſonable ſupply of men and proviſions had been introduced into the walls of Florence; and the famiſhed hoſt of Radagaiſus was in its turn beſieged. The proud monarch of ſo many warlike nations, after the loſs of his braveſt warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho[81]. But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiouſly beheaded, diſgraced the triumph of Rome and of Chriſtianity; and the ſhort delay of his execution was ſufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and deliberate cruelty[82]. The famiſhed Germans, who eſcaped the fury of the auxiliaries, were ſold as ſlaves, at the contemptible

[79] The rhetorical expreſſions of Oroſius, "In arido et aſpero montis jugo;" "in "unum ac parvum verticem," are not very ſuitable to the encampment of a great army. But Fæſulæ, only three miles from Florence, might afford ſpace for the head-quarters of Radagaiſus, and would be comprehended within the circuit of the Roman lines.

[80] See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 331. and the chronicles of Proſper and Marcellinus.

[81] Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180.) uſes an expreſſion (προσπαιζισατο,) which would denote a ſtrict and friendly alliance, and render Stilicho ſtill more criminal. The pauliſper detentus, deinde interfectus, of Oroſius, is ſufficiently odious.

[82] Oroſius, piouſly inhuman, ſacrifices the king and people, Agag and the Amalekites, without a ſymptom of compaſſion. The bloody actor is leſs deteſtable than the cool unfeeling hiſtorian.

price

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price of as many ſingle pieces of gold: but the difference of food and climate ſwept away great numbers of thoſe unhappy ſtrangers; and it was obſerved, that the inhuman purchaſers, inſtead of reaping the fruits of their labour, were ſoon obliged to provide the expence of their interment. Stilicho informed the emperor and the ſenate of his ſucceſs; and deſerved, a ſecond time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy [83].

The remainder of the Germans invade Gaul, A. D. 406, December 31.

The fame of the victory, and more eſpecially of the miracle, has encouraged a vain perſuaſion, that the whole army, or rather nation, of Germans, who migrated from the ſhores of the Baltic, miſerably periſhed under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Radagaiſus himſelf, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one-third of the various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the ſtandard of their general [84]. The union of ſuch an army might excite our ſurpriſe, but the cauſes of ſeparation are obvious and forcible; the pride of birth, the inſolence of valour, the jealouſy of command, the impatience of ſubordination, and the obſtinate conflict of opinions, of intereſts, and of paſſions, among ſo many kings and warriors, who were untaught to yield, or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaiſus, two parts of the German hoſt, which muſt have exceeded the number of one hundred thouſand men, ſtill remained in arms, between the Apennine and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general; but their irregular fury was ſoon diverted by

[83] And Cludian's muſe, was ſhe aſleep? had ſhe been ill paid? Methinks the ſeventh conſulſhip of Honorius (A. D. 407) would have furniſhed the ſubject of a noble poem. Before it was diſcovered that the ſtate could no longer be ſaved, Stilicho (after Romulus, Camillus, and Marius) might have been worthily ſurnamed the fourth founder of Rome.

[84] A luminous paſſage of Proſper's Chronicle, "*In tres partes, per diverſos principes, "diviſus exercitus,*" reduces the miracle of Florence, and connects the hiſtory of Italy, Gaul, and Germany.

the

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the prudence and firmneſs of Stilicho, who oppoſed their march, and facilitated their retreat; who conſidered the ſafety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care, and who ſacrificed, with too much indifference, the wealth and tranquillity of the diſtant provinces[85]. The Barbarians acquired, from the junction of ſome Pannonian deſerters, the knowledge of the country, and of the roads; and the invaſion of Gaul, which Alaric had deſigned, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaiſus[86].

Yet if they expected to derive any aſſiſtance from the tribes of Germany, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, their hopes were diſappointed. The Alemanni preſerved a ſtate of inactive neutrality; and the Franks diſtinguiſhed their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progreſs down the Rhine, which was the firſt act of the adminiſtration of Stilicho, he had applied himſelf, with peculiar attention, to ſecure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the irreconcilable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marcomir, one of their kings, was publicly convicted, before the tribunal of the Roman magiſtrate, of violating the faith of treaties. He was ſentenced to a mild, but diſtant, exile, in the province of Tuſcany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was ſo far from exciting the reſentment of his ſubjects, that they puniſhed with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes, who were eſta-

[85] Oroſius and Jerom poſitively charge him with inſtigating the invaſion. "Excitatæ a Stilichone gentes," &c. They muſt mean *indirectly*. He ſaved Italy at the expence of Gaul.

[86] The Count de Buat is ſatisfied, that the Germans who invaded Gaul were the *two-thirds* that yet remained of the army of Radagaiſus. See the Hiſtoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe (tom. vii. p. 87—121. Paris, 1772); an elaborate work, which I had not the advantage of peruſing till the year 1777. As early as 1771, I find the ſame idea expreſſed in a rough draught of the preſent Hiſtory. I have ſince obſerved a ſimilar intimation in Maſcou (viii. 15.). Such agreement, without mutual communication, may add ſome weight to our common ſentiment.

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bliſhed on the throne by the choice of Stilicho [87]. When the limits of Gaul and Germany were ſhaken by the northern emigration, the Franks bravely encountered the ſingle force of the Vandals; who, regardleſs of the leſſons of adverſity, had again ſeparated their troops from the ſtandard of their Barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their raſhneſs; and twenty thouſand Vandals, with their king Godigiſclus, were ſlain in the field of battle. The whole people muſt have been extirpated, if the ſquadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks; who, after an honourable reſiſtance, were compelled to relinquiſh the unequal conteſt. The victorious confederates purſued their march, and on the laſt day of the year, in a ſeaſon when the waters of the Rhine were moſt probably frozen, they entered, without oppoſition, the defenceleſs provinces of Gaul. This memorable paſſage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be conſidered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers, which had ſo long ſeparated the ſavage and the civilized nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground [88].

Deſolation of Gaul, A. D. 407, &c.

While the peace of Germany was ſecured by the attachment of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the ſubjects of Rome, unconſcious of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the ſtate of quiet and proſperity, which had ſeldom bleſſed the frontiers of Gaul.

[87] Provincia miſſos
Expellet citius faſces, quam Francia reges
Quos dederis.

Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 2. 35, &c.) is clear and ſatisfactory. Theſe kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours; but the author of the Geſta Francorum mentions both Sunno and Marcomir, and names the latter as the father of Pharamond (in tom. ii. p. 543.). He ſeems to write from good materials, which he did not underſtand.

[88] See Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 373.), Oroſius l. vii. c. 40. p. 576.), and the Chronicles. Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9. p. 165. in the ſecond volume of the Hiſtorians of France) has preſerved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, whoſe three names denote a Chriſtian, a Roman ſubject, and a Semi-barbarian.

Their

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Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the paſtures of the Barbarians; their huntſmen penetrated, without fear or danger, into the darkeſt receſſes of the Hercynian wood [89]. The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like thoſe of the Tyber, with elegant houſes and well-cultivated farms; and if a poet deſcended the river, he might expreſs his doubt, on which ſide was ſituated the territory of the Romans [90]. This ſcene of peace and plenty was ſuddenly changed into a deſert; and the proſpect of the ſmoking ruins could alone diſtinguiſh the ſolitude of nature from the deſolation of man. The flouriſhing city of Mentz was ſurpriſed and deſtroyed; and many thouſand Chriſtians were inhumanly maſſacred in the church. Worms periſhed after a long and obſtinate ſiege; Straſburgh, Spires, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppreſſion of the German yoke; and the conſuming flames of war ſpread from the banks of the Rhine over the greateſt part of the ſeventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extenſive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the Barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiſcuous crowd, the biſhop, the ſenator, and the virgin, laden with the ſpoils of their houſes and altars [91]. The eccleſiaſtics, to whom we are indebted for this vague deſcription of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Chriſtians to repent of the ſins which had provoked the Divine Juſtice, and to renounce the periſhable goods of a wretched and

[89] Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 221, &c. l. ii. 186.) deſcribes the peace and proſperity of the Gallic frontier. The Abbé Dubos (Hiſt. Critique, &c. tom. i. p. 174.) would read *Alba* (a nameleſs rivulet of the Ardennes) inſtead of *Albis*; and expatiates on the danger of the Gallic cattle grazing beyond the *Elbe*. Fooliſh enough! In poetical geography, the Elbe, and the Hercynian, ſignify, any river, or any wood, in Germany. Claudian is not prepared for the ſtrict examination of our antiquaries.

[90] —— Geminaſque viator
Cum videat ripas, quæ ſit Romana requirat.

[91] Jerom, tom. i. p. 93. See in the 1ſt vol. of the Hiſtorians of France, p. 777. 782. the proper extracts from the Carmen de Providentiâ Divinâ, and Salvian. The anonymous poet was himſelf a captive, with his biſhop and fellow-citizens.

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deceitful world. But as the Pelagian controverſy [91], which attempts to ſound the abyſs of grace and predeſtination, ſoon became the ſerious employment of the Latin clergy; the Providence which had decreed, or foreſeen, or permitted, ſuch a train of moral and natural evils, was raſhly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reaſon. The crimes, and the misfortunes, of the ſuffering people, were preſumptuouſly compared with thoſe of their anceſtors; and they arraigned the Divine Juſtice, which did not exempt from the common deſtruction the feeble, the guiltleſs, the infant portion of the human ſpecies. Theſe idle diſputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with innocence, plenty with induſtry, and ſafety with valour. The timid and ſelfiſh policy of the court of Ravenna might recal the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the ſtationary troops might be unequal to the arduous taſk; and the Barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded licence of ſpoil to the benefits of a moderate and regular ſtipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robuſt youth, who, in the defence of their houſes, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deſerved to vanquiſh. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppoſe continual and inſuperable obſtacles to the progreſs of an invader; and the deficiency of the Barbarians, in arms as well as in diſcipline, removed the only pretence which excuſes the ſubmiſſion of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles the Fifth, he enquired of a priſoner, how many *days* Paris might be diſtant from the frontier; "Perhaps *twelve*, but

[91] The Pelagian doctrine, which was firſt agitated A. D. 405, was condemned, in the ſpace of ten years, at Rome and Carthage. St. Auguſtin fought and conquered: but the Greek church was favourable to his adverſaries; and (what is ſingular enough) the people did not take any part in a diſpute which they could not underſtand.

"they

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" they will be days of battle [92]:" ſuch was the gallant anſwer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The ſubjects of Honorius, and thoſe of Francis I., were animated by a very different ſpirit; and in leſs than two years, the divided troops of the ſavages of the Baltic, whoſe numbers, were they fairly ſtated, would appear contemptible, advanced, without a combat, to the foot of the Pyrenæan mountains.

Revolt of the Britiſh army, A. D. 407.

In the early part of the reign of Honorius, the vigilance of Stilicho had ſucceſsfully guarded the remote iſland of Britain from her inceſſant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Iriſh coaſt [93]. But thoſe reſtleſs Barbarians could not neglect the fair opportunity of the Gothic war, when the walls and ſtations of the province were ſtripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legionaries were permitted to return from the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Honorius, muſt have tended to diſſolve the bonds of allegiance, and to exaſperate the ſeditious temper of the Britiſh army. The ſpirit of revolt, which had formerly diſturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived by the capricious violence of the ſoldiers; and the unfortunate, perhaps the ambitious, candidates, who were the objects of their choice, were the inſtruments, and at length the victims, of their paſſion [94]. Marcus was the firſt whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful emperor of Britain, and of

[92] See the Memoires de Guillaume du Bellay, l. vi. In French, the original reproof is leſs obvious, and more pointed, from the double ſenſe of the word *journée*, which alike ſignifies, a day's travel, or a battle.

[93] Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. ii. 250.). It is ſuppoſed, that the Scots of Ireland invaded, by ſea, the whole weſtern coaſt of Britain: and ſome ſlight credit may be given even to Nennius and the Iriſh traditions (Carte's Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 169. Whitaker's Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons, p. 199.). The ſixty-ſix lives of St. Patrick, which were extant in the ninth century, muſt have contained as many thouſand lies; yet we may believe, that, in one of theſe Iriſh inroads, the future apoſtle was led away captive (Uſher, Antiquit. Eccleſ. Britann. p. 431. and Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 456. 782, &c.).

[94] The Britiſh uſurpers are taken from Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 371—375.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576, 577.), Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180, 181.), the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and the Chronicles. The Latins are ignorant of Marcus.

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the Weſt. They violated, by the haſty murder of Marcus, the oath of fidelity which they had impoſed on themſelves; and *their* diſapprobation of his manners may ſeem to inſcribe an honourable epitaph on his tomb. Gratian was the next whom they adorned with the diadem and the purple; and, at the end of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predeceſſor. The memory of the great Conſtantine, whom the Britiſh legions had given to the church and to the empire, ſuggeſted the ſingular motive of their third choice. They diſcovered in the ranks a private ſoldier of the name of Conſtantine; and their impetuous levity had already ſeated him on the throne, before they perceived his incapacity to ſuſtain the weight of that glorious appellation[95]. Yet the authority of Conſtantine was leſs precarious, and his government was more ſucceſsful, than the tranſient reigns of Marcus and of Gratian. The danger of leaving his inactive troops in thoſe camps, which had been twice polluted with blood and ſedition, urged him to attempt the reduction of the Weſtern provinces. He landed at Boulogne with an inconſiderable force; and after he had repoſed himſelf ſome days, he ſummoned the cities of Gaul, which had eſcaped the yoke of the Barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful ſovereign. They obeyed the ſummons without reluctance. The neglect of the court of Ravenna had abſolved a deſerted people from the duty of allegiance; their actual diſtreſs encouraged them to accept any circumſtances of change, without apprehenſion, and, perhaps, with ſome degree of hope; and they might flatter themſelves, that the troops, the authority, and even the name of a Roman emperor, who fixed his reſidence in Gaul, would protect the unhappy country from the rage of the Barbarians. The firſt ſucceſſes of Conſtantine againſt the detached parties of the Ger-

Conſtantine is acknowledged in Britain and Gaul, A. D. 407.

[95] Cum in Conſtantino *inconſtantiam* . . . execrarentur (Sidonius Apollinaris, l. v. epiſt. 9. p. 139. edit. ſecund. Sirmond). Yet Sidonius might be tempted, by ſo fair a pun, to ſtigmatiſe a prince, who had diſgraced his grandfather.

mans, were magnified by the voice of adulation into ſplendid and deciſive victories; which the re-union and inſolence of the enemy ſoon reduced to their juſt value. His negotiations procured a ſhort and precarious truce; and if ſome tribes of the Barbarians were engaged, by the liberality of his gifts and promiſes, to undertake the defence of the Rhine, theſe expenſive and uncertain treaties, inſtead of reſtoring the priſtine vigour of the Gallic frontier, ſerved only to diſgrace the majeſty of the prince, and to exhauſt what yet remained of the treaſures of the republic. Elated however with this imaginary triumph, the vain deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the South, to encounter a more preſſing and perſonal danger. Sarus the Goth was ordered to lay the head of the rebel at the feet of the emperor Honorius; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthily conſumed in this domeſtic quarrel. After the loſs of his two braveſt generals, Juſtinian and Nevigaſtes, the former of whom was ſlain in the field of battle, the latter in a peaceful but treacherous interview, Conſtantine fortified himſelf within the walls of Vienna. The place was ineffectually attacked ſeven days; and the Imperial army ſupported, in a precipitate retreat, the ignominy of purchaſing a ſecure paſſage from the freebooters and outlaws of the Alps [95]. Thoſe mountains now ſeparated the dominions of two rival monarchs; and the fortifications of the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whoſe arms would have been more uſefully employed to maintain the Roman limits againſt the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia.

On the ſide of the Pyrenees, the ambition of Conſtantine might be juſtified by the proximity of danger; but his throne was ſoon eſtabliſhed by the conqueſt, or rather ſubmiſſion, of Spain; which

He reduces Spain, A. D. 408.

[95] *Bagaudæ* is the name which Zoſimus applies to them; perhaps they deſerved a leſs odious character (ſee Dubos, Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 203. and this Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 429. 3d edit.). We ſhall hear of them again.

yielded

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yielded to the influence of regular and habitual ſubordination, and received the laws and magiſtrates of the Gallic præfecture. The only oppoſition which was made to the authority of Conſtantine, proceeded not ſo much from the powers of government, or the ſpirit of the people, as from the private zeal and intereſt of the family of Theodoſius. Four brothers[97] had obtained, by the favour of their kinſman, the deceaſed emperor, an honourable rank, and ample poſſeſſions, in their native country: and the grateful youths reſolved to riſk thoſe advantages in the ſervice of his ſon. After an unſucceſsful effort to maintain their ground at the head of the ſtationary troops of Luſitania, they retired to their eſtates; where they armed and levied, at their own expence, a conſiderable body of ſlaves and dependents, and boldly marched to occupy the ſtrong poſts of the Pyrenæan mountains. This domeſtic inſurrection alarmed and perplexed the ſovereign of Gaul and Britain; and he was compelled to negotiate with ſome troops of Barbarian auxiliaries, for the ſervice of the Spaniſh war. They were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Honorians*[98]; a name which might have reminded them of their fidelity to their lawful ſovereign; and if it ſhould candidly be allowed that the *Scots* were influenced by any partial affection for a Britiſh prince, the *Moors* and the *Marcomanni* could be tempted only by the profuſe liberality of the uſurper, who diſtributed among the Barbarians the military, and even the civil, honours of Spain. The nine bands of *Honorians*, which may be eaſily traced on the eſtabliſhment of the Weſtern empire, could not exceed the number of five thouſand men; yet this inconſiderable force was ſufficient to terminate a war,

[97] Verinianus, Didymus, Theodoſius, and Lagodius, who, in modern courts, would be ſtyled princes of the blood, were not diſtinguiſhed by any rank or privileges above the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects.

[98] Theſe *Honoriani*, or *Honoriaci*, conſiſted of two bands of Scots, or Attacotti, two of Moors, two of Marcomanni, the Victores, the Aſcarii, and the Gallicani (Notitia Imperii, ſect. xxxviii. edit. Lab.). They were part of the ſixty-five *Auxilia Palatina*, and are properly ſtyled, ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεις, by Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 374.).

which

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which had threatened the power and ſafety of Conſtantine. The ruſtic army of the Theodoſian family was ſurrounded and deſtroyed in the Pyrenees: two of the brothers had the good fortune to eſcape by ſea to Italy, or the Eaſt; the other two, after an interval of ſuſpenſe, were executed at Arles: and if Honorius could remain inſenſible of the public diſgrace, he might perhaps be affected by the perſonal misfortunes of his generous kinſmen. Such were the feeble arms which decided the poſſeſſion of the Weſtern provinces of Europe, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules. The events of peace and war have undoubtedly been diminiſhed by the narrow and imperfect view of the hiſtorians of the times, who were equally ignorant of the cauſes, and of the effects, of the moſt important revolutions. But the total decay of the national ſtrength had annihilated even the laſt reſource of a deſpotic government; and the revenue of exhauſted provinces could no longer purchaſe the military ſervice of a diſcontented and puſillanimous people.

Negotiation of Alaric and Stilicho, A. D. 404—408.

The poet, whoſe flattery has aſcribed to the Roman eagle the victories of Pollentia and Verona, purſues the haſty retreat of Alaric, from the confines of Italy, with a horrid train of imaginary ſpectres, ſuch as might hover over an army of Barbarians, which was almoſt exterminated by war, famine, and diſeaſe [99]. In the courſe of this unfortunate expedition, the king of the Goths muſt indeed have ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs; and his haraſſed forces required an interval of repoſe to recruit their numbers, and revive their confidence. Adverſity had exerciſed, and diſplayed, the genius of Alaric; and the fame of his valour invited, to the Gothic ſtandard, the braveſt of the Barbarian warriors; who, from the Euxine to the Rhine,

[99] —— Comitatur euntem
Pallor, et atra fames; et ſaucia lividus ora
Luctus; et inferni ſtridentes agmine morbi.
Claudian in vi Conſ. Hon. 321, &c.

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were agitated by the desire of rapine and conquest. He had deserved the esteem, and he soon accepted the friendship, of Stilicho himself. Renouncing the service of the emperor of the East, Alaric concluded, with the court of Ravenna, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyricum; as it was claimed, according to the true and ancient limits, by the minister of Honorius[100]. The execution of the ambitious design, which was either stipulated, or implied, in the articles of the treaty, appears to have been suspended by the formidable irruption of Radagaisus; and the neutrality of the Gothic king may perhaps be compared to the indifference of Cæsar, who, in the conspiracy of Catiline, refused either to assist, or to oppose, the enemy of the republic. After the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho resumed his pretensions to the provinces of the East; appointed civil magistrates for the administration of justice, and of the finances; and declared his impatience to lead, to the gates of Constantinople, the united armies of the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence however of Stilicho, his aversion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakness of the state, may countenance the suspicion, that domestic peace, rather than foreign conquest, was the object of his policy; and, that his principal care was to employ the forces of Alaric at a distance from Italy. This design could not long escape the penetration of the Gothic king, who continued to hold a doubtful, and perhaps a treacherous, correspondence with the rival courts; who protracted, like a dissatisfied mercenary, his languid operations in Thessaly and Epirus, and who soon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his ineffectual services. From his camp near Æmona[101], on the confines of Italy,

[100] These dark transactions are investigated by the Count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. c. iii—viii. p. 69—206.), whose laborious accuracy may sometimes fatigue a superficial reader.

[101] See Zosimus, l. v. p. 334, 335. He interrupts

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Italy, he tranſmitted to the emperor of the Weſt, a long account of promiſes, of expences, and of demands; called for immediate ſatiſfaction, and clearly intimated the conſequences of a refuſal. Yet if his conduct was hoſtile, his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly profeſſed himſelf the friend of Stilicho, and the ſoldier of Honorius; offered his perſon and his troops to march, without delay, againſt the uſurper of Gaul; and ſolicited, as a permanent retreat for the Gothic nation, the poſſeſſion of ſome vacant province of the Weſtern empire.

Debates of the Roman ſenate, A. D. 408.

The political and ſecret tranſactions of two ſtateſmen, who laboured to deceive each other and the world, muſt for ever have been concealed in the impenetrable darkneſs of the cabinet, if the debates of a popular aſſembly had not thrown ſome rays of light on the correſpondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The neceſſity of finding ſome artificial ſupport for a government, which, from a principle, not of moderation, but of weakneſs, was reduced to negotiate with its own ſubjects, had inſenſibly revived the authority of the Roman ſenate: and the miniſter of Honorius reſpectfully conſulted the legiſlative council of the republic. Stilicho aſſembled the ſenate in the palace of the Cæſars; repreſented, in a ſtudied oration, the actual ſtate of affairs; propoſed the demands of the Gothic king, and ſubmitted to their conſideration the choice of peace or war. The ſenators, as if they had been ſuddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occaſion to be inſpired by the courage, rather than by the wiſdom, of their predeceſſors. They loudly declared, in regular ſpeeches, or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majeſty of Rome, to purchaſe a preca-

interrupts his ſcanty narrative, to relate the fable of Æmona, and of the ſhip Argo; which was drawn over land from that place to the Hadriatic. Sozomen (l. viii. c. 25. l. ix. c. 4.) and Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) caſt a pale and doubtful light; and Oroſius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571.) is abominably partial.

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rious and disgraceful truce from a Barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of dishonour. The minister, whose pacific intentions were seconded only by the voices of a few servile and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment, by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not (such was the language of Stilicho) to be considered in the odious light, either of a tribute, or of a ransom, extorted by the menaces of a Barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully asserted the just pretensions of the republic to the provinces which were usurped by the Greeks of Constantinople: he modestly required the fair and stipulated recompence of his services; and if he had desisted from the prosecution of his enterprise, he had obeyed, in his retreat, the peremptory, though private, letters of the emperor himself. These contradictory orders (he would not dissemble the errors of his own family) had been procured by the interception of Serena. The tender piety of his wife had been too deeply affected by the discord of the royal brothers, the sons of her adopted father; and the sentiments of nature had too easily prevailed over the stern dictates of the public welfare." These ostensible reasons, which faintly disguise the obscure intrigues of the palace of Ravenna, were supported by the authority of Stilicho; and obtained, after a warm debate, the reluctant approbation of the senate. The tumult of virtue and freedom subsided; and the sum of four thousand pounds of gold was granted, under the name of a subsidy, to secure the peace of Italy, and to conciliate the friendship of the king of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the most illustrious members of the assembly, still persisted in his dissent; exclaimed with a loud voice, "This is not a treaty of peace,

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" peace, but of ſervitude[102];" and eſcaped the danger of ſuch bold oppoſition by immediately retiring to the ſanctuary of a Chriſtian church.

Intrigues of the palace, A. D. 408, May.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end; and the proud miniſter might perceive the ſymptoms of his approaching diſgrace. The generous boldneſs of Lampadius had been applauded; and the ſenate, ſo patiently reſigned to a long ſervitude, rejected with diſdain the offer of invidious and imaginary freedom. The troops, who ſtill aſſumed the name and prerogatives of the Roman legions, were exaſperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the Barbarians: and the people imputed to the miſchievous policy of the miniſter, the public misfortunes, which were the natural conſequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to brave the clamours of the people, and even of the ſoldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the reſpectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, ſuſpicion, and hatred. The crafty Olympius[103], who concealed his vices under the maſk of Chriſtian piety, had ſecretly undermined the benefactor, by whoſe favour he was promoted to the honourable offices of the Imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unſuſpecting emperor, who had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, that he was without weight, or authority, in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and indolent diſpoſition by a lively picture of the deſigns of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his ſovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head

[102] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 338, 339. He repeats the words of Lampadius, as they were ſpoke in Latin, " Non eſt iſta pax, ſed pactio ſervitutis," and then tranſlates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers.

[103] He came from the coaſt of the Euxine, and exerciſed a ſplendid office, λαμπρας δε τραπεζας εν τοις βασιλειοις αξιωμενος. His actions juſtify his character, which Zoſimus (l. v. p. 340.) expoſes with viſible ſatisfaction. Auguſtin revered the piety of Olympius, whom he ſtyles a true ſon of the church (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 408, N° 19, &c. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ tom. xiii. p. 467, 468.). But theſe praiſes, which the African ſaint ſo unworthily beſtows, might proceed, as well from ignorance, as from adulation.

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of his ſon Eucherius. The emperor was inſtigated, by his new favourite, to aſſume the tone of independent dignity; and the miniſter was aſtoniſhed to find, that ſecret reſolutions were formed in the court and council, which were repugnant to his intereſt, or to his intentions. Inſtead of reſiding in the palace of Rome, Honorius declared, that it was his pleaſure to return to the ſecure fortreſs of Ravenna. On the firſt intelligence of the death of his brother Arcadius, he prepared to viſit Conſtantinople, and to regulate, with the authority of a guardian, the provinces of the infant Theodoſius[104]. The repreſentation of the difficulty and expence of ſuch a diſtant expedition, checked this ſtrange and ſudden ſally of active diligence; but the dangerous project of ſhewing the emperor to the camp of Pavia, which was compoſed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho, and his Barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The miniſter was preſſed, by the advice of his confident Juſtinian, a Roman advocate, of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppoſe a journey ſo prejudicial to his reputation and ſafety. His ſtrenuous, but ineffectual, efforts confirmed the triumph of Olympius; and the prudent lawyer withdrew himſelf from the impending ruin of his patron.

Diſgrace and death of Stilicho, A. D. 408, Auguſt 23.

In the paſſage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of the guards was excited and appeaſed by the ſecret policy of Stilicho; who announced his inſtructions to decimate the guilty, and aſcribed to his own interceſſion the merit of their pardon. After this tumult, Honorius embraced, for the laſt time, the miniſter whom he now conſidered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Pavia; where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were aſſembled for the ſervice of the Gallic

[104] Zoſimus l. v. p. 338, 339. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 4. Stilicho offered to undertake the journey to Conſtantinople, that he might divert Honorius from the vain attempt. The Eaſtern empire would not have obeyed, and could not have been conquered.

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war. On the morning of the fourth day, he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the preſence of the ſoldiers, whom the charitable viſits, and artful diſcourſes, of Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conſpiracy. At the firſt ſignal, they maſſacred the friends of Stilicho, the moſt illuſtrious officers of the empire; two Prætorian præfects, of Gaul, and of Italy; two maſters-general, of the cavalry, and infantry; the maſter of the offices; the quæſtor, the treaſurer, and the count of the domeſtics. Many lives were loſt; many houſes were plundered; the furious ſedition continued to rage till the cloſe of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was ſeen in the ſtreets of Pavia, without his robes or diadem, yielded to the perſuaſions of his favourite; condemned the memory of the ſlain; and ſolemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their aſſaſſins. The intelligence of the maſſacre of Pavia filled the mind of Stilicho with juſt and gloomy apprehenſions: and he inſtantly ſummoned, in the camp of Bologna, a council of the confederate leaders, who were attached to his ſervice, and would be involved in his ruin. The impetuous voice of the aſſembly called aloud for arms, and for revenge; to march, without a moment's delay, under the banners of a hero, whom they had ſo often followed to victory; to ſurpriſe, to oppreſs, to extirpate the guilty Olympius, and his degenerate Romans; and perhaps to fix the diadem on the head of their injured general. Inſtead of executing a reſolution, which might have been juſtified by ſucceſs, Stilicho heſitated till he was irrecoverably loſt. He was ſtill ignorant of the fate of the emperor; he diſtruſted the fidelity of his own party; and he viewed with horror the fatal conſequences of arming a crowd of licentious Barbarians, againſt the ſoldiers and people of Italy. The confederates, impatient of his timorous and doubtful delay, haſtily retired, with fear and indignation. At the hour of midnight, Sarus, a Gothic warrior, renowned among the Barbarians themſelves

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themſelves for his ſtrength and valour, ſuddenly invaded the camp of his benefactor, plundered the baggage, cut in pieces the faithful Huns, who guarded his perſon, and penetrated to the tent, where the miniſter, penſive and ſleepleſs, meditated on the dangers of his ſituation. Stilicho eſcaped with difficulty from the ſword of the Goths; and, after iſſuing a laſt and generous admonition to the cities of Italy, to ſhut their gates againſt the Barbarians, his confidence, or his deſpair, urged him to throw himſelf into Ravenna, which was already in the abſolute poſſeſſion of his enemies. Olympius, who had aſſumed the dominion of Honorius, was ſpeedily informed, that his rival had embraced, as a ſuppliant, the altar of the Chriſtian church. The baſe and cruel diſpoſition of the hypocrite was incapable of pity or remorſe; but he piouſly affected to elude, rather than to violate, the privilege of the ſanctuary. Count Heraclian, with a troop of ſoldiers, appeared, at the dawn of day, before the gates of the church of Ravenna. The biſhop was ſatisfied by a ſolemn oath, that the Imperial mandate only directed them to ſecure the perſon of Stilicho: but, as ſoon as the unfortunate miniſter had been tempted beyond the holy threſhold, he produced the warrant for his inſtant execution. Stilicho ſupported, with calm reſignation, the injurious names of traitor and parricide; repreſſed the unſeaſonable zeal of his followers, who were ready to attempt an ineffectual reſcue; and, with a firmneſs not unworthy of the laſt of the Roman generals, ſubmitted his neck to the ſword of Heraclian [105].

His memory perſecuted.

The ſervile crowd of the palace, who had ſo long adored the fortune of Stilicho, affected to inſult his fall; and the moſt diſtant connexion with the maſter-general of the Weſt, which had ſo lately been a title to wealth and honours, was ſtudiouſly denied, and rigor-

[105] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 336—345.) has copiouſly, though not clearly, related the diſgrace and death of Stilicho. Olympiodorus (apud Phot. p. 177.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571, 572.), Sozomen (l. ix. c. 4.), and Philoſtorgius (l. xi. c. 3. l. xii. c. 2.), afford ſupplemental hints.

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ouſly puniſhed. His family, united by the triple alliance with the family of Theodoſius, might envy the condition of the meaneſt peaſant. The flight of his ſon Eucherius was intercepted; and the death of that innocent youth ſoon followed the divorce of Thermantia, who filled the place of her ſiſter Maria; and who, like Maria, had remained a virgin in the Imperial bed [106]. The friends of Stilicho, who had eſcaped the maſſacre of Pavia, were perſecuted by the implacable revenge of Olympius; and the moſt exquiſite cruelty was employed to extort the confeſſion of a treaſonable and ſacrilegious conſpiracy. They died in ſilence: their firmneſs juſtified the choice [107], and perhaps abſolved the innocence, of their patron; and the deſpotic power, which could take his life without a trial, and ſtigmatiſe his memory without a proof, has no juriſdiction over the impartial ſuffrage of poſterity [108]. The ſervices of Stilicho are great and manifeſt; his crimes, as they are vaguely ſtated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obſcure, at leaſt, and improbable. About four months after his death, an edict was publiſhed, in the name of Honorius, to reſtore the free communication of the two empires, which had been ſo long interrupted by the *public enemy* [109]. The miniſter, whoſe fame and fortune depended on the proſperity of the ſtate, was accuſed of betraying Italy to the Barbarians; whom he repeatedly vanquiſhed at Pollentia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended deſign of placing the diadem on the head

[106] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 333. The marriage of a Chriſtian with two ſiſters, ſcandaliſes Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 557.); who expects, in vain, that pope Innocent I. ſhould have done ſomething in the way, either of cenſure, or of diſpenſation.

[107] Two of his friends are honourably mentioned (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 346.); Peter, chief of the ſchool of notaries, and the great chamberlain Deuterius. Stilicho had ſecured the bed-chamber; and it is ſurpriſing, that, under a feeble prince, the bed-chamber was not able to ſecure him.

[108] Oroſius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571, 572.) ſeems to copy the falſe and furious manifeſtos, which were diſperſed through the provinces by the new adminiſtration.

[109] See the Theodoſian Code, l. vii. tit. xvi. leg. 1. l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 22. Stilicho is branded with the name of *prædo publicus*, who employed his wealth, *ad omnem ditandam, inquietandamque Barbariem.*

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of his ſon Eucherius, could not have been conducted without preparations or accomplices; and the ambitious father would not ſurely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the humble ſtation of tribune of the notaries. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The ſeaſonable, and almoſt miraculous, deliverance was devoutly celebrated by the applauſe of the clergy; who aſſerted, that the reſtoration of idols, and the perſecution of the church, would have been the firſt meaſure of the reign of Eucherius. The ſon of Stilicho, however, was educated in the boſom of Chriſtianity, which his father had uniformly profeſſed, and zealouſly ſupported [110]. Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the ſtatue of Veſta [111]; and the Pagans execrated the memory of the ſacrilegious miniſter, by whoſe order the Sybilline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames [112]. The pride and power of Stilicho conſtituted his real guilt. An honourable reluctance to ſhed the blood of his countrymen appears to have contributed to the ſucceſs of his unworthy rival; and it is the laſt humiliation of the character of Honorius, that poſterity has not condeſcended to reproach him with his baſe ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the ſupport of his empire.

The poet Claudian.

Among the train of dependents, whoſe wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, *our* curioſity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favour of

[110] Auguſtin himſelf is ſatisfied with the effectual laws which Stilicho had enacted againſt heretics and idolaters; and which are ſtill extant in the Code. He only applies to Olympius for their confirmation (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 408, N° 19.).

[111] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 351. We may obſerve the bad taſte of the age, in dreſſing their ſtatues with ſuch awkward finery.

[112] See Rutilius Numatianus (Itinerar. l. ii. 41—60.), to whom religious enthuſiaſm has dictated ſome elegant and forcible lines. Stilicho likewiſe ſtripped the gold plates from the doors of the capitol, and read a prophetic ſentence, which was engraven under them (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 352.). Theſe are fooliſh ſtories: yet the charge of *impiety* adds weight and credit to the praiſe, which Zoſimus reluctantly beſtows, of his virtues.

Stilicho,

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Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and notary fixed his rank in the Imperial court: he was indebted to the powerful interceſſion of Serena for his marriage with a very rich heireſs of the province of Africa[113]; and the ſtatue of Claudian, erected in the forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taſte and liberality of the Roman ſenate[114]. After the praiſes of Stilicho became offenſive and criminal, Claudian was expoſed to the enmity of a powerful and unforgiving courtier, whom he had provoked by the inſolence of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the oppoſite characters of two Prætorian præfects of Italy; he contraſts the innocent repoſe of a philoſopher, who ſometimes reſigned the hours of buſineſs to ſlumber, perhaps to ſtudy; with the intereſted diligence of a rapacious miniſter, indefatigable in the purſuit of unjuſt, or ſacrilegious gain. "How happy," continues Claudian, "how happy might it be for the people of Italy, "if Mallius could be conſtantly awake, and if Hadrian would al-"ways ſleep[115]!" The repoſe of Mallius was not diſturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the cruel vigilance of Hadrian watched the opportunity of revenge, and eaſily obtained, from the enemies of Stilicho, the trifling ſacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himſelf, however, during the tumult of the revolu-

[113] At the nuptials of Orpheus (a modeſt compariſon!) all the parts of animated nature contributed their various gifts; and the gods themſelves enriched their favourite. Claudian had neither flocks, nor herds, nor vines, or olives. His wealthy bride was heireſs to them all. But he carried to Africa, a recommendatory letter from Serena, his Juno, and was made happy (Epiſt. ii. ad Serenam).

[114] Claudian feels the honour like a man who deſerved it (in præfat. Bell. Get.). The original inſcription, on marble, was found at Rome, in the fifteenth century, in the houſe of Pomponius Lætus. The ſtatue of a poet, far ſuperior to Claudian, ſhould have been erected, during his life-time, by the men of letters, his countrymen, and contemporaries. It was a noble deſign!

[115] See Epigram xxx.

Mallius indulget ſomno noctesque dieſque:
Inſomnis *Pharius* ſacra, profana, rapit.
Omnibus, hoc, Italæ gentes, expoſcite votis
Mallius ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.

Hadrian was a Pharian (of Alexandria). See his public life in Godefroy, Cod. Theodoſ. tom. vi. p. 364. Mallius did not always ſleep. He compoſed ſome elegant dialogues on the Greek ſyſtems of natural philoſophy (Claud. in Mall. Theodor. Conſ. 61—112.).

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tion; and conſulting the dictates of prudence, rather than of honour, he addreſſed, in the form of an epiſtle, a ſuppliant and humble recantation to the offended præfect. He deplores, in mournful ſtrains, the fatal indiſcretion into which he had been hurried by paſſion and folly; ſubmits to the imitation of his adverſary, the generous examples of the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expreſſes his hope, that the magnanimity of Hadrian will not trample on a defenceleſs and contemptible foe, already humbled by diſgrace and poverty; and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his deareſt friends[116]. Whatever might be the ſucceſs of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the miniſter and the poet: but the name of Hadrian is almoſt ſunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleaſure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the knowledge of the Latin language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we ſhall acknowledge, that Claudian does not either ſatisfy, or ſilence, our reaſon. It would not be eaſy to produce a paſſage that deſerves the epithet of ſublime or pathetic; to ſelect a verſe, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We ſhould vainly ſeek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an intereſting fable; or the juſt and lively repreſentation of the characters and ſituations of real life. For the ſervice of his patron, he publiſhed occaſional panegyrics and invectives: and the deſign of theſe ſlaviſh compoſitions encouraged his propenſity to exceed the limits of truth and nature. Theſe imperfections, however, are compenſated in ſome degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raiſing the meaneſt, of adorning the moſt barren, and of diverſifying the moſt ſimilar, topics; his colouring, more eſpecially in deſcriptive poetry,

[116] See Claudian's firſt Epiſtle. Yet, in ſome places, an air of irony and indignation betrays his ſecret reluctance.

is

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is ſoft and ſplendid; and he ſeldom fails to diſplay, and even to abuſe, the advantages of a cultivated underſtanding, a copious fancy, an eaſy, and ſometimes forcible, expreſſion, and a perpetual flow of harmonious verſification. To theſe commendations, independent of any accidents of time and place, we muſt add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumſtances of his birth. In the decline of arts, and of empire, a native of Egypt[117], who had received the education of a Greek, aſſumed, in a mature age, the familiar uſe, and abſolute command, of the Latin language[118]; ſoared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himſelf, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome[119].

[117] National vanity has made him a Florentine, or a Spaniard. But the firſt epiſtle of Claudian proves him a native of Alexandria (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. tom. iii. p. 191—202. edit. Erneſt.).

[118] His firſt Latin verſes were compoſed during the conſulſhip of Probinus, A. D. 395.

Romanos bibimus primum, te conſule, fontes
Et Latiæ ceſſit Graia Thalia togæ.

Beſides ſome Greek epigrams, which are ſtill extant, the Latin poet had compoſed in Greek, the Antiquities of Tarſus, Anazarbus, Berytus, Nice, &c. It is more eaſy to ſupply the loſs of good poetry, than of authentic hiſtory.

[119] Strada (Proluſion v, vi.) allows him to contend with the five heroic poets, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. His patron is the accompliſhed courtier Balthazar Caſtiglione. His admirers are numerous and paſſionate. Yet the rigid critics reproach the exotic weeds, or flowers, which ſpring too luxuriantly in his Latian ſoil.

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Invaſion of Italy by Alaric.—Manners of the Roman Senate and People.—Rome is thrice beſieged, and at length pillaged, by the Goths.—Death of Alaric.—The Goths evacuate Italy.—Fall of Conſtantine.—Gaul and Spain are occupied by the Barbarians.—Independence of Britain.

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Weakneſs of the court of Ravenna, A. D. 408, September.

THE incapacity of a weak and diſtracted government may often aſſume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a treaſonable correſpondence with the public enemy. If Alaric himſelf had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably have adviſed the ſame meaſures which were actually purſued by the miniſters of Honorius[1]. The king of the Goths would have conſpired, perhaps with ſome reluctance, to deſtroy the formidable adverſary, by whoſe arms, in Italy, as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. *Their* active and intereſted hatred laboriouſly accompliſhed the diſgrace and ruin of the great Stilicho. The valour of Sarus, his fame in arms, and his perſonal, or hereditary, influence over the confederate Barbarians, could recommend him only to the friends of their country, who deſpiſed, or deteſted, the worthleſs characters of Turpilio, Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the preſſing inſtances of the new favourites, theſe generals, unworthy as they

[1] The ſeries of events, from the death of Stilicho, to the arrival of Alaric before Rome, can only be found in Zoſimus, l. v. p. 347—350.

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had ſhewn themſelves of the name of ſoldiers[2], were promoted to the command of the cavalry, of the infantry, and of the domeſtic troops. The Gothic prince would have ſubſcribed with pleaſure the edict which the fanaticiſm of Olympius dictated to the ſimple and devout emperor. Honorius excluded all perſons, who were adverſe to the catholic church, from holding any office in the ſtate; obſtinately rejected the ſervice of all thoſe who diſſented from his religion; and raſhly diſqualified many of his braveſt and moſt ſkilful officers, who adhered to the Pagan worſhip, or who had imbibed the opinions of Arianiſm[3]. Theſe meaſures, ſo advantageous to an enemy, Alaric would have approved, and might perhaps have ſuggeſted; but it may ſeem doubtful, whether the Barbarian would have promoted his intereſt at the expence of the inhuman and abſurd cruelty, which was perpetrated by the direction, or at leaſt with the connivance, of the Imperial miniſters. The foreign auxiliaries, who had been attached to the perſon of Stilicho, lamented his death; but the deſire of revenge was checked by a natural apprehenſion for the ſafety of their wives and children; who were detained as hoſtages in the ſtrong cities of Italy, where they had likewiſe depoſited their moſt valuable effects. At the ſame hour, and as if by a common ſignal, the cities of Italy were polluted by the ſame horrid ſcenes of univerſal maſſacre and pillage, which involved, in promiſcuous deſtruction, the families and fortunes of the Barbarians. Exaſperated by ſuch an injury, which might have awakened the tameſt and moſt ſervile ſpirit, they caſt a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanimouſly ſwore to purſue, with juſt and im-

[2] The expreſſion of Zoſimus is ſtrong and lively, καταφρονησιν ἐμποιησαι τοις πολεμιοις ἐχοντας, ſufficient to excite the contempt of the enemy.

[3] Eos qui catholicæ ſectæ ſunt inimici, intra palatium militare prohibemus. Nullus nobis ſit aliquâ ratione conjunctus, qui a nobis fide et religione diſcordat. Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 42. and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 164. This law was applied in the utmoſt latitude, and rigorouſly executed. Zoſimus, l. v. p. 364.

placable

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placable war, the perfidious nation, that had ſo baſely violated the laws of hoſpitality. By the imprudent conduct of the miniſters of Honorius, the republic loſt the aſſiſtance, and deſerved the enmity, of thirty thouſand of her braveſt ſoldiers: and the weight of that formidable army, which alone might have determined the event of the war, was transferred from the ſcale of the Romans into that of the Goths.

Alaric marches to Rome, A. D. 408, October, &c.

In the arts of negotiation, as well as in thoſe of war, the Gothic king maintained his ſuperior aſcendant over an enemy, whoſe ſeeming changes proceeded from the total want of counſel and deſign. From his camp, on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively obſerved the revolutions of the palace, watched the progreſs of faction and diſcontent, diſguiſed the hoſtile aſpect of a Barbarian invader, and aſſumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Stilicho; to whoſe virtues, when they were no longer formidable, he could pay a juſt tribute of ſincere praiſe and regret. The preſſing invitation of the malcontents, who urged the king of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively ſenſe of his perſonal injuries; and he might ſpeciouſly complain, that the Imperial miniſters ſtill delayed and eluded the payment of the four thouſand pounds of gold; which had been granted by the Roman ſenate, either to reward his ſervices, or to appeaſe his fury. His decent firmneſs was ſupported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the ſucceſs of his deſigns. He required a fair and reaſonable ſatisfaction; but he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that, as ſoon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refuſed to truſt the faith of the Romans, unleſs Ætius and Jaſon, the ſons of two great officers of ſtate, were ſent as hoſtages to his camp: but he offered to deliver, in exchange, ſeveral of the nobleſt youths of the Gothic nation. The modeſty of Alaric was interpreted, by the miniſters of Ravenna, as a ſure evidence of his weakneſs and fear. They diſdained either to negotiate

negotiate a treaty, or to aſſemble an army; and with a raſh confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably waſted the deciſive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in ſullen ſilence, that the Barbarians ſhould evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, paſſed the Alps and the Po; haſtily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increaſed his forces by the acceſſion of thirty thouſand auxiliaries; and, without meeting a ſingle enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the moraſs which protected the impregnable reſidence of the emperor of the Weſt. Inſtead of attempting the hopeleſs ſiege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimini, ſtretched his ravages along the ſea-coaſt of the Hadriatic, and meditated the conqueſt of the ancient miſtreſs of the world. An Italian hermit, whoſe zeal and ſanctity were reſpected by the Barbarians themſelves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denounced the indignation of heaven againſt the oppreſſors of the earth: but the ſaint himſelf was confounded by the ſolemn aſſeveration of Alaric, that he felt a ſecret and præternatural impulſe, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome. He felt, that his genius and his fortune were equal to the moſt arduous enterpriſes; and the enthuſiaſm which he communicated to the Goths, inſenſibly removed the popular, and almoſt ſuperſtitious, reverence of the nations for the majeſty of the Roman name. His troops, animated by the hopes of ſpoil, followed the courſe of the Flaminian way, occupied the unguarded paſſes of the Apennine[4], deſcended into the rich plains

[4] Addiſon (ſee his Works, vol. ii. p. 54. edit. Baſkerville) has given a very picturesque deſcription of the road through the Apennine. The Goths were not at leiſure to obſerve the beauties of the proſpect; but they were pleaſed to find that the Saxa Interciſa, a narrow paſſage which Veſpaſian had cut through the rock (Cluver, Italia Antiq. tom. i. p. 618.), was totally neglected.

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of Umbria; and, as they lay encamped on the banks of the Clitumnus, might wantonly ſlaughter and devour the milk-white oxen, which had been ſo long reſerved for the uſe of Roman triumphs[5]. A lofty ſituation, and a ſeaſonable tempeſt of thunder and lightning, preſerved the little city of Narni; but the king of the Goths, deſpiſing the ignoble prey, ſtill advanced with unabated vigour; and after he had paſſed through the ſtately arches, adorned with the ſpoils of Barbaric victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome[6].

Hannibal at the gates of Rome.

During a period of ſix hundred and nineteen years, the ſeat of empire had never been violated by the preſence of a foreign enemy. The unſucceſsful expedition of Hannibal[7], ſerved only to diſplay the character of the ſenate and people; of a ſenate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the compariſon of an aſſembly of kings; and of a people, to whom the ambaſſador of Pyrrhus aſcribed the inexhauſtible reſources of the Hydra[8]. Each of the ſenators, in the time of the Punic war, had accompliſhed his term of military ſervice, either in a ſubordinate or a ſuperior ſtation; and the decree, which inveſted with temporary command all thoſe who had been conſuls, or cenſors, or dictators, gave the republic the immediate aſſiſtance of many brave and experienced generals. In the beginning of the war, the Roman people conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand citizens

[5] Hinc albi Clitumni greges, et maxima Taurus
Victima; ſæpe tuo perfuſi flumine ſacro
Romanos ad templa Deum duxere Triumphos.

Beſides Virgil, moſt of the Latin poets, Propertius, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Claudian, &c. whoſe paſſages may be found in Cluverius and Addiſon, have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Clitumnus.

[6] Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of Honorius over the ſame ground. (See Claudian in vi Conſ. Hon. 494—522.) The meaſured diſtance between Ravenna and Rome, was 254 Roman miles. Itinerar. Weſſeling. p. 126.

[7] The march and retreat of Hannibal are deſcribed by Livy, l. xxvi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.; and the reader is made a ſpectator of the intereſting ſcene.

[8] Theſe compariſons were uſed by Cyneas, the counſellor of Pyrrhus, after his return from his embaſſy, in which he had diligently ſtudied the diſcipline and manners of Rome. See Plutarch in Pyrrho, tom. ii. p. 459.

of

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of an age to bear arms[9]. Fifty thouſand had already died in the defence of their country; and the twenty-three legions which were employed in the different camps of Italy, Greece, Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, required about one hundred thouſand men. But there ſtill remained an equal number in Rome, and the adjacent territory, who were animated by the ſame intrepid courage; and every citizen was trained, from his earlieſt youth, in the diſcipline and exerciſes of a ſoldier. Hannibal was aſtoniſhed by the conſtancy of the ſenate, who, without raiſing the ſiege of Capua, or recalling their ſcattered forces, expected his approach. He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the diſtance of three miles from the city: and he was ſoon informed, that the ground on which he had pitched his tent, was ſold for an adequate price at a public auction; and that a body of troops was diſmiſſed, by an oppoſite road, to reinforce the legions of Spain[10]. He led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found three armies in order of battle, prepared to receive him; but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat, from which he could not hope to eſcape, unleſs he deſtroyed the laſt of his enemies; and his ſpeedy retreat confeſſed the invincible courage of the Romans.

Genealogy of the ſenators.

From the time of the Punic war, the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſenators had preſerved the name and image of the republic; and the degenerate ſubjects of Honorius ambitiouſly derived their deſcent

[9] In the three *cenſus* which were made of the Roman people, about the time of the ſecond Punic war, the numbers ſtand as follows (ſee Livy, Epitom. l. xx. Hiſt. l. xxvii. 36. xxix. 37.), 270,213, 137,108, 214,000. The fall of the ſecond, and the riſe of the third, appears ſo enormous, that ſeveral critics, notwithſtanding the unanimity of the MSS. have ſuſpected ſome corruption of the text of Livy. (See Drakenborch ad xxvii. 36. and Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 325.) They did not conſider that the ſecond *cenſus* was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were diminiſhed, not only by the death, but likewiſe by the *abſence*, of many ſoldiers. In the third *cenſus*, Livy expreſsly affirms, that the legions were muſtered by the care of particular commiſſaries. From the numbers on the liſt, we muſt always deduct one twelfth above threeſcore, and incapable of bearing arms. See Population de la France, p. 72.

[10] Livy conſiders theſe two incidents as the effects only of chance and courage. I ſuſpect that they were both managed by the admirable policy of the ſenate.

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from the heroes who had repulſed the arms of Hannibal, and ſubdued the nations of the earth. The temporal honours, which the devout Paula [11] inherited and deſpiſed, are carefully recapitulated by Jerom, the guide of her conſcience, and the hiſtorian of her life. The genealogy of her father, Rogatus, which aſcended as high as Agamemnon, might ſeem to betray a Grecian origin; but her mother, Blæſilla, numbered the Scipios, Æmilius Paulus, and the Gracchi, in the liſt of her anceſtors; and Toxotius, the huſband of Paula, deduced his royal lineage from Æneas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of the rich, who deſired to be noble, was gratified by theſe lofty pretenſions. Encouraged by the applauſe of their paraſites, they eaſily impoſed on the credulity of the vulgar; and were countenanced, in ſome meaſure, by the cuſtom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedmen and clients of illuſtrious families. Moſt of thoſe families, however, attacked by ſo many cauſes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extirpated: and it would be more reaſonable to ſeek for a lineal deſcent of twenty generations, among the mountains of the Alps, or in the peaceful ſolitude of Apulia, than on the theatre of Rome, the ſeat of fortune, of danger, and of perpetual revolutions. Under each ſucceſſive reign, and from every province of the empire, a crowd of hardy adventurers, riſing to eminence by their talents or their vices, uſurped the wealth, the honours, and the palaces of Rome; and oppreſſed, or protected, the poor and humble remains of conſular families; who were ignorant, perhaps, of the glory of their anceſtors [12].

[11] See Jerom, tom. i. p. 169, 170. ad Euſtochium; he beſtows on Paula the ſplendid titles of Gracchorum ſtirps, ſoboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres, cujus vocabulum trahit, Martiæ Papyriæ matris Africani vera et germana propago. This particular deſcription ſuppoſes a more ſolid title than the ſurname of Julius, which Toxotius ſhared with a thouſand families of the Weſtern provinces. See the Index of Tacitus, of Gruter's Inſcriptions, &c.

[12] Tacitus (Annal. iii. 55.) affirms, that, between the battle of Actium and the reign of Veſpaſian, the ſenate was gradually filled with *new* families, from the Municipia and colonies of Italy.

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The Anician family.

In the time of Jerom and Claudian, the ſenators unanimouſly yielded the pre-eminence to the Anician line; and a ſlight view of *their* hiſtory will ſerve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families, which contended only for the ſecond place [13]. During the five firſt ages of the city, the name of the Anicians was unknown; they appear to have derived their origin from Prænеſte; and the ambition of thoſe new citizens was long ſatisfied with the Plebeian honours of tribunes of the people [14]. One hundred and ſixty-eight years before the Chriſtian æra, the family was ennobled by the Prætorſhip of Anicius, who glorioufly terminated the Illyrian war by the conqueſt of the nation, and the captivity of their king [15]. From the triumph of that general, three conſulſhips, in diſtant periods, mark the ſucceſſion of the Anician name [16]. From the reign of Diocletian to the final extinction of the Weſtern empire, that name ſhone with a luſtre which was not eclipſed, in the public eſtimation, by the majeſty of the Imperial purple [17]. The ſeveral branches, to whom it was communicated, united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Annian, the Petronian, and the Olybrian houſes; and

[13] Nec quiſquam Procerum tentet (licet ære vetuſto
Floreat, et claro cingatur Roma ſenatû)
Se jactare parem; ſed primâ ſede relictâ
Auchenii, de jure licet certare ſecundo.
Claud. in Prob. et Olybrii Coſſ. 18.
Such a compliment paid to the obſcure name of the Auchenii has amazed the critics; but they all agree, that whatever may be the true reading, the ſenſe of Claudian can be applied only to the Anician family.

[14] The earlieſt date in the annals of Pighius, is that of M. Anicius Gallus, Trib. Pl. A. U. C. 506. Another tribune, Q. Anicius, A. U. C. 508, is diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Prænеſtinus. Livy (xlv. 43.) places the Anicii below the great families of Rome.

[15] Livy, xliv. 30, 31. xlv. 3. 26. 43. He fairly appreciates the merit of Anicius, and juſtly obſerves, that his fame was clouded by the ſuperior luſtre of the Macedonian, which preceded the Illyrian, triumph.

[16] The dates of the three conſulſhips are, A. U. C. 593, 818, 967: the two laſt under the reigns of Nero and Caracalla. The ſecond of theſe conſuls diſtinguiſhed himſelf only by his infamous flattery (Tacit. Annal. xv. 74.): but even the evidence of crimes, if they bear the ſtamp of greatneſs and antiquity, is admitted, without reluctance, to prove the genealogy of a noble houſe.

[17] In the ſixth century, the nobility of the Anician name is mentioned (Caſſiodor. Variar. l. x. Ep. 10. 12.) with ſingular reſpect by the miniſter of a Gothic king of Italy.

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in each generation the number of conſulſhips was multiplied by an hereditary claim [18]. The Anician family excelled in faith and in riches: they were the firſt of the Roman ſenate who embraced Chriſtianity; and it is probable that Anicius Julian, who was afterwards conſul and præfect of the city, atoned for his attachment to the party of Maxentius, by the readineſs with which he accepted the religion of Conſtantine [19]. Their ample patrimony was increaſed by the induſtry of Probus, the chief of the Anician family; who ſhared with Gratian the honours of the conſulſhip, and exerciſed, four times, the high office of Prætorian præfect [20]. His immenſe eſtates were ſcattered over the wide extent of the Roman world; and though the public might ſuſpect, or diſapprove, the methods, by which they had been acquired; the generoſity and magnificence of that fortunate ſtateſman deſerved the gratitude of his clients, and the admiration of ſtrangers [21]. Such was the reſpect entertained for his memory, that the two ſons of Probus, in their earlieſt youth, and at the requeſt of the ſenate, were aſſociated in the

[18] ——— Fixus in omnes
Cognatos procedit honos; quemcumque requiras
Hâc de ſtirpe virum, certum eſt de Conſule naſci.
Per faſces numerantur Avi, ſemperque renatâ
Nobilitate virent, et prolem fata ſequuntur.
(Claudian in Prob. et Olyb. Conſulat. 12, &c.) The Annii, whoſe name ſeems to have merged in the Anician, mark the Faſti with many conſulſhips, from the time of Veſpaſian to the fourth century.

[19] The title of firſt Chriſtian ſenator may be juſtified by the authority of Prudentius (in Symmach. i. 553.), and the diſlike of the Pagans to the Anician family. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 183. v. p. 44. Baron. Annal. A. D. 312, N° 78. A. D. 322, N° 2.

[20] Probus . . . claritudine generis et potentiâ et opûm magnitudine, cognitus Orbi Romano, per quem univerſum pœne patrimonia ſparſa poſſedit, juſte an ſecus non judicioli eſt noſtri. Ammian. Marcellin. xxvii. 11. His children and widow erected for him a magnificent tomb in the Vatican, which was demoliſhed in the time of pope Nicholas V. to make room for the new church of St. Peter. Baronius, who laments the ruin of this Chriſtian monument, has diligently preſerved the inſcriptions and baſſo-relievos. See Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 395, N° 5—17.

[21] Two Perſian Satraps travelled to Milan and Rome, to hear St. Ambroſe, and to ſee Probus (Paulin. in Vit. Ambroſ.). Claudian (in Conſ. Probin. et Olybr. 30—60.) ſeems at a loſs how to expreſs the glory of Probus.

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conſular dignity: a memorable diſtinction, without example, in the annals of Rome [22].

Wealth of the Roman nobles.

"The marbles of the Anician palace," were uſed as a proverbial expreſſion of opulence and ſplendour [23]; but the nobles and ſenators of Rome aſpired, in due gradation, to imitate that illuſtrious family. The accurate deſcription of the city, which was compoſed in the Theodoſian age, enumerates one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty *houſes*, the reſidence of wealthy and honourable citizens [24]. Many of theſe ſtately manſions might almoſt excuſe the exaggeration of the poet; that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city: ſince it included within its own precincts, every thing which could be ſubſervient either to uſe or luxury; markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, ſhady groves, and artificial aviaries [25]. The hiſtorian Olympiodorus, who repreſents the ſtate of Rome when it was beſieged by the Goths [26], continues to obſerve, that ſeveral of the richeſt ſenators received from their eſtates an annual income of four thouſand pounds of gold, above one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; without computing the ſtated proviſion of corn and wine, which, had they been ſold, might have equalled in value one third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth, an ordinary revenue of a thouſand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be conſidered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the ſenatorian rank, which

[22] See the poem which Claudian addreſſed to the two noble youths.

[23] Secundinus, the Manichæan, ap. Baron. Annal Eccleſ. A. D. 390, N° 34.

[24] See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 89. 498. 500.

[25] Quid loquar incluſas inter laquearia ſylvas;
Vernula quæ vario carmine ludit avis.
Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. ver. 111.
The poet lived at the time of the Gothic invaſion. A moderate palace would have covered Cincinnatus's farm of four acres (Val. Max. iv. 4.). In laxitatem ruris excurrunt, ſays Seneca, Epiſt. 114. See a judicious note of Mr. Hume, Eſſays, vol. i. p. 562. laſt 8vo. edition.

[26] This curious account of Rome, in the reign of Honorius, is found in a fragment of the hiſtorian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 197.

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required many expences of a public and oſtentatious kind. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles who celebrated the year of their prætorſhip, by a feſtival, which laſted ſeven days, and coſt above one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [27]. The eſtates of the Roman ſenators, which ſo far exceeded the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their poſſeſſions extended far beyond the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, to the moſt diſtant provinces; the city of Nicopolis, which Auguſtus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula [28]; and it is obſerved by Seneca, that the rivers, which had divided hoſtile nations, now flowed through the lands of private citizens [29]. According to their temper and circumſtances, the eſtates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labour of their ſlaves, or granted, for a certain and ſtipulated rent, to the induſtrious farmer. The œconomical writers of antiquity ſtrenuouſly recommend the former method, wherever it

[27] The ſons of Alypius, of Symmachus, and of Maximus, ſpent, during their reſpective prætorſhips, twelve, or twenty, or forty, *centenaries* (or hundred weight of gold). See Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197. This popular eſtimation allows ſome latitude; but it is difficult to explain a law in the Theodoſian Code (l. vi. leg. 5.), which fixes the expence of the firſt prætor at 25,000, of the ſecond at 20,000, and of the third at 15,000 *folles*. The name of *follis* (ſee Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 727.) was equally applied to a purſe of 125 pieces of ſilver, and to a ſmall copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{2625}$ part of that purſe. In the former ſenſe, the 25,000 folles would be equal to 150,000l. in the latter to five or ſix pounds ſterling. The one appears extravagant, the other is ridiculous. There muſt have exiſted ſome third, and middle value, which is here underſtood; but ambiguity is an inexcuſable fault in the language of laws.

[28] Nicopolis . . . in Actiaco littore ſita poſſeſſionis veſtræ nunc pars vel maxima eſt. Jerom. in præfat. Comment. ad Epiſtol. ad Titum, tom. ix. p. 243. M. de Tillemont ſuppoſes, ſtrangely enough, that it was part of Agamemnon's inheritance. Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 85.

[29] Seneca, Epiſt. lxxxix. His language is of the declamatory kind: but declamation could ſcarcely exaggerate the avarice and luxury of the Romans. The philoſopher himſelf deſerved ſome ſhare of the reproach; if it be true, that his rigorous exaction of *Quadringenties*, above three hundred thouſand pounds, which he had lent at high intereſt, provoked a rebellion in Britain (Dion Caſſius, l. lxii. p. 1003.). According to the conjecture of Gale (Antoninus's Itinerary in Britain, p. 92.), the ſame Fauſtinus poſſeſſed an eſtate near Bury, in Suffolk, and another in the kingdom of Naples.

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may be practicable; but if the object ſhould be removed, by its diſtance or magnitude, from the immediate eye of the maſter, they prefer the active care of an old hereditary tenant, attached to the ſoil, and intereſted in the produce, to the mercenary adminiſtration of a negligent, perhaps an unfaithful, ſteward [30].

Their manners.

The opulent nobles of an immenſe capital, who were never excited by the purſuit of military glory, and ſeldom engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally reſigned their leiſure to the buſineſs and amuſements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in contempt: but the ſenators, from the firſt age of the republic, increaſed their patrimony, and multiplied their clients, by the lucrative practice of uſury; and the obſolete laws were eluded, or violated, by the mutual inclinations and intereſt of both parties [31]. A conſiderable maſs of treaſure muſt always have exiſted at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire, or in the form of gold and ſilver plate; and there were many ſide-boards in the time of Pliny, which contained more ſolid ſilver than had been tranſported by Scipio from vanquiſhed Carthage [32]. The greater part of the nobles, who diſſipated their fortunes in profuſe luxury, found themſelves poor in the midſt of wealth; and idle in a conſtant round of diſſipation. Their deſires were continually gratified by the labour of a thouſand hands; of the numerous train of their domeſtic ſlaves, who were actuated by the fear of puniſhment; and of the various profeſſions of artificers and merchants, who

[30] Voluſius, a wealthy ſenator (Tacit. Annal. iii. 30.), always preferred tenants born on the eſtate. Columella, who received this maxim from him, argues very judiciouſly on the ſubject. De Re Ruſticâ, l. i. c. 7. p. 408. edit. Geſner, Leipſig, 1735.

[31] Valeſius (ad Ammian. xiv. 6.) has proved, from Chryſoſtom and Auguſtin, that the ſenators were not allowed to lend money at uſury. Yet it appears from the Theodoſian Code (ſee Godefroy ad l. ii. tit. xxxiii. tom. i. p. 230–289.), that they were permitted to take ſix per cent. or one half of the legal intereſt; and, what is more ſingular, this permiſſion was granted to the *young* ſenators.

[32] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 50. He ſtates the ſilver at only 4380 pounds, which is increaſed by Livy (xxx. 45.) to 100,023: the former ſeems too little for an opulent city, the latter too much for any private ſide-board.

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were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were deſtitute of many of the conveniencies of life, which have been invented or improved by the progreſs of induſtry; and the plenty of glaſs and linen has diffuſed more real comforts among the modern nations of Europe, than the ſenators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or ſenſual luxury[33]. Their luxury, and their manners, have been the ſubject of minute and laborious diſquiſition: but as ſuch inquiries would divert me too long from the deſign of the preſent work, I ſhall produce an authentic ſtate of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the Gothic invaſion. Ammianus Marcellinus, who prudently choſe the capital of the empire, as the reſidence the beſt adapted to the hiſtorian of his own times, has mixed with the narrative of public events, a lively repreſentation of the ſcenes with which he was familiarly converſant. The judicious reader will not always approve the aſperity of cenſure, the choice of circumſtances, or the ſtyle of expreſſion: he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices, and perſonal reſentments, which ſoured the temper of Ammianus himſelf; but he will ſurely obſerve, with philoſophic curioſity, the intereſting and original picture of the manners of Rome[34].

Character of the Roman nobles, by Ammianus Marcellinus.

" The greatneſs of Rome (ſuch is the language of the hiſtorian) " was founded on the rare, and almoſt incredible, alliance of virtue " and of fortune. The long period of her infancy was employed in " a laborious ſtruggle againſt the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and

[33] The learned Arbuthnot (Tables of Ancient Coins, &c. p. 153.) has obſerved with humour, and I believe with truth, that Auguſtus had neither glaſs to his windows, nor a ſhirt to his back. Under the lower empire, the uſe of linen and glaſs became ſomewhat more common.

[34] It is incumbent on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have melted down into one piece, the ſixth chapter of the fourteenth, and the fourth of the twenty-eighth, book. 2. I have given order and connection to the confuſed maſs of materials. 3. I have ſoftened *ſome* extravagant hyperboles, and pared away ſome ſuperfluities of the original. 4. I have developed ſome obſervations which were inſinuated, rather than expreſſed. With theſe allowances, my verſion will be found, not literal indeed, but faithful and exact.

"enemies of the riſing city. In the ſtrength and ardour of youth, "ſhe ſuſtained the ſtorms of war; carried her victorious arms be- "yond the ſeas and the mountains; and brought home triumphal "laurels from every country of the globe. At length, verging to- "wards old age, and ſometimes conquering by the terror only of "her name, ſhe ſought the bleſſings of eaſe and tranquillity. The "VENERABLE CITY, which had trampled on the necks of the "fierceſt nations; and eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of laws, the perpetual "guardians of juſtice and freedom; was content, like a wiſe and "wealthy parent, to devolve on the Cæſars, her favourite ſons, the "care of governing her ample patrimony[35]. A ſecure and pro- "found peace, ſuch as had been once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, "ſucceeded to the tumults of a republic: while Rome was ſtill adored "as the queen of the earth; and the ſubject nations ſtill reverenced "the name of the people, and the majeſty of the ſenate. But this "native ſplendour (continues Ammianus) is degraded, and ſullied "by the conduct of ſome nobles; who, unmindful of their own "dignity, and of that of their country, aſſume an unbounded licence "of vice and folly. They contend with each other in the empty "vanity of titles and ſurnames; and curiouſly ſelect, or invent, the "moſt lofty and ſonorous appellations, Reburrus, or Fabunius, Pa- "gonius, or Tarraſius[36], which may impreſs the ears of the vulgar "with aſtoniſhment and reſpect. From a vain ambition of perpe- "tuating their memory, they affect to multiply their likeneſs, in

[35] Claudian, who ſeems to have read the hiſtory of Ammianus, ſpeaks of this great revolution in a much leſs courtly ſtyle:

Poſtquam jura ferox in ſe communia Cæſar
Tranſtulit; et lapſi mores; deſuetaque priſcis
Artibus, in gremium pacis ſervile receſſi.
De Bell. Gildonico, 49.

[36] The minute diligence of antiquarians has not been able to verify theſe extraordinary names. I am of opinion that they were invented by the hiſtorian himſelf, who was afraid of any perſonal ſatire or application. It is certain, however, that the ſimple denominations of the Romans were gradually lengthened to the number of four, five, or even ſeven, pompous ſurnames; as for inſtance, Marcus Mæcius Mæmmius Furius Balburius Cæcilianus Placidus. See Noris Cenotaph. Piſan. Diſſert. iv. p. 438.

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" ſtatues of bronze and marble; nor are they ſatisfied, unleſs thoſe " ſtatues are covered with plates of gold: an honourable diſtinction, " firſt granted to Acilius the conſul, after he had ſubdued, by his " arms and counſels, the power of king Antiochus. The oſtenta- " tion of diſplaying, of magnifying perhaps, the rent-roll of the " eſtates which they poſſeſs in all the provinces, from the riſing to " the ſetting ſun, provokes the juſt reſentment of every man, who " recollects, that their poor and invincible anceſtors were not diſtin- " guiſhed from the meaneſt of the ſoldiers, by the delicacy of their " food, or the ſplendour of their apparel. But the modern nobles " meaſure their rank and conſequence, according to the loftineſs of " their chariots [37], and the weight and magnificence of their dreſs. " Their long robes of ſilk and purple float in the wind; and as they " are agitated, by art or accident, they occaſionally diſcover the " under garments, the rich tunics, embroidered with the figures of " various animals [38]. Followed by a train of fifty ſervants, and tear- " ing up the pavement, they move along the ſtreets with the ſame " impetuous ſpeed as if they travelled with poſt-horſes; and the " example of the ſenators is boldly imitated by the matrons and " ladies, whoſe covered carriages are continually driving round the " immenſe ſpace of the city and ſuburbs. Whenever theſe perſons

[37] The *carrucæ*, or coaches of the Romans, were often of ſolid ſilver, curiouſly carved and engraved; and the trappings of the mules, or horſes, were emboſſed with gold. This magnificence continued from the reign of Nero to that of Honorius; and the Appian way was covered with the ſplendid equipages of the nobles, who came out to meet St. Melania, when ſhe returned to Rome, ſix years before the Gothic ſiege (Seneca, epiſtol. lxxxvii. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 49. Paulin. Nolan. apud Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 397, N° 5.). Yet pomp is well exchanged for convenience; and a plain modern coach, that is hung upon ſprings, is much preferable to the ſilver or gold *carts* of antiquity, which rolled on the axle-tree, and were expoſed, for the moſt part, to the inclemency of the weather.

[38] In a homily of Aſterius, biſhop of Amaſia, M. de Valois has diſcovered (ad Ammian. xiv. 6.) that this was a new faſhion; that bears, wolves, lions, and tygers, woods, hunting-matches, &c. were repreſented in embroidery; and that the more pious coxcombs ſubſtituted the figure or legend of ſome favourite ſaint.

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" of high diſtinction condeſcend to viſit the public baths, they " aſſume, on their entrance, a tone of loud and inſolent command, " and appropriate to their own uſe the conveniencies which were " deſigned for the Roman people. If, in theſe places of mixed and " general reſort, they meet any of the infamous miniſters of their " pleaſures, they expreſs their affection by a tender embrace; while " they proudly decline the ſalutations of their fellow-citizens, who " are not permitted to aſpire above the honour of kiſſing their hands, " or their knees. As ſoon as they have indulged themſelves in the " refreſhment of the bath, they reſume their rings, and the other " enſigns of their dignity; ſelect from their private wardrobe of the " fineſt linen, ſuch as might ſuffice for a dozen perſons, the garments " the moſt agreeable to their fancy, and maintain till their departure " the ſame haughty demeanour; which perhaps might have been " excuſed in the great Marcellus, after the conqueſt of Syracuſe. " Sometimes, indeed, theſe heroes undertake more arduous atchieve- " ments; they viſit their eſtates in Italy, and procure themſelves, " by the toil of ſervile hands, the amuſements of the chace[39]. If " at any time, but more eſpecially on a hot day, they have courage " to ſail, in their painted gallies, from the Lucrine lake[40] to their " elegant villas on the ſea-coaſt of Puteoli and Cayeta[41], they com-

[39] See Pliny's Epiſtles, i. 6. Three large wild boars were allured and taken in the toils, without interrupting the ſtudies of the philoſophic ſportſman.

[40] The change from the inauſpicious word *Avernus*, which ſtands in the text, is immaterial. The two lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, communicated with each other, and were faſhioned by the ſtupendous moles of Agrippa into the Julian port, which opened, through a narrow entrance, into the gulph of Puteoli. Virgil, who reſided on the ſpot, has deſcribed (Georgic ii. 161.) this work at the moment of its execution; and his commentators, eſpecially Catrou, have derived much light from Strabo, Suetonius, and Dion. Earthquakes and volcanos have changed the face of the country, and turned the Lucrine lake, ſince the year 1538, into the Monte Nuovo. See Camillo Pellegrino Diſcorſi della Campania Felice, p. 239. 244, &c. Antonii Sanfelicii Campania, p. 13. 88.

[41] The regna Cumana et Puteolana; loca cæteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudine pœne fugienda. Cicero ad Attic. xvi. 17.

" pare

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" pare their own expeditions to the marches of Cæſar and Alexander. " Yet ſhould a fly preſume to ſettle on the ſilken folds of their " gilded umbrellas; ſhould a ſun-beam penetrate through ſome un- " guarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable " hardſhips, and lament, in affected language, that they were not " born in the land of the Cimmerians[42], the regions of eternal dark- " neſs. In theſe journies into the country[43], the whole body of " the houſehold marches with their maſter. In the ſame manner as " the cavalry and infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops, " the advanced guard and the rear, are marſhalled by the ſkill of " their military leaders; ſo the domeſtic officers, who bear a rod, " as an enſign of authority, diſtribute and arrange the numerous " train of ſlaves and attendants. The baggage and wardrobe move " in the front; and are immediately followed by a multitude of " cooks, and inferior miniſters, employed in the ſervice of the " kitchens, and of the table. The main body is compoſed of a " promiſcuous crowd of ſlaves, increaſed by the accidental concourſe " of idle or dependent plebeians. The rear is cloſed by the favourite " band of eunuchs, diſtributed from age to youth, according to the " order of ſeniority. Their numbers, and their deformity, excite " the horror of the indignant ſpectators, who are ready to execrate " the memory of Semiramis, for the cruel art which ſhe invented,

[42] The proverbial expreſſion of *Cimmerian darkneſs* was originally borrowed from the deſcription of Homer (in the eleventh book of the Odyſſey), which he applies to a remote and fabulous country on the ſhores of the ocean. See Eraſmi Adagia, in his works, tom. ii. p. 593. the Leyden edition.

[43] We may learn from Seneca, epiſt. cxxiii. three curious circumſtances relative to the journies of the Romans. 1. They were preceded by a troop of Numidian light-horſe, who announced, by a cloud of duſt, the approach of a great man. 2. Their baggage-mules tranſported not only the precious vaſes, but even the fragile veſſels of cryſtal and *murra*, which laſt is almoſt proved, by the learned French tranſlator of Seneca (tom. iii. p. 402—422.) to mean the porcelain of China and Japan. 3. The beautiful faces of the young ſlaves were covered with a medicated cruſt, or ointment, which ſecured them againſt the effects of the ſun and froſt.

" of

" of fruſtrating the purpoſes of nature, and of blaſting in the bud " the hopes of future generations. In the exerciſe of domeſtic ju- " riſdiction, the nobles of Rome expreſs an exquiſite ſenſibility for " any perſonal injury, and a contemptuous indifference for the reſt " of the human ſpecies. When they have called for warm water, " if a ſlave has been tardy in his obedience, he is inſtantly chaſtiſed " with three hundred laſhes: but ſhould the ſame ſlave commit a " wilful murder, the maſter will mildly obſerve, that he is a worth- " leſs fellow; but that, if he repeats the offence, he ſhall not eſcape " puniſhment. Hoſpitality was formerly the virtue of the Romans; " and every ſtranger, who could plead either merit or misfortune, " was relieved, or rewarded, by their generoſity. At preſent, if a " foreigner, perhaps of no contemptible rank, is introduced to one " of the proud and wealthy ſenators, he is welcomed indeed in the " firſt audience, with ſuch warm profeſſions, and ſuch kind inqui- " ries, that he retires, enchanted with the affability of his illuſtrious " friend, and full of regret that he had ſo long delayed his journey " to Rome, the native ſeat of manners, as well as of empire. Se- " cure of a favourable reception, he repeats his viſit the enſuing " day, and is mortified by the diſcovery, that his perſon, his name, " and his country, are already forgotten. If he ſtill has reſolution " to perſevere, he is gradually numbered in the train of dependents, " and obtains the permiſſion to pay his aſſiduous and unprofitable " court to a haughty patron, incapable of gratitude or friendſhip; " who ſcarcely deigns to remark his preſence, his departure, or his " return. Whenever the rich prepare a ſolemn and popular enter- " tainment[44]; whenever they celebrate, with profuſe and pernicious " luxury,

[44] Diſtributio ſolemnium ſportularum. The *ſportulæ*, or *ſportellæ*, were ſmall baſkets, ſuppoſed to contain a quantity of hot proviſions, of the value of 100 quadrantes, or twelve pence half-penny, which were ranged in order in the hall, and oſtentatiouſly diſtributed.

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" luxury, their private banquets; the choice of the guests is the " subject of anxious deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the " learned, are seldom preferred; and the nomenclators, who are " commonly swayed by interested motives, have the address to in- " sert in the list of invitations, the obscure names of the most worth- " less of mankind. But the frequent and familiar companions of " the great, are those parasites, who practise the most useful of all " arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly applaud each word, and " every action of their immortal patron; gaze with rapture on " his marble columns, and variegated pavements; and strenuously " praise the pomp and elegance, which he is taught to consider as a " part of his personal merit. At the Roman tables, the birds, the " *squirrels*[45], or the fish, which appear of an uncommon size, are " contemplated with curious attention; a pair of scales is accurately " applied to ascertain their real weight; and, while the more ra- " tional guests are disgusted by the vain and tedious repetition, nota- " ries are summoned to attest, by an authentic record, the truth of " such a marvellous event. Another method of introduction into " the houses and society of the great, is derived from the profession " of gaming, or, as it is more politely styled, of play. The confe-

buted to the hungry or servile crowd, who waited at the door. This indelicate custom is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial, and the satires of Juvenal. See likewise Suetonius, in Claud. c. 21. in Neron. c. 16. in Domitian. c. 4. 7. These baskets of provisions were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and silver coin, or plate, which were mutually given and accepted even by the persons of the highest rank (see Symmach. epist. iv. 55. ix. 124. and Miscell. p. 256.), on solemn occasions, of consulships, marriages, &c.

[45] The want of an English name obliges me to refer to the common genus of squirrels, the Latin *glis*, the French *loir*; a little animal who inhabits the woods, and remains torpid in cold weather (see Plin. Hist. Natur. viii. 82. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. viii. p. 158. Pennant's Synopsis of Quadrupeds, p. 289.). The art of rearing and fattening great numbers of *glires* was practised in Roman villas, as a profitable article of rural œconomy (Varro, de Re Rusticâ, iii. 15.). The excessive demand of them for luxurious tables, was increased by the foolish prohibitions of the Censors; and it is reported, that they are still esteemed in modern Rome, and are frequently sent as presents by the Colonna princes (See Brotier, the last editor of Pliny, tom. ii. p. 458. apud Barbou, 1779).

" derates

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" derates are united by a ſtrict and indiſſoluble bond of friend-
" ſhip, or rather of conſpiracy; a ſuperior degree of ſkill in the
" *Teſſerarian* art (which may be interpreted the game of dice and
" tables [46]) is a ſure road to wealth and reputation. A maſter of
" that ſublime ſcience, who in a ſupper, or aſſembly, is placed below
" a magiſtrate, diſplays in his countenance the ſurpriſe and indig-
" nation, which Cato might be ſuppoſed to feel, when he was
" refuſed the prætorſhip by the votes of a capricious people. The
" acquiſition of knowledge ſeldom engages the curioſity of the
" nobles, who abhor the fatigue, and diſdain the advantages, of
" ſtudy; and the only books which they peruſe are the ſatires of
" Juvenal, and the verboſe and fabulous hiſtories of Marius Maxi-
" mus [47]. The libraries, which they have inherited from their fa-
" thers, are ſecluded, like dreary ſepulchres, from the light of day [48].
" But the coſtly inſtruments of the theatre, flutes, and enormous
" lyres, and hydraulic organs, are conſtructed for their uſe; and
" the harmony of vocal and inſtrumental muſic is inceſſantly re-
" peated in the palaces of Rome. In thoſe palaces, ſound is pre-
" ferred to ſenſe, and the care of the body to that of the mind. It

[46] This game, which might be tranſlated by the more familiar names of *trictrac*, or *backgammon*, was a favourite amuſement of the graveſt Romans: and old Mucius Scævola, the lawyer, had the reputation of a very ſkilful player. It was called *ludus duodecim ſcriptorum*, from the twelve *ſcripta*, or lines which equally divided the *alveolus*, or table. On theſe, the two armies, the white and the black, each conſiſting of fifteen men, or *calculi*, where regularly placed, and alternately moved, according to the laws of the game; and the chances of the *teſſeræ*, or dice. Dr. Hyde, who diligently traces the hiſtory and varieties of the *nerdiludium* (a name of Perſic etymology) from Ireland to Japan, pours forth, on this trifling ſubject, a copious torrent of claſſic and Oriental learning. See Syntagma Diſſertat. tom. ii. p. 217—405.

[47] Marius Maximus, homo omnium verboſiſſimus, qui, et mythiſtoricis ſe voluminibus implicavit. Vopiſcus, in Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 242. He wrote the lives of the emperors from Trajan to Alexander Severus. See Gerard Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latin. l. ii. c. 3. in his works, vol. iv. p. 57.

[48] This ſatire is probably exaggerated. The Saturnalia of Macrobius, and the Epiſtles of Jerom, afford ſatisfactory proofs that Chriſtian theology, and claſſic literature, were ſtudiouſly cultivated by ſeveral Romans, of both ſexes, and of the higheſt rank.

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" is allowed as a ſalutary maxim, that the light and frivolous ſuſpi-
" cion of a contagious malady, is of ſufficient weight to excuſe the
" viſits of the moſt intimate friends; and even the ſervants, who are
" diſpatched to make the decent inquiries, are not ſuffered to return
" home, till they have undergone the ceremony of a previous ab-
" lution. Yet this ſelfiſh and unmanly delicacy occaſionally yields
" to the more imperious paſſion of avarice. The proſpect of gain
" will urge a rich and gouty ſenator as far as Spoleto; every ſen-
" timent of arrogance and dignity is ſubdued by the hopes of an in-
" heritance, or even of a legacy; and a wealthy, childleſs, citizen is
" the moſt powerful of the Romans. The art of obtaining the
" ſignature of a favourable teſtament, and ſometimes of haſtening
" the moment of its execution, is perfectly underſtood; and it has
" happened, that in the ſame houſe, though in different apartments,
" a huſband and a wife, with the laudable deſign of over-reaching
" each other, have ſummoned their reſpective lawyers, to declare, at
" the ſame time, their mutual, but contradictory intentions. The
" diſtreſs which follows and chaſtiſes extravagant luxury, often
" reduces the great to the uſe of the moſt humiliating expedients.
" When they deſire to borrow, they employ the baſe and ſuppli-
" cating ſtyle of the ſlave in the comedy; but when they are called
" upon to pay, they aſſume the royal and tragic declamation of the
" grandſons of Hercules. If the demand is repeated, they readily
" procure ſome truſty ſycophant, inſtructed to maintain a charge of
" poiſon, or magic, againſt the inſolent creditor; who is ſeldom
" releaſed from priſon, till he has ſigned a diſcharge of the whole
" debt. Theſe vices, which degrade the moral character of the
" Romans, are mixed with a puerile ſuperſtition, that diſgraces
" their underſtanding. They liſten with confidence to the predic-
" tions of haruſpices, who pretend to read, in the entrails of vic-
" tims, the ſigns of future greatneſs and proſperity; and there are

" many

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"many who do not preſume either to bathe, or to dine, or to appear in public, till they have diligently conſulted, according to the rules of aſtrology, the ſituation of Mercury, and the aſpect of the moon[48]. It is ſingular enough, that this vain credulity may often be diſcovered among the profane ſceptics, who impiouſly doubt, or deny, the exiſtence of a celeſtial power."

State and character of the people of Rome.

In populous cities, which are the ſeat of commerce and manufactures, the middle ranks of inhabitants, who derive their ſubſiſtence from the dexterity, or labour, of their hands, are commonly the moſt prolific, the muſt uſeful, and, in that ſenſe, the moſt reſpectable, part of the community. But the plebeians of Rome, who diſdained ſuch ſedentary and ſervile arts, had been oppreſſed, from the earlieſt times, by the weight of debt and uſury; and the huſbandman, during the term of his military ſervice, was obliged to abandon the cultivation of his farm[49]. The lands of Italy, which had been originally divided among the families of free and indigent proprietors, were inſenſibly purchaſed, or uſurped, by the avarice of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed, that only two thouſand citizens were poſſeſſed of any independent ſubſtance[50]. Yet as long as the people beſtowed, by their ſuffrages, the honours of the ſtate, the command of the legions, and the adminiſtration of wealthy provinces, their conſcious pride alleviated, in ſome meaſure, the hardſhips of poverty; and their wants were ſeaſonably ſupplied by the ambitious libe-

[48] Macrobius, the friend of theſe Roman nobles, conſidered the ſtars as the cauſe, or at leaſt the ſigns, of future events (de Somn. Scipion. l. i. c. 19. p. 68.).

[49] The hiſtories of Livy (ſee particularly vi. 36.) are full of the extortions of the rich, and the ſufferings of the poor debtors. The melancholy ſtory of a brave old ſoldier (Dionyſ. Hal. l. vi. c. 26. p. 347. edit. Hudſon, and Livy, ii. 23.) muſt have been frequently repeated in thoſe primitive times, which have been ſo undeſervedly praiſed.

[50] Non eſſe in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent. Cicero, Offic. ii. 21. and Comment. Paul. Manut. in edit. Græv. This vague computation was made A. U. C. 649. in a ſpeech of the tribune Philippus; and it was his object, as well as that of the Gracchi (ſee Plutarch), to deplore, and perhaps to exaggerate, the miſery of the common people.

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rality of the candidates, who aſpired to ſecure a venal majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the hundred and ninety-three centuries, of Rome. But when the prodigal commons had imprudently alienated not only the *uſe*, but the *inheritance*, of power, they ſunk, under the reign of the Cæſars, into a vile and wretched populace, which muſt, in a few generations, have been totally extinguiſhed, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumiſſion of ſlaves, and the influx of ſtrangers. As early as the time of Hadrian, it was the juſt complaint of the ingenuous natives, that the capital had attracted the vices of the univerſe, and the manners of the moſt oppoſite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the ſavage obſtinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the ſervile temper of the Aſiatics, and the diſſolute, effeminate proſtitution of the Syrians, were mingled in the various multitude; which, under the proud and falſe denomination of Romans, preſumed to deſpiſe their fellow-ſubjects, and even their ſovereigns, who dwelt beyond the precincts of the ETERNAL CITY [51].

Public diſtribution of bread, bacon, oil, wine, &c.

Yet the name of that city was ſtill pronounced with reſpect: the frequent and capricious tumults of its inhabitants were indulged with impunity; and the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, inſtead of cruſhing the laſt remains of the democracy, by the ſtrong arm of military power, embraced the mild policy of Auguſtus, and ſtudied to relieve the poverty, and to amuſe the idleneſs, of an innumerable people [52]. I. For the convenience of the lazy plebeians, the monthly diſtributions

[51] See the third Satire (60—125.) of Juvenal, who indignantly complains,

——Quamvis quota portio fæcis Achæi!
Jampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes;
Et linguam, et mores, &c.

Seneca, when he propoſes to comfort his mother (Conſolat. ad Helv. c. 6.) by the reflection, that a great part of mankind were in a ſtate of exile, reminds her how few of the inhabitants of Rome were born in the city.

[52] Almoſt all that is ſaid of the bread, bacon, oil, wine, &c. may be found in the fourteenth book of the Theodoſian Code; which expreſsly treats of the *police* of the great cities. See particularly the titles iii, iv. xv, xvi, xvii. xxiv. The collateral teſtimonies

distributions of corn were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of ovens were constructed and maintained at the public expence; and at the appointed hour, each citizen, who was furnished with a ticket, ascended the flight of steps, which had been assigned to his peculiar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift, or at a very low price, a loaf of bread of the weight of three pounds, for the use of his family. II. The forests of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs[53], afforded, as a species of tribute, a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year, a regular allowance of bacon was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capital, at a time when it was much declined from its former lustre, was ascertained, by an edict of Valentinian the Third, at three millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds[54]. III. In the manners of antiquity, the use of oil was indispensable for the lamp, as well as for the bath; and the annual tax, which was imposed on Africa for the benefit of Rome, amounted to the weight of three millions of pounds, to the measure, perhaps, of three hundred thousand English gallons. IV. The anxiety of Augustus to provide the metropolis with sufficient plenty of corn, was not extended beyond that necessary article of human subsistence; and when the popular clamour accused the dearness and scarcity of wine, a pro-

monies are produced in Godefroy's Commentary, and it is needless to transcribe them. According to a law of Theodosius, which appreciates in money the military allowance, a piece of gold (eleven shillings) was equivalent to eighty pounds of bacon, or to eighty pounds of oil, or to twelve modii (or pecks) of salt (Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. iv. leg. 17.). This equation, compared with another, of seventy pounds of bacon for an *amphora* (Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. iv. leg. 4.), fixes the price of wine at about sixteen pence the gallon.

[53] The anonymous author of the Description of the World (p. 14. in tom. iii. Geograph. Minor. Hudson) observes of Lucania, in his barbarous Latin, Regio obtima, et ipsa omnibus habundans, et lardum multum foras emittit. Propter quod est in montibus, cujus æscam animalium variam, &c.

[54] See Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. D. Valent. l. i. tit. xv. This law was published at Rome, June the 29th, A. D. 452.

clamation

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clamation was iſſued, by the grave reformer, to remind his ſubjects, that no man could reaſonably complain of thirſt, ſince the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into the city ſo many copious ſtreams of pure and ſalubrious water[55]. This rigid ſobriety was inſenſibly relaxed; and, although the generous deſign of Aurelian[56] does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the uſe of wine was allowed on very eaſy and liberal terms. The adminiſtration of the public cellars was delegated to a magiſtrate of honourable rank; and a conſiderable part of the vintage of Campania was reſerved for the fortunate inhabitants of Rome.

Uſe of the public baths.

The ſtupendous aqueducts, ſo juſtly celebrated by the praiſes of Auguſtus himſelf, repleniſhed the *Thermæ*, or baths, which had been conſtructed, in every part of the city, with Imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open, at ſtated hours, for the indiſcriminate ſervice of the ſenators and the people, contained above ſixteen hundred ſeats of marble; and more than three thouſand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian[57]. The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious moſaics, that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of deſign, and the variety of colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully incruſted with the precious green marble of Numidia: the perpetual ſtream of hot water was poured into the capacious baſons, through ſo many wide mouths of bright and maſſy ſilver; and the meaneſt Roman could purchaſe, with a ſmall copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a ſcene of pomp and luxury, which might incite the envy of the kings of

[55] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 42. The utmoſt debauch of the emperor himſelf, in his favourite wine of Rhætia, never exceeded a *ſextarius* (an Engliſh pint). Id. c. 77. Torrentius ad loc. and Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 86.

[56] His deſign was to plant vineyards along the ſea coaſt of Hetruria (Vopiſcus, in Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 225.); the dreary, unwholeſome, uncultivated *Maremme* of modern Tuſcany.

[57] Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 197.

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Aſia[58]. From theſe ſtately palaces iſſued a ſwarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without ſhoes, and without a mantle; who loitered away whole days in the ſtreet or Forum, to hear news, and to hold diſputes; who diſſipated, in extravagant gaming, the miſerable pittance of their wives and children; and ſpent the hours of the night in obſcure taverns, and brothels, in the indulgence of groſs and vulgar ſenſuality[59].

Games and ſpectacles.

But the moſt lively and ſplendid amuſement of the idle multitude, depended on the frequent exhibition of public games and ſpectacles. The piety of Chriſtian princes had ſuppreſſed the inhuman combats of gladiators; but the Roman people ſtill conſidered the Circus as their home, their temple, and the ſeat of the republic. The impatient crowd ruſhed at the dawn of day to ſecure their places, and there were many who paſſed a ſleepleſs and anxious night in the adjacent porticos. From the morning to the evening, careleſs of the ſun, or of the rain, the ſpectators, who ſometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thouſand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horſes and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope and fear, for the ſucceſs of the *colours* which they eſpouſed: and the happineſs of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race[60]. The ſame immoderate ardour inſpired

[58] Seneca (epiſtol. lxxxvi.) compares the baths of Scipio Africanus, at his villa of Liternum, with the magnificence (which was continually increaſing) of the public baths of Rome, long before the ſtately Thermæ of Antoninus and Diocletian were erected. The *quadrans* paid for admiſſion was the quarter of the as, about one eighth of an Engliſh penny.

[59] Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 6. and l. xxviii. c. 4.), after deſcribing the luxury and pride of the nobles of Rome, expoſes, with equal indignation, the vices and follies of the common people.

[60] Juvenal; Satir. xi. 191, &c. The expreſſions of the hiſtorian Ammianus are not leſs ſtrong and animated than thoſe of the ſatiriſt; and both the one and the other painted from the life. The numbers which the great Circus was capable of receiving are taken from the *original Notitiæ* of the city. The differences between them prove that they did not tranſcribe each other; but the ſum may appear incredible, though the country on theſe occaſions flocked to the city.

their

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their clamours, and their applauſe, as often as they were entertained with the hunting of wild beaſts, and the various modes of theatrical repreſentation. Theſe repreſentations in modern capitals may deſerve to be conſidered as a pure and elegant ſchool, of taſte, and perhaps of virtue. But the Tragic and Comic Muſe of the Romans, who ſeldom aſpired beyond the imitation of Attic genius[61], had been almoſt totally ſilent ſince the fall of the republic[62]; and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate muſic, and ſplendid pageantry. The pantomimes[63], who maintained their reputation from the age of Auguſtus to the ſixth century, expreſſed, without the uſe of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which ſometimes diſarmed the gravity of the philoſopher, always excited the applauſe and wonder of the people. The vaſt and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thouſand female dancers, and by three thouſand ſingers, with the maſters of the reſpective choruſſes. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed, that in a time of ſcarcity, when all ſtrangers were baniſhed from the city, the merit of contributing to the public pleaſures exempted them from a law, which was ſtrictly executed againſt the profeſſors of the liberal arts[64].

[61] Sometimes indeed they compoſed original pieces.

——Veſtigia Græca
Auſi deſerere et celebrare domeſtica facta,

Horat. Epiſtol. ad Piſones, 285. and the learned, though perplexed, note of Dacier, who might have allowed the name of tragedies to the *Brutus* and the *Decius* of Pacuvius, or to the *Cato* of Maternus. The *Octavia*, aſcribed to one of the Senecas, ſtill remains a very unfavourable ſpecimen of Roman tragedy.

[62] In the time of Quintilian and Pliny, a tragic poet was reduced to the imperfect method of hiring a great room, and reading his play to the company, whom he invited for that purpoſe (See Dialog. de Oratoribus, c. 9. 11. and Plin. Epiſtol. 7. 17.).

[63] See the Dialogue of Lucian, intitled, De Saltatione, tom. ii. p. 265—317. edit. Reitz. The Pantomimes obtained the honourable name of χειροσοφοι; and it was required, that they ſhould be converſant with almoſt every art and ſcience. Burette (in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. i. p. 127, &c.) has given a ſhort hiſtory of the art of pantomimes.

[64] Ammianus, l. 14. c. 6. He complains, with decent indignation, that the ſtreets of Rome were filled with crowds of females who

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Populouſneſs of Rome.

It is ſaid, that the fooliſh curioſity of Elagabalus attempted to diſcover, from the quantity of ſpiders webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of inquiry might not have been undeſerving of the attention of the wiſeſt princes, who could eaſily have reſolved a queſtion ſo important for the Roman government, and ſo intereſting to ſucceeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly regiſtered; and if any writer of antiquity had condeſcended to mention the annual amount, or the common average, we might now produce ſome ſatisfactory calculation, which would deſtroy the extravagant aſſertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the modeſt and probable conjectures of philoſophers [65]. The moſt diligent reſearches have collected only the following circumſtances; which, ſlight and imperfect as they are, may tend, in ſome degree, to illuſtrate the queſtion of the populouſneſs of ancient Rome. I. When the capital of the empire was beſieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately meaſured, by Ammonius, the mathematician, who found it equal to twenty-one miles [66]. It ſhould not be forgotten, that the form of the city was almoſt that of a circle; the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largeſt ſpace within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitruvius, who flouriſhed in the Auguſtan age, and whoſe evidence, on this occaſion, has peculiar weight and authority, obſerves, that the innumerable habitations of the Roman people would have ſpread themſelves far beyond the narrow limits of the city; and that the want of ground, which was probably contracted on every

who might have given children to the ſtate, but whoſe only occupation was to curl and dreſs their hair, and jactari volubilibus gyris, dum exprimunt innumera ſimulacra, quæ finxere fabulæ theatrales.

[65] Lipſius (tom. iii. p. 423. de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. iii. c. 3.) and Iſaac Voſſius (Obſervat. Var. p. 26.—34) have indulged ſtrange dreams of four, or eight, or fourteen millions in Rome. Mr. Hume (Eſſays, vol. i. p. 450—457.), with admirable good ſenſe and ſcepticiſm, betrays ſome ſecret diſpoſition to extenuate the populouſneſs of ancient times.

[66] Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197. See Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. ix. p. 400.

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ſide by gardens and villas, ſuggeſted the common, though inconvenient, practice of raiſing the houſes to a conſiderable height in the air [67]. But the loftineſs of theſe buildings, which often conſiſted of haſty work, and inſufficient materials, was the cauſe of frequent and fatal accidents; and it was repeatedly enacted by Auguſtus, as well as by Nero, that the height of private edifices, within the walls of Rome, ſhould not exceed the meaſure of ſeventy feet from the ground [68]. III. Juvenal [69] laments, as it ſhould ſeem from his own experience, the hardſhips of the poorer citizens, to whom he addreſſes the ſalutary advice of emigrating, without delay, from the ſmoke of Rome; ſince they might purchaſe, in the little towns of Italy, a cheerful commodious dwelling, at the ſame price which they annually paid for a dark and miſerable lodging. Houſe-rent was therefore immoderately dear: the rich acquired, at an enormous expence, the ground, which they covered with palaces and gardens; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow ſpace; and the different floors, and apartments, of the ſame houſe were divided, as it is ſtill the cuſtom of Paris, and other cities, among ſeveral families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houſes in

[67] In eâ autem majeſtate urbis, et civium infinitâ frequentiâ innumerabiles habitationes opus fuit explicare. Ergo cum recipere non poſſet area plana tantam multitudinem in urbe, ad auxilium altitudinis ædificiorum res ipſa coëgit devenire. Vitruv. ii. 8. This paſſage, which I owe to Voſſius, is clear, ſtrong, and comprehenſive.

[68] The ſucceſſive teſtimonies of Pliny, Ariſtides, Claudian, Rutilius, &c. prove the inſufficiency of theſe reſtrictive edicts. See Lipſius, de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. iii. c. 4.

——Tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant
Tu neſcis; nam ſi gradibus trepidatur ab imis
Ultimus ardebit, quem tegula ſola tuetur
A pluviâ. Juvenal. Satir. iii. 199.

[69] Read the whole third ſatire, but particularly 166. 223, &c. The deſcription of a crowded *inſula*, or lodging-houſe, in Petronius (c. 95. 97.), perfectly tallies with the complaints of Juvenal; and we learn from legal authority, that, in the time of Auguſtus (Heineccius, Hiſt. Juris Roman. c. iv. p. 181.), the ordinary rent of the ſeveral *cœnacula*, or apartments of an *inſula*, annually produced forty thouſand ſeſterces, between three and four hundred pounds ſterling (Pandect. l. xix. tit. ii. N° 30.); a ſum which proves at once the large extent, and high value, of thoſe common buildings.

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the fourteen regions of the city, is accurately ſtated in the deſcription of Rome, compoſed under the reign of Theodoſius, and they amount to forty-eight thouſand three hundred and eighty-two [70]. The two claſſes of *domus* and of *inſulæ*, into which they are divided, include all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the marble palace of the Anicii, with a numerous eſtabliſhment of freedmen and ſlaves, to the lofty and narrow lodging-houſe, where the poet Codrus, and his wife, were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles. If we adopt the ſame average, which, under ſimilar circumſtances, has been found applicable to Paris [71], and indifferently allow about twenty-five perſons for each houſe, of every degree, we may fairly eſtimate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thouſand: a number which cannot be thought exceſſive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the populouſneſs of the greateſt cities of modern Europe [72].

First ſiege of Rome by the Goths, A. D. 408.

Such was the ſtate of Rome under the reign of Honorius; at the time when the Gothic army formed the ſiege, or rather the blockade, of the city [73]. By a ſkilful diſpoſition of his numerous forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an aſſault, Alaric encompaſſed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tyber, from which the Romans derived the ſureſt

[70] This ſum total is compoſed of 1780 *domus*, or great houſes, of 46,602 *inſulæ*, or plebeian habitations (See Nardini, Roma Antica, l. iii. p. 88.); and theſe numbers are aſcertained by the agreement of the texts of the different *Notitiæ*. Nardini, l. viii. p. 498. 500.

[71] See that accurate writer M. de Meſſance, Recherches ſur la Population, p. 175—187. From probable, or certain grounds, he aſſigns to Paris 23,565 houſes, 71,114 families, and 576,630 inhabitants.

[72] This computation is not very different from that which M. Brotier, the laſt editor of Tacitus (tom. ii. p. 380.), has aſſumed from ſimilar principles; though he ſeems to aim at a degree of preciſion, which it is neither poſſible nor important to obtain.

[73] For the events of the firſt ſiege of Rome, which are often confounded with thoſe of the ſecond and third, ſee Zoſimus, l. v. p. 350—354. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 6. Olympiodorus, ap. Phot. p. 180. Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 3. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 467—475.

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and moſt plentiful ſupply of proviſions. The firſt emotions of the nobles, and of the people, were thoſe of ſurpriſe and indignation, that a vile Barbarian ſhould dare to inſult the capital of the world: but their arrogance was ſoon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, inſtead of being directed againſt an enemy in arms, was meanly exerciſed on a defenceleſs and innocent victim. Perhaps, in the perſon of Serena, the Romans might have reſpected the niece of Theodoſius, the aunt, nay even the adoptive mother, of the reigning emperor: but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho; and they liſtened with credulous paſſion to the tale of calumny, which accuſed her of maintaining a ſecret and criminal correſpondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the ſame popular frenzy, the ſenate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the ſentence of her death. Serena was ignominiouſly ſtrangled; and the infatuated multitude were aſtoniſhed to find, that this cruel act of injuſtice did not immediately produce the retreat of the Barbarians, and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city gradually experienced the diſtreſs of ſcarcity, and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn ſtill continued to riſe in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, ſolicited the precarious charity of the rich; and for a while the public miſery was alleviated by the humanity of Læta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her reſidence at Rome, and conſecrated, to the uſe of the indigent, the princely revenue which ſhe annually received from the grateful ſucceſſors of her huſband[74]. But theſe private and temporary donatives were inſufficient to appeaſe the hunger of a numerous people;

Famine.

[74] The mother of Læta was named Piſſumena. Her father, family, and country are unknown. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 59.

and

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and the progreſs of famine invaded the marble palaces of the ſenators themſelves. The perſons of both ſexes, who had been educated in the enjoyment of eaſe and luxury, diſcovered how little is requiſite to ſupply the demands of nature; and laviſhed their unavailing treaſures of gold and ſilver, to obtain the coarſe and ſcanty ſuſtenance which they would formerly have rejected with diſdain. The food the moſt repugnant to ſenſe or imagination, the aliments the moſt unwholeſome and pernicious to the conſtitution, were eagerly devoured, and fiercely diſputed, by the rage of hunger. A dark ſuſpicion was entertained, that ſome deſperate wretches fed on the bodies of their fellow-creatures, whom they had ſecretly murdered; and even mothers (ſuch was the horrid conflict of the two moſt powerful inſtincts implanted by nature in the human breaſt), even mothers are ſaid to have taſted the fleſh of their ſlaughtered infants[75]! Many thouſands of the inhabitants of Rome expired in their houſes, or in the ſtreets, for want of ſuſtenance; and as the public ſepulchres without the walls were in the power of the enemy, the ſtench, which aroſe from ſo many putrid and unburied carcaſſes, infected the air; and the miſeries of famine were ſucceeded and aggravated by the contagion of a peſtilential diſeaſe. The aſſurances of ſpeedy and effectual relief, which were repeatedly tranſmitted from the court of Ravenna, ſupported, for ſome time, the fainting reſolution of the Romans, till at length the deſpair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a præternatural deliverance. Pompeianus, præfect of the city, had been perſuaded, by the art or fanaticiſm of ſome Tuſcan diviners, that, by the myſterious force of

Plague.

Superſtition.

[75] Ad nefandos cibos erupit eſurientium rabies, et ſua invicem membra laniarunt, dum mater non parcit lactenti infantiæ; et recipit utero, quem paullò ante effuderat. Jerom. ad Principiam, tom. i. p. 121. The ſame horrid circumſtance is likewiſe told of the ſieges of Jeruſalem and Paris. For the latter, compare the tenth book of the Henriade, and the Journal de Henri IV. tom. i. p. 47—83.; and obſerve that a plain narrative of facts is much more pathetic, than the moſt laboured deſcriptions of epic poetry.

ſpells

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ſpells and ſacrifices, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point thoſe celeſtial fires againſt the camp of the Barbarians[76]. The important ſecret was communicated to Innocent, the biſhop of Rome; and the ſucceſſor of St. Peter is accuſed, perhaps without foundation, of preferring the ſafety of the republic to the rigid ſeverity of the Chriſtian worſhip. But when the queſtion was agitated in the ſenate; when it was propoſed, as an eſſential condition, that thoſe ſacrifices ſhould be performed in the Capitol, by the authority, and in the preſence, of the magiſtrates; the majority of that reſpectable aſſembly, apprehenſive either of the Divine, or of the Imperial, diſpleaſure, refuſed to join in an act, which appeared almoſt equivalent to the public reſtoration of Paganiſm[77].

Alaric accepts a ranſom, and raiſes the ſiege, A. D. 409.

The laſt reſource of the Romans was in the clemency, or at leaſt in the moderation, of the king of the Goths. The ſenate, who in this emergency aſſumed the ſupreme powers of government, appointed two ambaſſadors to negotiate with the enemy. This important truſt was delegated to Baſilius, a ſenator, of Spaniſh extraction, and already conſpicuous in the adminiſtration of provinces; and to John, the firſt tribune of the notaries, who was peculiarly qualified, by his dexterity in buſineſs, as well as by his former intimacy with the

[76] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 355, 356.) ſpeaks of theſe ceremonies, like a Greek unacquainted with the national ſuperſtition of Rome and Tuſcany. I ſuſpect, that they conſiſted of two parts, the ſecret and the public; the former were probably an imitation of the arts and ſpells, by which Numa had drawn down Jupiter and his thunder on Mount Aventine.

——Quid agant laqueis, quæ carmina dicant
Quâque trahant ſuperis ſedibus arte Jovem
Scire nefas homini.

The *ancilia*, or ſhields of Mars, the *pignora Imperii*, which were carried in ſolemn proceſſion on the calends of March, derived their origin from this myſterious event (Ovid. Faſt. iii. 259–398.). It was probably deſigned to revive this ancient feſtival, which had been ſuppreſſed by Theodoſius. In that caſe, we recover a chronological date (March the 1ſt, A. D. 409) which has not hitherto been obſerved.

[77] Sozomen (l. ix. c. 6.) inſinuates, that the experiment was actually, though unſucceſsfully, made; but he does not mention the name of Innocent: and Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 645.) is determined not to believe, that a pope could be guilty of ſuch impious condeſcenſion.

Gothic

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Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his preſence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty ſtyle than became their abject condition, that the Romans were reſolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that, if Alaric refuſed them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might ſound his trumpets, and prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exerciſed in arms, and animated by deſpair. "The thicker the hay, the eaſier it "is mowed," was the conciſe reply of the Barbarian; and this ruſtic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and inſulting laugh, expreſſive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then condeſcended to fix the ranſom, which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome: *all* the gold and ſilver in the city, whether it were the property of the ſtate, or of individuals; *all* the rich and precious moveables; and *all* the ſlaves who could prove their title to the name of *Barbarians*. The miniſters of the ſenate preſumed to aſk, in a modeſt and ſuppliant tone, "If ſuch, O King, are your demands, what do you intend to leave "us?" "YOUR LIVES;" replied the haughty conqueror: they trembled, and retired. Yet before they retired, a ſhort ſuſpenſion of arms was granted, which allowed ſome time for a more temperate negotiation. The ſtern features of Alaric were inſenſibly relaxed; he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and at length conſented to raiſe the ſiege, on the immediate payment of five thouſand pounds of gold, of thirty thouſand pounds of ſilver, of four thouſand robes of ſilk, of three thouſand pieces of fine ſcarlet cloth, and of three thouſand pounds weight of pepper[78]. But the public treaſury was exhauſted;

[78] Pepper was a favourite ingredient of the moſt expenſive Roman cookery, and the beſt ſort commonly ſold for fifteen denarii, or ten ſhillings, the pound. See Pliny, Hiſt. Natur. xii. 14. It was brought from India; and the ſame country, the coaſt of Malabar, ſtill affords the greateſt plenty: but the improvement of trade and navigation has multiplied

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exhauſted; the annual rents of the great eſtates in Italy and the provinces, were intercepted by the calamities of war; the gold and gems had been exchanged, during the famine, for the vileſt ſuſtenance; the hoards of ſecret wealth were ſtill concealed by the obſtinacy of avarice; and ſome remains of conſecrated ſpoils afforded the only reſource that could avert the impending ruin of the city. As ſoon as the Romans had ſatisfied the rapacious demands of Alaric, they were reſtored, in ſome meaſure, to the enjoyment of peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiouſly opened; the importation of proviſions from the river, and the adjacent country, was no longer obſtructed by the Goths; the citizens reſorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the ſuburbs; and while the merchants who undertook this gainful trade, made a conſiderable profit, the future ſubſiſtence of the city was ſecured by the ample magazines which were depoſited in the public and private granaries. A more regular diſcipline than could have been expected, was maintained in the camp of Alaric; and the wiſe Barbarian juſtified his regard for the faith of treaties, by the juſt ſeverity with which he chaſtiſed a party of licentious Goths, who had inſulted ſome Roman citizens on the road to Oſtia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, ſlowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuſcany, where he propoſed to eſtabliſh his winter-quarters; and the Gothic ſtandard became the refuge of forty thouſand Barbarian ſlaves, who had broke their chains, and aſpired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries, and the diſgrace, of their cruel ſervitude. About the ſame time, he received a more honourable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom Adolphus[79], the brother of his wife, had conducted, at his preſſing

tiplied the quantity, and reduced the price. See Hiſtoire Politique et Philoſophique, &c. tom. i. p. 457.

[79] This Gothic chieftain is called by Jornandes and Iſidore, *Athaulphus*; by Zoſimus and Oroſius, *Ataulphus*; and by Olympiodorus,

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preſſing invitation, from the banks of the Danube to thoſe of the Tyber; and who had cut their way, with ſome difficulty and loſs, through the ſuperior numbers of the Imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring ſpirit of a Barbarian with the art and diſcipline of a Roman general, was at the head of an hundred thouſand fighting men; and Italy pronounced, with terror and reſpect, the formidable name of Alaric[80].

Fruitleſs negotiations for peace, A. D. 409.

At the diſtance of fourteen centuries, we may be ſatisfied with relating the military exploits of the conquerors of Rome, without preſuming to inveſtigate the motives of their political conduct. In the midſt of his apparent proſperity, Alaric was conſcious, perhaps, of ſome ſecret weakneſs, ſome internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he diſplayed, was intended only to deceive and diſarm the eaſy credulity of the miniſters of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared, that it was his deſire to be conſidered as the friend of peace, and of the Romans. Three ſenators, at his earneſt requeſt, were ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Ravenna, to ſolicit the exchange of hoſtages, and the concluſion of the treaty; and the propoſals, which he more clearly expreſſed during the courſe of the negotiations, could only inſpire a doubt of his ſincerity, as they might ſeem inadequate to the ſtate of his fortune. The Barbarian ſtill aſpired to the rank of maſter-general of the armies of the Weſt; he ſtipulated an annual ſubſidy of corn and money; and he choſe the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the ſeat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If theſe modeſt terms ſhould be rejected, Alaric ſhewed a diſpoſition to relin-

dorus, *Adaoulphus*. I have uſed the celebrated name of *Adolphus*, which ſeems to be authoriſed by the practice of the Swedes, the ſons or brothers of the ancient Goths.

[80] The treaty between Alaric and the Romans, &c. is taken from Zoſimus, l. v. p. 354, 355. 358, 359. 362, 363. The additional circumſtances are too few and trifling to require any other quotation.

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quiſh his pecuniary demands, and even to content himſelf with the poſſeſſion of Noricum; an exhauſted and impoveriſhed country, perpetually expoſed to the inroads of the Barbarians of Germany[81]. But the hopes of peace were diſappointed by the weak obſtinacy, or intereſted views, of the miniſter Olympius. Without liſtening to the ſalutary remonſtrances of the ſenate, he diſmiſſed their ambaſſadors under the conduct of a military eſcort, too numerous for a retinue of honour, and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thouſand Dalmatians, the flower of the Imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the Barbarians. Theſe brave legionaries, encompaſſed and betrayed, fell a ſacrifice to miniſterial folly; their general Valens, with an hundred ſoldiers, eſcaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambaſſadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchaſe his freedom with a ranſom of thirty thouſand pieces of gold. Yet Alaric, inſtead of reſenting this act of impotent hoſtility, immediately renewed his propoſals of peace: and the ſecond embaſſy of the Roman ſenate, which derived weight and dignity from the preſence of Innocent, biſhop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic ſoldiers[82].

Change and ſucceſſion of miniſters.

Olympius[83] might have continued to inſult the juſt reſentment of a people, who loudly accuſed him as the author of the public calamities; but his power was undermined by the ſecret intrigues of the palace. The favourite eunuchs transferred the government of Honorius, and the empire, to Jovius, the Prætorian præfect; an un-

[81] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 367, 368, 369.

[82] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 360, 361, 362. The biſhop, by remaining at Ravenna, eſcaped the impending calamities of the city. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 39. p. 573.

[83] For the adventures of Olympius, and his ſucceſſors in the miniſtry, ſee Zoſimus, l. v. p. 363. 365, 366. and Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181.

worthy ſervant, who did not atone, by the merit of perſonal attachment, for the errors and misfortunes of his adminiſtration. The exile, or eſcape, of the guilty Olympius, reſerved him for more viciſſitudes of fortune: he experienced the adventures of an obſcure and wandering life; he again roſe to power; he fell a ſecond time into diſgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the laſh; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful ſpectacle to the friends of Stilicho. After the removal of Olympius, whoſe character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticiſm, the Pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolitic proſcription, which excluded them from the dignities of the ſtate. The brave Gennerid[84], a ſoldier of Barbarian origin, who ſtill adhered to the worſhip of his anceſtors, had been obliged to lay aſide the military belt; and though he was repeatedly aſſured by the emperor himſelf, that laws were not made for perſons of his rank or merit, he refuſed to accept any partial diſpenſation, and perſevered in honourable diſgrace, till he had extorted a general act of juſtice from the diſtreſs of the Roman government. The conduct of Gennerid, in the important ſtation to which he was promoted or reſtored, of maſter-general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhætia, ſeemed to revive the diſcipline and ſpirit of the republic. From a life of idleneſs and want, his troops were ſoon habituated to ſevere exerciſe, and plentiful ſubſiſtence; and his private generoſity often ſupplied the rewards, which were denied by the avarice, or poverty, of the court of Ravenna. The valour of Gennerid, formidable to the adjacent Barbarians, was the firmeſt bulwark of the Illyrian frontier; and his vigilant care aſſiſted the empire with a reinforcement of ten

[84] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 364.) relates this circumſtance with viſible complacency, and celebrates the character of Gennerid as the laſt glory of expiring paganiſm. Very different were the ſentiments of the council of Carthage, who deputed four biſhops to the court of Ravenna, to complain of the law, which had been juſt enacted, that all converſions to Chriſtianity ſhould be free and voluntary. See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 409, N° 12. A. D. 410, N° 47, 48.

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thouſand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by ſuch a convoy of proviſions, and ſuch a numerous train of ſheep and oxen, as might have been ſufficient, not only for the march of an army, but for the ſettlement of a colony. But the court and councils of Honorius ſtill remained a ſcene of weakneſs and diſtraction, of corruption and anarchy. Inſtigated by the præfect Jovius, the guards roſe in furious mutiny, and demanded the heads of two generals, and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promiſe of ſafety, were ſent on ſhip-board, and privately executed; while the favour of the eunuchs procured them a mild and ſecure exile at Milan and Conſtantinople. Euſebius the eunuch, and the Barbarian Allobich, ſucceeded to the command of the bed-chamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealouſy of theſe ſubordinate miniſters was the cauſe of their mutual deſtruction. By the inſolent order of the count of the domeſtics, the great chamberlain was ſhamefully beaten to death with ſticks, before the eyes of the aſtoniſhed emperor; and the ſubſequent aſſaſſination of Allobich, in the midſt of a public proceſſion, is the only circumſtance of his life, in which Honorius diſcovered the fainteſt ſymptom of courage or reſentment. Yet before they fell, Euſebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the ruin of the empire, by oppoſing the concluſion of a treaty which Jovius, from a ſelfiſh, and perhaps a criminal, motive, had negotiated with Alaric, in a perſonal interview under the walls of Rimini. During the abſence of Jovius, the emperor was perſuaded to aſſume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, ſuch as neither his ſituation, nor his character, could enable him to ſupport: and a letter, ſigned with the name of Honorius, was immediately diſpatched to the Prætorian præfect, granting him a free permiſſion to diſpoſe of the public money, but ſternly refuſing to proſtitute the military honours of Rome to the proud demands of a Barbarian. This letter was imprudently communicated to Alaric himſelf;

himſelf; and the Goth, who in the whole tranſaction had behaved with temper and decency, expreſſed, in the moſt outrageous language, his lively ſenſe of the inſult ſo wantonly offered to his perſon, and to his nation. The conference of Rimini was haſtily interrupted; and the præfect Jovius, on his return to Ravenna, was compelled to adopt, and even to encourage, the faſhionable opinions of the court. By his advice and example, the principal officers of the ſtate and army were obliged to ſwear, that, without liſtening, in *any* circumſtances, to *any* conditions of peace, they would ſtill perſevere in perpetual and implacable war againſt the enemy of the republic. This raſh engagement oppoſed an inſuperable bar to all future negotiation. The miniſters of Honorius were heard to declare, that, if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would conſult the public ſafety, and truſt their ſouls to the mercy of Heaven: but they had ſworn, by the ſacred head of the emperor himſelf; they had touched, in ſolemn ceremony, that auguſt ſeat of majeſty and wiſdom; and the violation of their oath would expoſe them to the temporal penalties of ſacrilege and rebellion [85].

Second ſiege of Rome by the Goths, A. D. 409.

While the emperor and his court enjoyed, with ſullen pride, the ſecurity of the marſhes and fortifications of Ravenna, they abandoned Rome, almoſt without defence, to the reſentment of Alaric. Yet ſuch was the moderation which he ſtill preſerved, or affected, that, as he moved with his army along the Flaminian way, he ſucceſſively diſpatched the biſhops of the towns of Italy to reiterate his offers of peace, and to conjure the emperor, that he would ſave the city and

[85] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 367, 368, 369. This cuſtom of ſwearing by the head, or life, or ſafety, or genius, of the ſovereign, was of the higheſt antiquity, both in Egypt (Geneſis, xlii. 15.) and Scythia. It was ſoon transferred, by flattery, to the Cæſars; and Tertullian complains, that it was the only oath which the Romans of his time affected to reverence. See an elegant Diſſertation of the Abbé Maſſieu on the Oaths of the Ancients, in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. i. p. 208, 209.

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its inhabitants from hoſtile fire, and the ſword of the Barbarians[86]. Theſe impending calamities were however averted, not indeed by the wiſdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king; who employed a milder, though not leſs effectual, method of conqueſt. Inſtead of aſſaulting the capital, he ſucceſsfully directed his efforts againſt the *Port* of Oſtia, one of the boldeſt and moſt ſtupendous works of Roman magnificence[87]. The accidents to which the precarious ſubſiſtence of the city was continually expoſed in a winter-navigation, and an open road, had ſuggeſted to the genius of the firſt Cæſar the uſeful deſign, which was executed under the reign of Claudius. The artificial moles, which formed the narrow entrance, advanced far into the ſea, and firmly repelled the fury of the waves, while the largeſt veſſels ſecurely rode at anchor within three deep and capacious baſons, which received the northern branch of the Tyber, about two miles from the ancient colony of Oſtia[88]. The

[86] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 368, 369. I have ſoftened the expreſſions of Alaric, who expatiates, in too florid a manner, on the hiſtory of Rome.

[87] See Sueton. in Claud. c. 20. Dion. Caſſius, l. lx. p. 949. edit. Reimar; and the lively deſcription of Juvenal, Satir. xii. 75, &c. In the ſixteenth century, when the remains of this Auguſtan port were ſtill viſible, the antiquarians ſketched the plan (ſee d'Anville, Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxx. p. 198.), and declared, with enthuſiaſm, that all the monarchs of Europe would be unable to execute ſo great a work (Bergier, Hiſt. des grands Chemins des Romains, tom. ii. p. 356.).

[88] The *Oſtia Tyberina* (ſee Cluver. Italia Antiq. l. iii. p. 870—879.), in the plural number, the two mouths of the Tyber, were ſeparated by the Holy Iſland, an equilateral triangle, whoſe ſides were each of them computed at about two miles. The colony of Oſtia was founded immediately beyond the left, or ſouthern, and the *Port* immediately beyond the right, or northern, branch of the river; and the diſtance between their remains meaſures ſomething more than two miles on Cingolani's map. In the time of Strabo, the ſand and mud depoſited by the Tyber, had choaked the harbour of Oſtia; the progreſs of the ſame cauſe has added much to the ſize of the Holy Iſland, and gradually left both Oſtia and the Port at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore. The dry channels (fiumi morti), and the large eſtuaries (ſtagno di Ponente, de Levante), mark the changes of the river, and the efforts of the ſea. Conſult, for the preſent ſtate of this dreary and deſolate tract, the excellent map of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate by the mathematicians of Benedict XIV.; an actual ſurvey of the *Agro Romano*, in ſix ſheets, by Cingolani, which contains 113,819 *rubbia* (about 570,000 acres); and the large topographical map of Ameti, in eight ſheets.

Roman

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Roman *Port* inſenſibly ſwelled to the ſize of an epiſcopal city[89], where the corn of Africa was depoſited in ſpacious granaries for the uſe of the capital. As ſoon as Alaric was in poſſeſſion of that important place, he ſummoned the city to ſurrender at diſcretion; and his demands were enforced by the poſitive declaration, that a refuſal, or even a delay, ſhould be inſtantly followed by the deſtruction of the magazines, on which the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people, and the terror of famine, ſubdued the pride of the ſenate; they liſtened, without reluctance, to the propoſal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorius; and the ſuffrage of the Gothic conqueror beſtowed the purple on Attalus, præfect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as maſter-general of the armies of the Weſt; Adolphus, with the rank of count of the domeſtics, obtained the cuſtody of the perſon of Attalus; and the two hoſtile nations ſeemed to be united in the cloſeſt bands of friendſhip and alliance[90].

Attalus is created emperor by the Goths and Romans.

The gates of the city were thrown open, and the new emperor of the Romans, encompaſſed on every ſide by the Gothic arms, was conducted, in tumultuous proceſſion, to the palace of Auguſtus and Trajan. After he had diſtributed the civil and military dignities among his favourites and followers, Attalus convened an aſſembly of the ſenate; before whom, in a formal and florid ſpeech, he aſſerted his reſolution of reſtoring the majeſty of the republic, and of

[89] As early as the third (Lardner's Credibility of the Goſpel, part ii. vol. iii. p. 89—92.), or at leaſt the fourth, century (Carol. a Sancto Paulo, Notit. Eccleſ. p. 47.), the Port of Rome was an epiſcopal city, which was demoliſhed, as it ſhould ſeem, in the ninth century, by Pope Gregory IV. during the incurſions of the Arabs. It is now reduced to an inn, a church, and the houſe, or palace, of the biſhop, who ranks as one of ſix cardinal-biſhops of the Roman church. See Eſchinard Deſcrizione di Roma et dell' Agro Romano, p. 328.

[90] For the elevation of Attalus, conſult Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 377—380. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8, 9. Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181. Philoſtorg. l. xii. c. 3. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 470.

uniting

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uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the East, which had once acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Such extravagant promises inspired every reasonable citizen with a just contempt for the character of an unwarlike usurper; whose elevation was the deepest and most ignominious wound which the republic had yet sustained from the insolence of the Barbarians. But the populace, with their usual levity, applauded the change of masters. The public discontent was favourable to the rival of Honorius; and the sectaries, oppressed by his persecuting edicts, expected some degree of countenance, or at least of toleration, from a prince, who, in his native country of Ionia, had been educated in the Pagan superstition, and who had since received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of an Arian bishop [91]. The first days of the reign of Attalus were fair and prosperous. An officer of confidence was sent with an inconsiderable body of troops to secure the obedience of Africa; the greatest part of Italy submitted to the terror of the Gothic powers; and though the city of Bologna made a vigorous and effectual resistance, the people of Milan, dissatisfied perhaps with the absence of Honorius, accepted, with loud acclamations, the choice of the Roman senate. At the head of a formidable army, Alaric conducted his royal captive almost to the gates of Ravenna; and a solemn embassy of the principal ministers, of Jovius, the Prætorian præfect, of Valens, master of the cavalry and infantry, of the quæstor Potamius, and of Julian, the first of the notaries, was introduced, with martial pomp, into the Gothic camp. In the name of their sovereign, they consented to acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and to divide the provinces of Italy and the West between the two emperors. Their proposals were rejected with disdain; and the refusal

[91] We may admit the evidence of Sozomen for the Arian baptism, and that of Philostorgius for the Pagan education, of Attalus. The visible joy of Zosimus, and the discontent which he imputes to the Anician family, are very unfavourable to the Christianity of the new emperor.

was

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was aggravated by the inſulting clemency of Attalus, who condeſcended to promiſe, that, if Honorius would inſtantly reſign the purple, he ſhould be permitted to paſs the remainder of his life in the peaceful exile of ſome remote iſland [92]. So deſperate indeed did the ſituation of the ſon of Theodoſius appear, to thoſe who were the beſt acquainted with his ſtrength and reſources, that Jovius and Valens, his miniſter and his general, betrayed their truſt, infamouſly deſerted the ſinking cauſe of their benefactor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance to the ſervice of his more fortunate rival. Aſtoniſhed by ſuch examples of domeſtic treaſon, Honorius trembled at the approach of every ſervant, at the arrival of every meſſenger. He dreaded the ſecret enemies, who might lurk in his capital, his palace, his bed-chamber; and ſome ſhips lay ready in the harbour of Ravenna, to tranſport the abdicated monarch to the dominions of his infant nephew, the emperor of the Eaſt.

He is degraded by Alaric, A. D. 410.

But there is a Providence (ſuch at leaſt was the opinion of the hiſtorian Procopius [93]) that watches over innocence and folly; and the pretenſions of Honorius to its peculiar care cannot reaſonably be diſputed. At the moment when his deſpair, incapable of any wiſe or manly reſolution, meditated a ſhameful flight, a ſeaſonable reinforcement of four thouſand veterans unexpectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To theſe valiant ſtrangers, whoſe fidelity had not been corrupted by the factions of the court, he committed the walls and gates of the city; and the ſlumbers of the emperor were no longer diſturbed by the apprehenſion of imminent and internal danger. The favourable intelligence which was received from Africa, ſuddenly

[92] He carried his inſolence ſo far, as to declare, that he ſhould mutilate Honorius before he ſent him into exile. But this aſſertion of Zoſimus is deſtroyed by the more impartial teſtimony of Olympiodorus, who attributes the ungenerous propoſal (which was abſolutely rejected by Attalus) to the baſeneſs, and perhaps the treachery, of Jovius.

[93] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.

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changed the opinions of men, and the ſtate of public affairs. The troops and officers, whom Attalus had ſent into that province, were defeated and ſlain; and the active zeal of Heraclian maintained his own allegiance, and that of his people. The faithful count of Africa tranſmitted a large ſum of money, which fixed the attachment of the Imperial guards; and his vigilance, in preventing the exportation of corn and oil, introduced famine, tumult, and diſcontent, into the walls of Rome. The failure of the African expedition, was the ſource of mutual complaint and recrimination in the party of Attalus; and the mind of his protector was inſenſibly alienated from the intereſt of a prince, who wanted ſpirit to command, or docility to obey. The moſt imprudent meaſures were adopted, without the knowledge, or againſt the advice, of Alaric; and the obſtinate refuſal of the ſenate, to allow, in the embarkation, the mixture even of five hundred Goths, betrayed a ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful temper, which, in their ſituation, was neither generous nor prudent. The reſentment of the Gothic king was exaſperated by the malicious arts of Jovius, who had been raiſed to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards excuſed his double perfidy, by declaring, without a bluſh, that he had only *ſeemed* to abandon the ſervice of Honorius, more effectually to ruin the cauſe of the uſurper. In a large plain near Rimini, and in the preſence of an innumerable multitude of Romans and Barbarians, the wretched Attalus was publicly deſpoiled of the diadem and purple; and thoſe enſigns of royalty were ſent by Alaric, as the pledge of peace and friendſhip, to the ſon of Theodoſius [94]. The officers who returned to their duty, were reinſtated in their employments, and even the merit of a tardy repentance was graciouſly al-

[94] See the cauſe and circumſtances of the fall of Attalus in Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 380—383. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8. Philoſtorg. l. xii. c. 3. The two acts of indemnity in the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 11, 12. which were publiſhed the 12th of February, and the 8th of Auguſt, A. D. 410, evidently relate to this uſurper.

lowed:

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lowed: but the degraded emperor of the Romans, deſirous of life, and inſenſible of diſgrace, implored the permiſſion of following the Gothic camp, in the train of a haughty and capricious Barbarian [95].

Third ſiege and ſack of Rome by the Goths, A. D. 410, Auguſt 24.

The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obſtacle to the concluſion of the peace; and Alaric advanced within three miles of Ravenna, to preſs the irreſolution of the Imperial miniſters, whoſe inſolence ſoon returned with the return of fortune. His indignation was kindled by the report, that a rival chieftain, that Sarus, the perſonal enemy of Adolphus, and the hereditary foe of the houſe of Balti, had been received into the palace. At the head of three hundred followers, that fearleſs Barbarian immediately ſallied from the gates of Ravenna; ſurpriſed, and cut in pieces, a conſiderable body of Goths; re-entered the city in triumph; and was permitted to inſult his adverſary, by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared, that the guilt of Alaric had for ever excluded him from the friendſhip and alliance of the emperor [96]. The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna was expiated, a third time, by the calamities of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer diſſembled his appetite for plunder and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling ſenate, without any hopes of relief, prepared, by a deſperate reſiſtance, to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard againſt the ſecret conſpiracy of their ſlaves and domeſtics; who, either from birth or intereſt, were attached to the cauſe of the enemy. At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was ſilently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous ſound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred

[95] In hoc, Alaricus, imperatore, facto, infecto, refecto, ac defecto . . . Mimum riſit, et ludum ſpectavit imperii. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 42. p. 582.

[96] Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 384. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 9. Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 3. In this place the text of Zoſimus is mutilated, and we have loſt the remainder of his ſixth and laſt book, which ended with the ſack of Rome. Credulous and partial as he is, we muſt take our leave of that hiſtorian with ſome regret.

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and ſixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the Imperial city, which had ſubdued and civilized ſo conſiderable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia [97].

Reſpect of the Goths for the Chriſtian religion.

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquiſhed city, diſcovered, however, ſome regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops boldly to ſeize the rewards of valour, and to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of a wealthy and effeminate people: but he exhorted them, at the ſame time, to ſpare the lives of the unreſiſting citizens, and to reſpect the churches of the apoſtles, St. Peter and St. Paul, as holy and inviolable ſanctuaries. Amidſt the horrors of a nocturnal tumult, ſeveral of the Chriſtian Goths diſplayed the fervour of a recent converſion; and ſome inſtances of their uncommon piety and moderation are related, and perhaps adorned, by the zeal of eccleſiaſtical writers [98]. While the Barbarians roamed through the city in queſt of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the ſervice of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Goths. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and ſilver in her poſſeſſion; and was aſtoniſhed at the readineſs with which ſhe conducted him to a ſplendid hoard of maſſy plate, of the richeſt materials, and the moſt curious workmanſhip. The Barba-

[97] Adeſt Alaricus, trepidam Romam obſidet, turbat, irrumpit. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 39. p. 573. He diſpatches this great event in ſeven words; but he employs whole pages in celebrating the devotion of the Goths. I have extracted from an improbable ſtory of Procopius, the circumſtances which had an air of probability. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. He ſuppoſes, that the city was ſurpriſed while the ſenators ſlept in the afternoon; but Jerom, with more authority and more reaſon, affirms, that it was in the night, nocte Moab capta eſt; nocte cecidit murus ejus, tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam.

[98] Oroſius (l. vii. c. 39. p. 573—576.) applauds the piety of the Chriſtian Goths, without ſeeming to perceive that the greateſt part of them were Arian heretics. Jornandes (c. 30. p. 653.), and Iſidore of Seville (Chron. p. 714. edit. Grot.), who were both attached to the Gothic cauſe, have repeated and embelliſhed theſe edifying tales. According to Iſidore, Alaric himſelf was heard to ſay, that he waged war with the Romans, and not with the Apoſtles. Such was the ſtyle of the ſeventh century: two hundred years before, the fame and merit had been aſcribed, not to the apoſtles, but to Chriſt.

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rian viewed with wonder and delight this valuable acquiſition, till he was interrupted by a ſerious admonition, addreſſed to him in the following words: "Theſe," ſaid ſhe, "are the conſecrated veſſels be-"longing to St. Peter; if you preſume to touch them, the ſacrile-"gious deed will remain on your conſcience. For my part, I dare "not keep what I am unable to defend." The Gothic captain, ſtruck with reverential awe, diſpatched a meſſenger to inform the king of the treaſure which he had diſcovered; and received a peremptory order from Alaric, that all the conſecrated plate and ornaments ſhould be tranſported, without damage or delay, to the church of the apoſtle. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirinal hill, to the diſtant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal ſtreets, protected, with glittering arms, the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on their heads, the ſacred veſſels of gold and ſilver; and the martial ſhouts of the Barbarians were mingled with the ſound of religious pſalmody. From all the adjacent houſes, a crowd of Chriſtians haſtened to join this edifying proceſſion; and a multitude of fugitives, without diſtinction of age, or rank, or even of ſect, had the good fortune to eſcape to the ſecure and hoſpitable ſanctuary of the Vatican. The learned work, concerning the *City of God*, was profeſſedly compoſed by St. Auguſtin, to juſtify the ways of Providence in the deſtruction of the Roman greatneſs. He celebrates, with peculiar ſatisfaction, this memorable triumph of Chriſt; and inſults his adverſaries, by challenging them to produce ſome ſimilar example, of a town taken by ſtorm, in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themſelves, or their deluded votaries [99].

[99] See Auguſtin, de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 1—6. He particularly appeals to the examples of Troy, Syracuſe, and Tarentum.

In

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Pillage and fire of Rome.

In the ſack of Rome, ſome rare and extraordinary examples of Barbarian virtue have been deſervedly applauded. But the holy precincts of the Vatican, and the apoſtolic churches, could receive a very ſmall proportion of the Roman people; many thouſand warriors, more eſpecially of the Huns, who ſerved under the ſtandard of Alaric, were ſtrangers to the name, or at leaſt to the faith, of Chriſt; and we may ſuſpect, without any breach of charity or candour, that, in the hour of ſavage licence, when every paſſion was inflamed, and every reſtraint was removed, the precepts of the Goſpel ſeldom influenced the behaviour of the Gothic Chriſtians. The writers, the beſt diſpoſed to exaggerate their clemency, have freely confeſſed, that a cruel ſlaughter was made of the Romans [100]; and that the ſtreets of the city were filled with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general conſternation. The deſpair of the citizens was ſometimes converted into fury; and whenever the Barbarians were provoked by oppoſition, they extended the promiſcuous maſſacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpleſs. The private revenge of forty thouſand ſlaves was exerciſed without pity or remorſe; and the ignominious laſhes, which they had formerly received, were waſhed away in the blood of the guilty, or obnoxious, families. The matrons and virgins of Rome were expoſed to injuries more dreadful, in the apprehenſion of chaſtity, than death itſelf; and the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian has ſelected an example of female virtue, for the admiration of future ages [101]. A Roman lady, of ſingular beauty

[100] Jerom (tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam) has applied to the ſack of Rome all the ſtrong expreſſions of Virgil:

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando,
Explicet, &c.

Procopius (l. i. c. 2.) poſitively affirms, that great numbers were ſlain by the Goths. Auguſtin (de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 12, 13.) offers Chriſtian comfort for the death of thoſe whoſe bodies *(multa corpora)* had remained *(in tantâ ſtrage)* unburied. Baronius, from the different writings of the Fathers, has thrown ſome light on the ſack of Rome. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 410, N° 16—44.

[101] Sozomen, l. ix. c. 10. Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 17.) intimates, that ſome virgins

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beauty and orthodox faith, had excited the impatient desires of a young Goth, who, according to the sagacious remark of Sozomen, was attached to the Arian heresy. Exasperated by her obstinate resistance, he drew his sword, and, with the anger of a lover, slightly wounded her neck. The bleeding heroine still continued to brave his resentment, and to repel his love, till the ravisher desisted from his unavailing efforts, respectfully conducted her to the sanctuary of the Vatican, and gave six pieces of gold to the guards of the church, on condition that they should restore her inviolate to the arms of her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied their sensual appetites, without consulting either the inclination, or the duties, of their female captives: and a nice question of casuistry was seriously agitated, Whether those tender victims, who had inflexibly refused their consent to the violation which they sustained, had lost, by their misfortune, the glorious crown of virginity [102]? There were other losses indeed of a more substantial kind, and more general concern. It cannot be presumed, that all the Barbarians were at all times capable of perpetrating such amorous outrages; and the want of youth, or beauty, or chastity, protected the greatest part of the Roman women from the danger of a rape. But avarice is an insatiate and universal passion: since the enjoyment of almost every

virgins or matrons actually killed themselves to escape violation: and though he admires their spirit, he is obliged, by his theology, to condemn their rash presumption. Perhaps the good bishop of Hippo was too easy in the belief, as well as too rigid in the censure, of this act of female heroism. The twenty maidens (if they ever existed), who threw themselves into the Elbe, when Magdeburgh was taken by storm, have been multiplied to the number of twelve hundred. See Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 308.

[102] See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 16. 18. He treats the subject with remarkable accuracy; and after admitting that there cannot be any crime, where there is no consent, he adds, Sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, verum etiam quod ad libidinem, pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari potest; quicquid tale factum fuerit, etsi retentam constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, pudorem tamen incutit, ne credatur factum cum mentis etiam voluntate, quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliquâ voluptate non potuit. In c. 18. he makes some curious distinctions between moral and physical virginity.

object

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object that can afford pleaſure to the different taſtes and tempers of mankind, may be procured by the poſſeſſion of wealth. In the pillage of Rome, a juſt preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greateſt value in the ſmalleſt compaſs and weight: but, after theſe portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely ſtripped of their ſplendid and coſtly furniture. The ſide-boards of maſſy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of ſilk and purple, were irregularly piled in the waggons, that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The moſt exquiſite works of art were roughly handled, or wantonly deſtroyed: many a ſtatue was melted for the ſake of the precious materials; and many a vaſe, in the diviſion of the ſpoil, was ſhivered into fragments by the ſtroke of a battle-axe. The acquiſition of riches ſerved only to ſtimulate the avarice of the rapacious Barbarians, who proceeded, by threats, by blows, and by tortures, to force from their priſoners the confeſſion of hidden treaſure [103]. Viſible ſplendour and expence were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune: the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parſimonious diſpoſition; and the obſtinacy of ſome miſers, who endured the moſt cruel torments before they would diſcover the ſecret object of their affection, was fatal to many unhappy wretches, who expired under the laſh, for refuſing to reveal their imaginary treaſures. The edifices of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received ſome injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salarian gate, they fired the adjacent houſes to guide their march, and to diſtract the attention of the citizens: the flames, which encountered no obſtacle in the diſorder of the night, conſumed many private

[103] Marcella, a Roman lady, equally reſpectable for her rank, her age, and her piety, was thrown on the ground, and cruelly beaten and whipped, cæſam fuſtibus flagelliſque, &c. Jerom, tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam. See Auguſtin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. The modern Sacco di Roma, p. 208. gives an idea of the various methods of torturing priſoners for gold.

and

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and public buildings; and the ruins of the palace of Salluſt[104] remained, in the age of Juſtinian, a ſtately monument of the Gothic conflagration[105]. Yet a contemporary hiſtorian has obſerved, that fire could ſcarcely conſume the enormous beams of ſolid braſs, and that the ſtrength of man was inſufficient to ſubvert the foundations of ancient ſtructures. Some truth may poſſibly be concealed in his devout aſſertion, that the wrath of Heaven ſupplied the imperfections of hoſtile rage; and that the proud Forum of Rome, decorated with the ſtatues of ſo many gods and heroes, was levelled in the duſt by the ſtroke of lightning[106].

Captives and fugitives.

Whatever might be the numbers, of equeſtrian, or plebeian rank, who periſhed in the maſſacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed, that only one ſenator loſt his life by the ſword of the enemy[107]. But it was not eaſy to compute the multitudes, who, from an ho-

[104] The hiſtorian Salluſt, who uſefully practiſed the vices which he has ſo eloquently cenſured, employed the plunder of Numidia to adorn his palace and gardens on the Quirinal hill. The ſpot where the houſe ſtood, is now marked by the church of St. Suſanna, ſeparated only by a ſtreet from the baths of Diocletian, and not far diſtant from the Salarian gate. See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 192, 193. and the great Plan of Modern Rome, by Nolli.

[105] The expreſſions of Procopius are diſtinct and moderate (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.). The Chronicle of Marcellinus ſpeaks too ſtrongly, partem urbis Romæ cremavit; and the words of Philoſtorgius (ἐν ἐρειπίοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως κειμένης, l. xii. c. 3.) convey a falſe and exaggerated idea. Bargæus has compoſed a particular diſſertation (ſee tom. iv. Antiquit. Rom. Græv.) to prove that the edifices of Rome were not ſubverted by the Goths and Vandals.

[106] Oroſius, l. ii. c. 19. p. 143. He ſpeaks as if he diſapproved *all* ſtatues; vel Deum vel hominem mentiuntur. They conſiſted of the kings of Alba and Rome from Æneas, the Romans, illuſtrious either in arms or arts, and the deified Cæſars. The expreſſion which he uſes of *Forum* is ſomewhat ambiguous, ſince there exiſted *five* principal *Fora*; but as they were all contiguous and adjacent, in the plain which is ſurrounded by the Capitoline, the Quirinal, the Eſquiline, and the Palatine hills, they might fairly be conſidered as *one*. See the Roma Antiqua of Donatus, p. 162—201. and the Roma Antica of Nardini, p. 212—273. The former is more uſeful for the ancient deſcriptions, the latter for the actual topography.

[107] Oroſius (l. ii c. 19. p. 142.) compares the cruelty of the Gauls and the clemency of the Goths. Ibi vix quemquam inventum ſenatorem, qui vel abſens evaſerit; hic vix quemquam requiri, qui forte ut latens periſerit. But there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falſehood, in this antitheſis; and Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) affirms, perhaps by an oppoſite exaggeration, that *many* ſenators were put to death with various and exquiſite tortures.

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nourable ſtation, and a proſperous fortune, were ſuddenly reduced to the miſerable condition of captives and exiles. As the Barbarians had more occaſion for money than for ſlaves, they fixed, at a moderate price, the redemption of their indigent priſoners; and the ranſom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends, or the charity of ſtrangers [108]. The captives, who were regularly ſold, either in open market, or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impoſſible for a citizen to loſe, or to alienate [109]. But as it was ſoon diſcovered, that the vindication of their liberty would endanger their lives; and that the Goths, unleſs they were tempted to ſell, might be provoked to murder, their uſeleſs priſoners; the civil juriſprudence had been already qualified by a wiſe regulation, that they ſhould be obliged to ſerve the moderate term of five years, till they had diſcharged by their labour the price of their redemption [110]. The nations who invaded the Roman empire, had driven before them, into Italy, whole troops of hungry and affrighted provincials, leſs apprehenſive of ſervitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy diſperſed the inhabitants to the moſt lonely, the moſt ſecure, the moſt diſtant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry ſpread terror and deſolation along the ſea-coaſt of Campania and Tuſcany, the little iſland of Igilium, ſeparated by a narrow channel from the Argentarian promontory, repulſed, or eluded, their hoſtile attempts; and at ſo ſmall a diſtance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were ſecurely concealed in the thick woods of that ſequeſtered ſpot [111]. The ample patrimonies, which many ſenatorian

[108] Multi . . . Chriſtiani in captivitatem ducti ſunt. Auguſtin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 14.; and the Chriſtians experienced no peculiar hardſhips.

[109] See Heineccius, Antiquitat. Juris Roman. tom. i. p. 96.

[110] Appendix Cod. Theodoſ. xvi. in Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 735. This edict was publiſhed the 11th of December, A. D. 408, and is more reaſonable than properly belonged to the miniſters of Honorius.

[111] Eminus Igilii ſylvoſa cacumina miror;
Quem fraudare nefas laudis honore ſuæ
Hæc propriis nuper tutata eſt inſula ſaltus;
Sive loci ingenio, ſeu Domini genio.
Gurgite

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ſenatorian families poſſeſſed in Africa, invited them, if they had time, and prudence, to eſcape from the ruin of their country; to embrace the ſhelter of that hoſpitable province. The moſt illuſtrious of theſe fugitives, was the noble and pious Proba [112], the widow of the præfect Petronius. After the death of her huſband, the moſt powerful ſubject of Rome, ſhe had remained at the head of the Anician family, and ſucceſſively ſupplied, from her private fortune, the expence of the conſulſhips of her three ſons. When the city was beſieged and taken by the Goths, Proba ſupported, with Chriſtian reſignation, the loſs of immenſe riches; embarked in a ſmall veſſel, from whence ſhe beheld, at ſea, the flames of her burning palace, and fled with her daughter Læta, and her grand-daughter, the celebrated virgin, Demetrias, to the coaſt of Africa. The benevolent profuſion with which the matron diſtributed the fruits, or the price, of her eſtates, contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of exile and captivity. But even the family of Proba herſelf was not exempt from the rapacious oppreſſion of count Heraclian, who baſely ſold, in matrimonial proſtitution, the nobleſt maidens of Rome to the luſt or avarice of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were diſperſed through the provinces, along the coaſt of Egypt and Aſia, as far as Conſtantinople and Jeruſalem; and the village of

Gurgite cum modico victricibus obſtitit armis
Tanquam longinquo diſſociata mari.
Hæc multos lacerâ ſuſcepit ab urbe fugatos,
Hîc feſſis poſito certa timore ſalus.
Plurima terreno populaverat æquora bello,
Contra naturam claſſe timendus eques
Unum, mira fides, vario diſcrimine portum!
Tam prope Romanis, tam procul eſſe Getis.

Rutilius, in Itinerar. l. i. 325. The iſland is now called Giglio. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 502.

[112] As the adventures of Proba and her family are connected with the life of St. Auguſtin, they are diligently illuſtrated by Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 620—635. Some time after their arrival in Africa, Demetrias took the veil, and made a vow of virginity; an event which was conſidered as of the higheſt importance to Rome and to the world. All the *Saints* wrote congratulatory letters to her; that of Jerom is ſtill extant (tom. i. p. 62—73. ad Demetriad. de ſervandâ Virginitat.), and contains a mixture of abſurd reaſoning, ſpirited declamation, and curious facts, ſome of which relate to the ſiege and ſack of Rome.

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Bethlem, the ſolitary reſidence of St. Jerom and his female converts, was crowded with illuſtrious beggars of either ſex, and every age, who excited the public compaſſion by the remembrance of their paſt fortune [113]. This awful cataſtrophe of Rome filled the aſtoniſhed empire with grief and terror. So intereſting a contraſt of greatneſs and ruin, diſpoſed the fond credulity of the people to deplore, and even to exaggerate, the afflictions of the queen of cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of Oriental prophecy, were ſometimes tempted to confound the deſtruction of the capital, and the diſſolution of the globe.

Sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V.

There exiſts in human nature a ſtrong propenſity to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils, of the preſent times. Yet, when the firſt emotions had ſubſided, and a fair eſtimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confeſs, that infant Rome had formerly received more eſſential injury from the Gauls, than ſhe had now ſuſtained from the Goths in her declining age [114]. The experience of eleven centuries has enabled poſterity to produce a much more ſingular parallel; and to affirm with confidence, that the ravages of the Barbarians, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube, were leſs deſtructive, than the hoſtilities exerciſed by the troops of Charles the Fifth, a Catholic prince, who ſtyled himſelf Emperor of the Romans [115]. The Goths

[113] See the pathetic complaint of Jerom (tom. v. p. 400.), in his preface to the ſecond book of his Commentaries on the prophet Ezekiel.

[114] Oroſius, though with ſome theological partiality, ſtates this compariſon, l. ii. c. 19. p. 142. l. vii. c. 39. p. 575. But, in the hiſtory of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, every thing is uncertain, and perhaps fabulous. See Beaufort ſur l'Incertitude, &c. de l'Hiſtoire Romaine, p. 356; and Melot, in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcript. tom. xv. p. 1—21.

[115] The reader who wiſhes to inform himſelf of the circumſtances of this famous event, may peruſe an admirable narrative in Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 283.; or conſult the Annali d'Italia of the learned Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 230—244. octavo edition. If he is deſirous of examining the originals, he may have recourſe to the eighteenth book of the great, but unfiniſhed, hiſtory of Guicciardini. But the account which moſt truly deſerves the name of authentic and original, is a little book, intitled, *Il Sacco di Roma*, compoſed, within leſs

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Goths evacuated the city at the end of ſix days, but Rome remained above nine months in the poſſeſſion of the Imperialiſts; and every hour was ſtained by ſome atrocious act of cruelty, luſt, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preſerved ſome order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the conſtable of Bourbon had glorioufly fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every reſtraint of diſcipline, from an army which conſiſted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable ſcene of the depravity of mankind. They united the ſanguinary crimes that prevail in an unſettled ſtate of ſociety, with the poliſhed vices which ſpring from the abuſe of art and luxury; and the looſe adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotiſm and ſuperſtition to aſſault the palace of the Roman pontiff, muſt deſerve to be conſidered as the moſt profligate of the *Italians*. At the ſame æra, the *Spaniards* were the terror both of the Old and New World: but their high-ſpirited valour was diſgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the purſuit of fame and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the moſt exquiſite and effectual methods of torturing their priſoners: many of the Caſtillans, who pillaged Rome, were familiars of the holy inquiſition; and ſome volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conqueſt of Mexico. The *Germans* were leſs corrupt than the Italians, leſs cruel than the Spaniards; and the ruſtic, or even ſavage, aſpect of thoſe *Tramontane* warriors, often diſguiſed a ſimple and merciful diſpoſition. But they had imbibed, in the firſt fervour of the reformation, the ſpirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amuſement to inſult, or

leſs than a month after the aſſault of the city, by the *brother* of the hiſtorian Guicciardini, who appears to have been an able magiſtrate, and a diſpaſſionate writer.

deſtroy,

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deſtroy, the conſecrated objects of Catholic ſuperſtition: they indulged, without pity, or remorſe, a devout hatred againſt the clergy of every denomination and degree, who form ſo conſiderable a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aſpire to ſubvert the throne of Antichriſt, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the ſpiritual Babylon [116].

Alaric evacuates Rome, and ravages Italy, A. D. 410, Auguſt 29.

The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the ſixth day [117], might be the reſult of prudence; but it was not ſurely the effect of fear [118]. At the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty ſpoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the ſouthern provinces of Italy, deſtroying whatever dared to oppoſe his paſſage, and contenting himſelf with the plunder of the unreſiſting country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was reſpected even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire [119], is buried in oblivion; whilſt the adjacent town of Nola [120] has been illuſtrated, on this occaſion, by the ſanctity of Paulinus [121], who was ſucceſſively a conſul, a monk, and a biſhop. At the age of forty, he renounced the en-

[116] The furious ſpirit of Luther, the effect of temper and enthuſiaſm, has been forcibly attacked (Boſſuet, Hiſt. des Variations des Egliſes Proteſtantes, livre i. p. 20—36.), and feebly defended (Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutheraniſmo, eſpecially l. i. N° 78. p. 120. and l. iii. N° 122. p. 556.).

[117] Marcellinus, in Chron. Oroſius (l. vii. c. 39. p. 575.), aſſerts, that he left Rome on the *third* day; but this difference is eaſily reconciled by the ſucceſſive motions of great bodies of troops.

[118] Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) pretends, without any colour of truth, or reaſon, that Alaric fled on the report, that the armies of the Eaſtern empire were in full march to attack him.

[119] Auſonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 233. edit. Toll. The luxury of Capua had formerly ſurpaſſed that of Sybaris itſelf. See Athenæus Deipnoſophiſt. l. xii. p. 528. edit. Caſaubon.

[120] Forty-eight years before the foundation of Rome (about 800 before the Chriſtian æra), the Tuſcans built Capua and Nola, at the diſtance of twenty-three miles from each other: but the latter of the two cities never emerged from a ſtate of mediocrity.

[121] Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 1—146.) has compiled, with his uſual diligence, all that relates to the life and writings of Paulinus, whoſe retreat is celebrated by his own pen, and by the praiſes of St. Ambroſe, St. Jerom, St. Auguſtin, Sulpicius Severus, &c. his Chriſtian friends and contemporaries.

joyment of wealth and honour, of ſociety and literature, to embrace a life of ſolitude and pennance; and the loud applauſe of the clergy encouraged him to deſpiſe the reproaches of his worldly friends, who aſcribed this deſperate act to ſome diſorder of the mind or body [122]. An early and paſſionate attachment determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one of the ſuburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb of St. Fælix, which the public devotion had already ſurrounded with five large and populous churches. The remains of his fortune, and of his underſtanding, were dedicated to the ſervice of the glorious martyr; whoſe praiſe, on the day of his feſtival, Paulinus never failed to celebrate by a ſolemn hymn; and in whoſe name he erected a ſixth church, of ſuperior elegance and beauty, which was decorated with many curious pictures, from the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament. Such aſſiduous zeal ſecured the favour of the ſaint [123], or at leaſt of the people; and, after fifteen years retirement, the Roman conſul was compelled to accept the biſhopric of Nola, a few months before the city was inveſted by the Goths. During the ſiege, ſome religious perſons were ſatisfied that they had ſeen, either in dreams or viſions, the divine form of their tutelar patron; yet it ſoon appeared by the event, that Fælix wanted power, or inclination, to preſerve the flock, of which he had formerly been the ſhepherd. Nola was not ſaved from the general devaſtation [124]; and the captive biſhop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapſed from the ſucceſsful

[122] See the affectionate letters of Auſonius (epiſt. xix—xxv. p. 650—698. edit. Toll.), to his colleague, his friend, and his diſciple Paulinus. The religion of Auſonius is ſtill a problem (ſee Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xv. p. 123—138.). I believe that it was ſuch in his own time, and, conſequently, that in his heart he was a Pagan.

[123] The humble Paulinus once preſumed to ſay, that he believed St. Fælix *did* love him; at leaſt as a maſter loves his little dog.

[124] See Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 653. Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 3. Auguſtin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 410, N° 45, 46.

invaſion

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Poſſeſſion of Italy by the Goths, A. D. 408—412.

invaſion of Italy by the arms of Alaric, to the voluntary retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his ſucceſſor, Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned without control over a country, which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellencies of nature and art. The proſperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auſpicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace periſhed under the rude graſp of the Barbarians; and they themſelves were incapable of taſting the more elegant refinements of luxury, which had been prepared for the uſe of the ſoft and poliſhed Italians. Each ſoldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the ſubſtantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected, and conſumed, in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors inſulted the villas, and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coaſt of Campania. Their trembling captives, the ſons and daughters of Roman ſenators, preſented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine, to the haughty victors; who ſtretched their huge limbs under the ſhade of plane-trees [125], artificially diſpoſed to exclude the ſcorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth, of the ſun. Theſe delights were enhanced by the memory of paſt hardſhips: the compariſon of their native ſoil, the bleak and barren hills of Scythia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube, added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate [126].

Whether

[125] The *platanus*, or plane-tree, was a favourite of the ancients, by whom it was propagated, for the ſake of ſhade, from the Eaſt to Gaul. Pliny, Hiſt. Natur. xii. 3, 4, 5. He mentions ſeveral of an enormous ſize; one in the Imperial villa at Velitræ, which Caligula called his neſt, as the branches were capable of holding a large table, the proper attendants, and the emperor himſelf, whom Pliny quaintly ſtyles *pars umbræ*; an expreſſion which might, with equal reaſon, be applied to Alaric.

[126] The proſtrate South to the deſtroyer yields
Her boaſted titles, and her golden fields;
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and ſkies of azure hue;
Scent

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Death of Alaric, A. D. 410.

Whether fame, or conqueſt, or riches, were the object of Alaric, he purſued that object with an indefatigable ardour, which could neither be quelled by adverſity, nor ſatiated by ſucceſs. No ſooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy, than he was attracted by the neighbouring proſpect of a fertile and peaceful iſland. Yet even the poſſeſſion of Sicily, he conſidered only as an intermediate ſtep to the important expedition which he already meditated againſt the continent of Africa. The ſtreights of Rhegium and Meſſina [137] are twelve miles in length, and, in the narroweſt paſſage, about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monſters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla, and the whirlpool of Charybdis, could terrify none but the moſt timid and unſkilful mariners. Yet as ſoon as the firſt diviſion of the Goths had embarked, a ſudden tempeſt aroſe, which ſunk, or ſcattered, many of the tranſports; their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole deſign was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a ſhort illneſs, the fatal term of his conqueſts. The ferocious character of the Barbarians was diſplayed, in the funeral of a hero, whoſe valour, and fortune, they celebrated with mournful applauſe. By the labour of a captive multitude, they forcibly diverted the courſe of the Buſentinus, a ſmall river that waſhes the walls of Conſentia. The royal ſepulchre, adorned with the ſplendid ſpoils, and trophies, of Rome, was conſtructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then reſtored to their natural channel; and the ſecret ſpot, where the remains of Alaric had been depoſited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman

Scent the new fragrance of the opening roſe,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

See Gray's Poems, publiſhed by Mr. Maſon, p. 197. Inſtead of compiling tables of chronology and natural hiſtory, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finiſh the philoſophic poem, of which he has left ſuch an exquiſite ſpecimen?

[137] For the perfect deſcription of the Streights of Meſſina, Scylla, Charybdis, &c. ſee Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. iv. p. 1293. and Sicilia Antiq. l. i. p. 60—76.), who had diligently ſtudied the ancients, and ſurveyed with a curious eye the actual face of the country.

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maſſacre of the priſoners, who had been employed to execute the work [128].

Adolphus king of the Goths concludes a peace with the empire, and marches into Gaul, A. D. 412.

The perſonal animoſities, and hereditary feuds, of the Barbarians, were ſuſpended by the ſtrong neceſſity of their affairs; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceaſed monarch, was unanimouſly elected to ſucceed to his throne. The character and political ſyſtem of the new king of the Goths, may be beſt underſtood from his own converſation with an illuſtrious citizen of Narbonne; who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerom, in the preſence of the hiſtorian Oroſius. "In the full confi-
"dence of valour and victory, I once aſpired (ſaid Adolphus) to
"change the face of the univerſe; to obliterate the name of Rome;
"to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths; and to acquire,
"like Auguſtus, the immortal fame of the founder of a new empire.
"By repeated experiments, I was gradually convinced, that laws
"are eſſentially neceſſary to maintain and regulate a well-conſtituted
"ſtate; and that the fierce untractable humour of the Goths was
"incapable of bearing the ſalutary yoke of laws, and civil govern-
"ment. From that moment I propoſed to myſelf a different object
"of glory and ambition; and it is now my ſincere wiſh, that the
"gratitude of future ages ſhould acknowledge the merit of a ſtran-
"ger, who employed the ſword of the Goths, not to ſubvert, but
"to reſtore and maintain, the proſperity of the Roman empire [129]."
With theſe pacific views, the ſucceſſor of Alaric ſuſpended the operations of war; and ſeriouſly negotiated with the Imperial court a treaty of friendſhip and alliance. It was the intereſt of the miniſters of Honorius, who were now releaſed from the obligation of their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the intolerable weight

[128] Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 654.

[129] Oroſius, l. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. He was ſent by St. Auguſtin, in the year 415, from Africa to Paleſtine, to viſit St. Jerom, and to conſult with him on the ſubject of the Pelagian controverſy.

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of the Gothic powers; and they readily accepted their ſervice againſt the tyrants and Barbarians, who infeſted the provinces beyond the Alps [130]. Adolphus, aſſuming the character of a Roman general, directed his march from the extremity of Campania to the ſouthern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either by force or agreement, immediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Thouloufe, and Bourdeaux; and though they were repulſed by count Boniface from the walls of Marſeilles, they ſoon extended their quarters from the Mediterranean to the Ocean. The oppreſſed provincials might exclaim, that the miſerable remnant, which the enemy had ſpared, was cruelly raviſhed by their pretended allies; yet ſome ſpecious colours were not wanting to palliate, or juſtify, the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul, which they attacked, might perhaps be conſidered as in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the government of Honorius: the articles of the treaty, or the ſecret inſtructions of the court, might ſometimes be alleged in favour of the ſeeming uſurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unſucceſsful, act of hoſtility, might always be imputed, with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable ſpirit of a Barbarian hoſt, impatient of peace or diſcipline. The luxury of Italy had been leſs effectual to ſoften the temper, than to relax the courage, of the Goths; and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and inſtitutions, of civilized ſociety [131].

His marriage with Placidia, A. D. 414.

The profeſſions of Adolphus were probably ſincere, and his attachment to the cauſe of the republic was ſecured by the aſcendant which a Roman princeſs had acquired over the heart and underſtand-

[130] Jornandes ſuppoſes, without much probability, that Adolphus viſited and plundered Rome a ſecond time (more locuſtarum erafit). Yet he agrees with Oroſius in ſuppoſing, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gothic prince and Honorius. See Oroſ. l. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31. p. 654, 655.

[131] The retreat of the Goths from Italy, and their firſt tranſactions in Gaul, are dark and doubtful. I have derived much aſſiſtance from Maſcou (Hiſt. of the ancient Germans, l. viii. c. 29. 35, 36, 37.), who has illuſtrated, and connected, the broken chronicles and fragments of the times.

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ing of the Barbarian king. Placidia[132], the daughter of the great Theodoſius, and of Galla, his ſecond wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Conſtantinople; but the eventful ſtory of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the Weſtern empire under the reign of her brother Honorius. When Rome was firſt inveſted by the arms of Alaric, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, reſided in the city; and her ready conſent to the death of her couſin Serena, has a cruel and ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumſtances of the action, may be aggravated, or excuſed, by the conſideration of her tender age[133]. The victorious Barbarians detained, either as a hoſtage or a captive[134], the ſiſter of Honorius; but, while ſhe was expoſed to the diſgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, ſhe experienced, however, a decent and reſpectful treatment. The authority of Jornandes, who praiſes the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the ſilence, the expreſſive ſilence, of her flatterers: yet the ſplendour of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous inſinuation which ſhe condeſcended to employ, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aſpired to call himſelf the brother of the emperor. The miniſters of Honorius rejected with diſdain the propoſal of an alliance ſo injurious to every ſentiment of Roman pride; and repeatedly urged the reſtitution of Placidia, as an indiſpenſable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodoſius ſubmitted, without reluctance, to the deſires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftineſs of ſtature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The

[132] See an account of Placidia in Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 72.; and Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 260. 386, &c. tom. vi. p. 240.

[133] Zoſim. l. v. p. 350.

[134] Zoſim. l. vi. p. 383. Oroſius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576.), and the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius, ſeem to ſuppoſe, that the Goths did not carry away Placidia till after the laſt ſiege of Rome.

marriage

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marriage of Adolphus and Placidia[135] was conſummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the ſolemn, perhaps the anniverſary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the houſe of Ingenuus, one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empreſs, was placed on a throne of ſtate; and the king of the Goths, who aſſumed, on this occaſion, the Roman habit, contented himſelf with a leſs honourable ſeat by her ſide. The nuptial gift, which, according to the cuſtom of his nation[136], was offered to Placidia, conſiſted of the rare and and magnificent ſpoils of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in ſilken robes, carried a baſon in each hand; and one of theſe baſons was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value. Attalus, ſo long the ſport of fortune, and of the Goths, was appointed to lead the chorus of the Hymenæal ſong; and the degraded emperor might aſpire to the praiſe of a ſkilful muſician. The Barbarians enjoyed the inſolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reaſon, the fierce ſpirit of their Gothic lord[137].

[135] See the pictures of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage, in Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31. p. 654, 655. With regard to the place where the nuptials were ſtipulated, or conſummated, or celebrated, the MSS. of Jornandes vary between two neighbouring cities, Forli and Imola (Forum Livii and Forum Cornelii). It is fair and eaſy to reconcile the Gothic hiſtorian with Olympiodorus (ſee Maſcou, l. viii. c. 46.): but Tillemont grows peeviſh, and ſwears, that it is not worth while to try to conciliate Jornandes with any good authors.

[136] The Viſigoths (the ſubjects of Adolphus) reſtrained, by ſubſequent laws, the prodigality of conjūgal love. It was illegal for a huſband to make any gift or ſettlement for the benefit of his wife during the firſt year of their marriage; and his liberality could not at any time exceed the tenth part of his property. The Lombards were ſomewhat more indulgent: they allowed the *morgingcap* immediately after the wedding-night; and this famous gift, the reward of virginity, might equal the fourth part of the huſband's ſubſtance. Some cautious maidens, indeed, were wiſe enough to ſtipulate beforehand a preſent, which they were too ſure of not deſerving. See Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix, l. xix. c. 25. Muratori, delle Antichitá Italiane, tom. i. Diſſertazion xx. p. 243.

[137] We owe the curious detail of this nuptial feaſt to the hiſtorian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 185. 188.

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The Gothic treaſures.

The hundred baſons of gold and gems, preſented to Placidia at her nuptial feaſt, formed an inconſiderable portion of the Gothic treaſures; of which ſome extraordinary ſpecimens may be ſelected from the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Adolphus. Many curious and coſtly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne, when it was pillaged, in the ſixth century, by the Franks: ſixty cups, or chalices; fifteen *patens*, or plates, for the uſe of the communion; twenty boxes, or caſes, to hold the books of the goſpels; this conſecrated wealth [138] was diſtributed by the ſon of Clovis among the churches of his dominions, and his pious liberality ſeems to upbraid ſome former ſacrilege of the Goths. They poſſeſſed, with more ſecurity of conſcience, the famous *miſſorium*, or great diſh for the ſervice of the table, of maſſy gold, of the weight of five hundred pounds, and of far ſuperior value, from the precious ſtones, the exquiſite workmanſhip, and the tradition, that it had been preſented by Ætius the patrician, to Toriſmond king of the Goths. One of the ſucceſſors of Toriſmond purchaſed the aid of the French monarch by the promiſe of this magnificent gift. When he was ſeated on the throne of Spain, he delivered it with reluctance to the ambaſſadors of Dagobert; deſpoiled them on the road; ſtipulated, after a long negotiation, the inadequate ranſom of two hundred thouſand pieces of gold; and preſerved the *miſſorium*, as the pride of the Gothic treaſury [139]. When that treaſury, after the conqueſt of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they

[138] See in the great collection of the hiſtorians of France by Dom. Bouquet, tom. ii. Greg. Turonenſ. l. iii. c. 10. p. 191. Geſta Regum Francorum, c. 23. p. 557. The anonymous writer, with an ignorance worthy of his times, ſuppoſes that theſe inſtruments of Chriſtian worſhip had belonged to the temple of Solomon. If he has any meaning, it muſt be, that they were found in the ſack of Rome.

[139] Conſult the following original teſtimonies in the Hiſtorians of France, tom. ii. Fredegarii Scholaſtici Chron. c. 73. p. 441. Fredegar. Fragment. iii. p. 463. Geſta Regis Dagobert. c. 29. p. 587. The acceſſion of Siſenand to the throne of Spain happened A. D. 631. The 200,000 pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the church of St. Denys.

have

have celebrated, another object ſtill more remarkable; a table of conſiderable ſize, of one ſingle piece of ſolid emerald [140], encircled with three rows of fine pearls, ſupported by three hundred and ſixty-five feet of gems and maſſy gold, and eſtimated at the price of five hundred thouſand pieces of gold [141]. Some portion of the Gothic treaſures might be the gift of friendſhip, or the tribute of obedience; but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the ſpoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

Laws for the relief of Italy and Rome, A. D. 410—417.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppreſſion of the Goths, ſome ſecret counſellor was permitted, amidſt the factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted country [142]. By a wiſe and humane regulation, the eight provinces which had been the moſt deeply injured, Campania, Tuſcany, Picenum, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, and Lucania, obtained an indulgence of five years: the ordinary tribute was reduced to one fifth, and even that fifth was deſtined to reſtore, and ſupport, the uſeful inſtitution of the public poſts. By another law, the lands, which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation, were granted, with ſome diminution of taxes, to the neighbours who ſhould occupy, or the ſtrangers who ſhould ſolicit them; and the new poſſeſſors were ſecured againſt the future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the ſame time, a general amneſty was publiſhed in the name of Honorius, to aboliſh the guilt and memory of all the *involuntary* offences, which

[140] The preſident Goguet (Origine des Loix, &c. tom. ii. p. 239.) is of opinion, that the ſtupendous pieces of emerald, the ſtatues and columns, which antiquity has placed in Egypt, at Gades, at Conſtantinople, were in reality artificial compoſitions of coloured glaſs. The famous emerald diſh, which is ſhewn at Genoa, is ſuppoſed to countenance the ſuſpicion.

[141] Elmacin, Hiſt. Saracenica, l. i. p. 85. Roderic. Tolet. Hiſt. Arab. c. 9. Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne ſous les Arabes, tom. i. p. 83. It was called the Table of Solomon, according to the cuſtom of the Orientals, who aſcribe to that prince every ancient work of knowledge or magnificence.

[142] His three laws are inſerted in the Theodoſian Code, l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 7. L. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 12. L. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 14. The expreſſions of the laſt are very remarkable; ſince they contain not only a pardon, but an apology.

had

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had been committed by his unhappy ſubjects, during the term of the public diſorder and calamity. A decent and reſpectful attention was paid to the reſtoration of the capital; the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been deſtroyed or damaged by hoſtile fire; and extraordinary ſupplies of corn were imported from the coaſt of Africa. The crowds that ſo lately fled before the ſword of the Barbarians, were ſoon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleaſure; and Albinus, præfect of Rome, informed the court, with ſome anxiety and ſurpriſe, that, in a ſingle day, he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thouſand ſtrangers [143]. In leſs than ſeven years, the veſtiges of the Gothic invaſion were almoſt obliterated; and the city appeared to reſume its former ſplendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the ſtorms of war; and was ſtill amuſed, in the laſt moment of her decay, with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion [144].

Revolt and defeat of Heraclian, count of Africa, A. D. 413.

This apparent tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by the approach of an hoſtile armament from the country which afforded the daily ſubſiſtence of the Roman people. Heraclian, count of Africa, who, under the moſt difficult and diſtreſsful circumſtances, had ſupported, with active loyalty, the cauſe of Honorius, was tempted, in the year of his conſulſhip, to aſſume the character of a rebel, and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy:

[143] Olympiodorus ap. Phot. p. 188. Philoſtorgius (l. xii. c. 5.) obſerves, that when Honorius made his triumphal entry, he encouraged the Romans, with his hand and voice (χειρι και γλωττῃ), to rebuild their city; and the Chronicle of Proſper commends Heraclian, qui in Romanæ urbis reparationem ſtrenuum exhibuerat miniſterium.

[144] The date of the voyage of Claudius Rutilius Numatianus, is clogged with ſome difficulties; but Scaliger has deduced from aſtronomical characters, that he left Rome the 24th of September, and embarked at Porto the 9th of October, A. D. 416. See Tillemont Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 820. In this poetical Itinerary, Rutilius (l. i. 115, &c.) addreſſes Rome in a high ſtrain of congratulation:

Erige crinales lauros, ſeniumque ſacrati
Verticis in virides Roma recinge comas, &c.

and

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and his fleet, when it caſt anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, indeed ſurpaſſed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander, if *all* the veſſels, including the royal galley, and the ſmalleſt boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thouſand two hundred [145]. Yet with ſuch an armament, which might have ſubverted, or reſtored, the greateſt empires of the earth, the African uſurper made a very faint and feeble impreſſion on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port, along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed, by one of the Imperial captains; and the lord of this mighty hoſt, deſerting his fortune and his friends, ignominiouſly fled with a ſingle ſhip [146]. When Heraclian landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, diſdaining ſuch an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory; his conſulſhip was aboliſhed [147]; and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate ſum of four thouſand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Conſtantius, who had already defended the throne, which he afterwards ſhared with his feeble ſovereign. Honorius viewed, with ſupine indifference, the calamities of Rome and Italy [148]; but the rebellious attempts of Attalus and Heraclian, againſt his perſonal ſafety, awakened, for a moment, the torpid inſtinct of his nature. He was probably igno-

[145] Oroſius compoſed his hiſtory in Africa, only two years after the event: yet his authority ſeems to be overbalanced by the improbability of the fact. The Chronicle of Marcellinus gives Heraclian 700 ſhips, and 3000 men; the latter of theſe numbers is ridiculouſly corrupt; but the former would pleaſe me very much.

[146] The Chronicle of Idatius affirms, without the leaſt appearance of truth, that he advanced as far as Otriculum, in Umbria, where he was overthrown in a great battle, with the loſs of fifty thouſand men.

[147] See Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 13. The legal acts performed in his name, even the manumiſſion of ſlaves, were declared invalid, till they had been formally repeated.

[148] I have diſdained to mention a very fooliſh, and probably a falſe report (Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.), that Honorius was alarmed by the *loſs* of Rome, till he underſtood that it was not a favourite chicken of that name, but *only* the capital of the world, which had been loſt. Yet even this ſtory is ſome evidence of the public opinion.

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rant of the cauſes and events which preſerved him from theſe impending dangers; and as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domeſtic enemies, he peaceably exiſted in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquiſhed in the name, and by the lieutenants, of the ſon of Theodoſius [142]. In the courſe of a buſy and intereſting narrative, I might poſſibly forget to mention the death of ſuch a prince: and I ſhall therefore take the precaution of obſerving, in this place, that he ſurvived the laſt ſiege of Rome about thirteen years.

Revolutions of Gaul and Spain, A. D. 409—413.

The uſurpation of Conſtantine, who received the purple from the legions of Britain, had been ſucceſsful; and ſeemed to be ſecure. His title was acknowledged, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules; and, in the midſt of the public diſorder, he ſhared the dominion, and the plunder, of Gaul and Spain, with the tribes of Barbarians, whoſe deſtructive progreſs was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinſmen of Honorius, he extorted from the court of Ravenna, with which he ſecretly correſponded, the ratification of his rebellious claims. Conſtantine engaged himſelf, by a ſolemn promiſe, to deliver Italy from the Goths; advanced as far as the banks of the Po; and after alarming, rather than aſſiſting, his puſillanimous ally, haſtily returned to the palace of Arles, to celebrate, with intemperate luxury, his vain and oſtentatious triumph. But this tranſient proſperity was ſoon interrupted and deſtroyed by the revolt of count Gerontius, the braveſt of his generals, who, during the abſence of his ſon Conſtans, a prince already inveſted with the Imperial purple,

[142] The materials for the lives of all theſe tyrants are taken from ſix contemporary hiſtorians, two Latins and four Greeks: Oroſius, l. vii. c. 42. p. 581, 582, 583.; Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 9. in the hiſtorians of France, tom. ii. p. 165, 166. Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 370, 371. Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 180, 181. 184, 185. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.; and Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 5, 6., with Godefroy's Diſſertations, p. 477—481.; beſides the four Chronicles of Proſper Tyro, Proſper of Aquitain, Idatius, and Marcellinus.

had

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had been left to command in the provinces of Spain. For ſome reaſon, of which we are ignorant, Gerontius, inſtead of aſſuming the diadem, placed it on the head of his friend Maximus, who fixed his reſidence at Tarragona, while the active count preſſed forwards, through the Pyrenees, to ſurpriſe the two emperors, Conſtantine and Conſtans, before they could prepare for their defence. The ſon was made priſoner at Vienna, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had ſcarcely leiſure to deplore the elevation of his family; which had tempted, or compelled him, ſacrilegiouſly to deſert the peaceful obſcurity of the monaſtic life. The father maintained a ſiege within the walls of Arles; but thoſe walls muſt have yielded to the aſſailants, had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorius, the proclamation of a lawful emperor, aſtoniſhed the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, eſcaped to the confines of Spain; and reſcued his name from oblivion, by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the laſt moments of his life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perfidious ſoldiers ſurrounded, and attacked, his houſe, which he had ſtrongly barricaded. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and ſome faithful ſlaves, were ſtill attached to his perſon; and he uſed, with ſo much ſkill and reſolution, a large magazine of darts and arrows, that above three hundred of the aſſailants loſt their lives in the attempt. His ſlaves, when all the miſſile weapons were ſpent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been reſtrained by conjugal tenderneſs, might have imitated their example; till the ſoldiers, provoked by ſuch obſtinate reſiſtance, applied fire on all ſides to the houſe. In this fatal extremity, he complied with the requeſt of his Barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of miſery and diſgrace, eagerly preſented her neck to his ſword; and the

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tragic ſcene was terminated by the death of the count himſelf, who, after three ineffectual ſtrokes, drew a ſhort dagger and ſheathed it in his heart [150]. The unprotected Maximus, whom he had inveſted with the purple, was indebted for his life to the contempt that was entertained of his power and abilities. The caprice of the Barbarians, who ravaged Spain, once more ſeated this Imperial phantom on the throne: but they ſoon reſigned him to the juſtice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he had been ſhewn to the people of Ravenna and Rome, was publicly executed.

Character and victories of the general Conſtantius.

The general, Conſtantius was his name, who raiſed by his approach the ſiege of Arles, and diſſipated the troops of Gerontius, was born a Roman: and this remarkable diſtinction is ſtrongly expreſſive of the decay of military ſpirit among the ſubjects of the empire. The ſtrength and majeſty which were conſpicuous in the perſon of that general [151], marked him, in the popular opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne, which he afterwards aſcended. In the familiar intercourſe of private life, his manners were cheerful and engaging: nor would he ſometimes diſdain, in the licence of convivial mirth, to vie with the pantomimes themſelves, in the exerciſes of their ridiculous profeſſion. But when the trumpet ſummoned him to arms; when he mounted his horſe, and, bending down (for ſuch was his ſingular practice) almoſt upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field, Conſtantius then ſtruck terror into his foes, and inſpired his ſoldiers with the aſſurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commiſſion of

[150] The praiſes which Sozomen has beſtowed on this act of deſpair, appear ſtrange and ſcandalous in the mouth of an eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian. He obſerves (p. 379.), that the wife of Gerontius was a *Chriſtian*; and that her death was worthy of her religion, and of immortal fame.

[151] Ειδος αξιον τυραννιδος, is the expreſſion of Olympiodorus, which he ſeems to have borrowed from *Æolus*, a tragedy of Euripides, of which ſome fragments only are now extant (Euripid. Barnes, tom. ii. p. 443. ver. 38.). This alluſion may prove, that the ancient tragic poets were ſtill familiar to the Greeks of the fifth century.

extirpating

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extirpating rebellion in the provinces of the Weſt; and the pretended emperor Conſtantine, after enjoying a ſhort and anxious reſpite, was again beſieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a ſucceſsful negotiation with the Franks and Alemanni; and his ambaſſador, Edobic, ſoon returned, at the head of an army, to diſturb the operations of the ſiege of Arles. The Roman general, inſtead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wiſely, reſolved to paſs the Rhône, and to meet the Barbarians. His meaſures were conducted with ſo much ſkill and ſecreſy, that, while they engaged the infantry of Conſtantius in the front, they were ſuddenly attacked, ſurrounded, and deſtroyed by the cavalry of his lieutenant Ulphilas, who had ſilently gained an advantageous poſt in their rear. The remains of the army of Edobic were preſerved by flight or ſubmiſſion, and their leader eſcaped from the field of battle to the houſe of a faithleſs friend; who too clearly underſtood, that the head of his obnoxious gueſt would be an acceptable and lucrative preſent for the Imperial general. On this occaſion, Conſtantius behaved with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman. Subduing, or ſuppreſſing, every ſentiment of jealouſy, he publicly acknowledged the merit and ſervices of Ulphilas: but he turned with horror from the aſſaſſin of Edobic; and ſternly intimated his commands, that the camp ſhould no longer be polluted by the preſence of an ungrateful wretch, who had violated the laws of friendſhip and hoſpitality. The uſurper, who beheld, from the walls of Arles, the ruin of his laſt hopes, was tempted to place ſome confidence in ſo generous a conqueror. He required a ſolemn promiſe for his ſecurity; and after receiving, by the impoſition of hands, the ſacred character of a Chriſtian preſbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the city. But he ſoon experienced, that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Conſtantius, were ſuperſeded by the looſe doctrines of political morality.

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Death of the uſurper Conſtantine, A. D. 411, Novem. 28.

Fall of the uſurpers, Jovinus, Sebaſtian, and Attalus, A. D. 411—416.

rality. The Roman general, indeed, refuſed to ſully his laurels with the blood of Conſtantine; but the abdicated emperor, and his ſon Julian, were ſent under a ſtrong guard into Italy; and, before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the miniſters of death.

At a time when it was univerſally confeſſed, that almoſt every man in the empire was ſuperior in perſonal merit to the princes whom the accident of their birth had ſeated on the throne, a rapid ſucceſſion of uſurpers, regardleſs of the fate of their predeceſſors, ſtill continued to ariſe. This miſchief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguiſhed by war and rebellion. Before Conſtantine reſigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the ſiege of Arles, intelligence was received in the Imperial camp, that Jovinus had aſſumed the diadem at Mentz, in the Upper Germany, at the inſtigation of Goar, king of the Alani, and of Guntiarius, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate, on whom they had beſtowed the empire, advanced, with a formidable hoſt of Barbarians, from the banks of the Rhine to thoſe of the Rhône. Every circumſtance is dark and extraordinary in the ſhort hiſtory of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect, that a brave and ſkilful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have aſſerted, in a field of battle, the juſtice of the cauſe of Honorius. The haſty retreat of Conſtantius might be juſtified by weighty reaſons; but he reſigned, without a ſtruggle, the poſſeſſion of Gaul: and Dardanus, the Prætorian præfect, is recorded as the only magiſtrate, who refuſed to yield obedience to the uſurper [152]. When the Goths, two years after

[152] Sidonius Apollinaris (l. v. epiſt. 9. p. 139. and Not. Sirmond, p. 58.), after ſtigmatiſing the *inconſtancy* of Conſtantine, the *facility* of Jovinus, the *perfidy* of Gerontius, continues to obſerve, that *all* the vices of theſe tyrants were united in the perſon of Dardanus. Yet the præfect ſupported a reſpectable character in the world, and even in the church; held a devout correſpondence with St. Auguſtin and St. Jerom; and was complimented by the latter (tom. iii. p. 66.) with the epithets of Chriſtianorum Nobiliſſime, and Nobilium Chriſtianiſſime.

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the ſiege of Rome, eſtabliſhed their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to ſuppoſe that their inclinations could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reſerved in their camp for the occaſional purpoſe of acting the part of a muſician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of diſguſt (for which it is not eaſy to aſſign a cauſe, or a date), Adolphus connected himſelf with the uſurper of Gaul; and impoſed on Attalus the ignominious taſk of negotiating the treaty, which ratified his own diſgrace. We are again ſurpriſed to read, that, inſtead of conſidering the Gothic alliance as the firmeſt ſupport of his throne, Jovinus upbraided, in dark and ambiguous language, the officious importunity of Attalus; that, ſcorning the advice of his great ally, he inveſted with the purple his brother Sebaſtian; and that he moſt imprudently accepted the ſervice of Sarus, when that gallant chief, the ſoldier of Honorius, was provoked to deſert the court of a prince, who knew not how to reward, or puniſh. Adolphus, educated among a race of warriors, who eſteemed the duty of revenge as the moſt precious and ſacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thouſand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the houſe of Balti. He attacked Sarus at an unguarded moment, when he was accompanied only by eighteen or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendſhip, animated by deſpair, but at length oppreſſed by multitudes, this band of heroes deſerved the eſteem, without exciting the compaſſion, of their enemies; and the lion was no ſooner taken in the toils [153], than he was inſtantly diſpatched. The death of Sarus diſſolved the looſe alliance which Adolphus ſtill maintained with the uſurpers of Gaul. He

[153] The expreſſion may be underſtood almoſt literally: Olympiodorus ſays, μολις σαγκοις εζωγρησαν. Σαγκος (or σακος) may ſignify a ſack, or a looſe garment; and this method of entangling and catching an enemy, laciniis contortis, was much practiſed by the Huns (Ammian. xxxi. 2.). Il fut pris vif avec des filets, is the tranſlation of Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 608.

again

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again liſtened to the dictates of love and prudence; and ſoon ſatisfied the brother of Placidia, by the aſſurance that he would immediately tranſmit, to the palace of Ravenna, the heads of the two tyrants, Jovinus and Sebaſtian. The king of the Goths executed his promiſe without difficulty or delay: the helpleſs brothers, unſupported by any perſonal merit, were abandoned by their Barbarian auxiliaries; and the ſhort oppoſition of Valentia was expiated by the ruin of one of the nobleſt cities of Gaul. The emperor, choſen by the Roman ſenate, who had been promoted, degraded, inſulted, reſtored, again degraded, and again inſulted, was finally abandoned to his fate: but when the Gothic king withdrew his protection, he was reſtrained, by pity or contempt, from offering any violence to the perſon of Attalus. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without ſubjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain, in ſearch of ſome ſecure and ſolitary retreat: but he was intercepted at ſea, conducted to the preſence of Honorius, led in triumph through the ſtreets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly expoſed to the gazing multitude, on the ſecond ſtep of the throne of his *invincible* conqueror. The ſame meaſure of puniſhment, with which, in the days of his proſperity, he was accuſed of menacing his rival, was inflicted on Attalus himſelf: he was condemned, after the amputation of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the iſle of Lipari, where he was ſupplied with the decent neceſſaries of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undiſturbed by rebellion; and it may be obſerved, that in the ſpace of five years, ſeven uſurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince, who was himſelf incapable either of counſel or of action.

Invaſion of Spain by the Suevi, Vandals, Alani, &c. A. D. 409, October 13.

The ſituation of Spain, ſeparated, on all ſides, from the enemies of Rome, by the ſea, by the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had ſecured the long tranquillity of that remote and ſequeſtered country; and we may obſerve, as a ſure ſymptom of domeſtic happineſs, that, in a period of four hundred years, Spain furniſhed

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very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the Barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, were soon obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian æra, the cities of Emerita or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade [154]. The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperors; and if the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by peace and servitude, the hostile approach of the Germans, who had spread terror and desolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed to rekindle some sparks of military ardour. As long as the defence of the mountains was entrusted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they successfully repelled the frequent attempts of the Barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands, in the service of Constantine; than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths [155]. The consciousness of guilt, and the thirst of raping, prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent

[154] Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall quote three respectable testimonies which belong to the fourth and seventh centuries; the Expositio totius Mundi (p. 16. in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Geographers), Ausonius (de Claris Urbibus, p. 242. edit. Toll.), and Isidore of Seville (Præfat. ad Chron. ap. Grotium, Hist. Goth. p. 707.). Many particulars relative to the fertility and trade of Spain, may be found in Nonnius, Hispania Illustrata, and in Huet, Hist. du Commerce des Anciens, c. 40. p. 228—234.

[155] The date is accurately fixed in the Fasti, and the Chronicle of Idatius. Orosius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 578.) imputes the loss of Spain to the treachery of the Honorians; while Sozomen (l. ix. c. 12.) accuses only their negligence.

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which was poured with irreſiſtible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the ſea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be deſcribed in the language of its moſt eloquent hiſtorian, who has conciſely expreſſed the paſſionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers[196]. "The irruption of theſe nations was "followed by the moſt dreadful calamities: as the Barbarians exer- "ciſed their indiſcriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans "and the Spaniards; and ravaged with equal fury the cities and "the open country. The progreſs of famine reduced the miſerable "inhabitants to feed on the fleſh of their fellow-creatures; and even "the wild beaſts, who multiplied, without control, in the deſert, "were exaſperated, by the taſte of blood, and the impatience of "hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Peſtilence "ſoon appeared, the inſeparable companion of famine; a large "proportion of the people was ſwept away; and the groans of the "dying excited only the envy of their ſurviving friends. At "length the Barbarians, fatiated with carnage and rapine, and af- "flicted by the contagious evils which they themſelves had intro- "duced, fixed their permanent ſeats in the depopulated country. "The ancient Gallicia, whoſe limits included the kingdom of Old "Caſtille, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the "Alani were ſcattered over the provinces of Carthagena and Luſi- "tania, from the Mediteranean to the Atlantic Ocean; and the "fruitful territory of Bœtica was allotted to the Silingi, another "branch of the Vandalic nation. After regulating this partition, "the conquerors contracted with their new ſubjects ſome reciprocal "engagements of protection and obedience: the lands were again "cultivated; and the towns and villages were again occupied by a "captive people. The greateſt part of the Spaniards was even diſ-

[196] Idatius wiſhes to apply the Prophecies of Daniel to theſe national calamities; and is therefore obliged to accommodate the circumſtances of the event to the terms of the prediction.

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"posed to prefer this new condition of poverty and barbarism, to "the severe oppressions of the Roman government: yet there were "many who still asserted their native freedom; and who refused, "more especially in the mountains of Gallicia, to submit to the "Barbarian yoke [157]."

Adolphus, king of the Goths, marches into Spain, A. D. 414.

The important present of the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian, had approved the friendship of Adolphus, and restored Gaul to the obedience of his brother Honorius. Peace was incompatible with the situation and temper of the king of the Goths. He readily accepted the proposal of turning his victorious arms against the Barbarians of Spain: the troops of Constantius intercepted his communication with the sea-ports of Gaul, and gently pressed his march towards the Pyrenees [158]: he passed the mountains, and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. The fondness of Adolphus for his Roman bride, was not abated by time or possession; and the birth of a son, surnamed, from his illustrious grandsire, Theodosius, appeared to fix him for ever in the interest of the republic. The loss of that infant, whose remains were deposited in a silver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflicted his parents; but the grief of the Gothic king was suspended by the labours of the field; and the course of his victories was soon interrupted by domestic treason. He had imprudently received into his service one of the followers of Sarus; a Barbarian of a daring spirit, but of a diminutive stature; whose secret desire of revenging the death of his beloved patron, was continually irritated by the sarcasms of his insolent master. Adolphus was assassinated in the palace of Barcelona; the laws of the succession

His death, A. D. 415, August.

[157] Mariana de Rebus Hispanicis, l. v. c. 1. tom. i. p. 148. Hag. Comit. 1733. He had read in Orosius (l. vii. c. 41. p. 579.), that the Barbarians had turned their swords into plough-shares; and that many of the Provincials preferred, inter Barbaros pauperem libertatem quam inter Romanos tributariam solicitudinum sustinere.

[158] This mixture of force and persuasion may be fairly inferred from comparing Orosius and Jornandes, the Roman and the Gothic historian.

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were violated by a tumultuous faction[159]; and a ſtranger to the royal race, Singeric, the brother of Sarus himſelf, was ſeated on the Gothic throne. The firſt act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the ſix children of Adolphus, the iſſue of a former marriage, whom he tore, without pity, from the feeble arms of a venerable biſhop[160]. The unfortunate Placidia, inſtead of the reſpectful compaſſion, which ſhe might have excited in the moſt ſavage breaſts, was treated with cruel and wanton inſult. The daughter of the emperor Theodoſius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled to march on foot above twelve miles, before the horſe of a Barbarian, the aſſaſſin of an huſband, whom Placidia loved and lamented[161].

The Goths conquer and reſtore Spain, A. D. 415—418.

But Placidia ſoon obtained the pleaſure of revenge; and the view of her ignominious ſufferings might rouſe an indignant people againſt the tyrant, who was aſſaſſinated on the ſeventh day of his uſurpation. After the death of Singeric, the free choice of the nation beſtowed the Gothic ſceptre on Wallia; whoſe warlike and ambitious temper appeared, in the beginning of his reign, extremely hoſtile to the republic. He marched, in arms, from Barcelona to the ſhores of the Atlantic ocean, which the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the world. But when he reached the ſouthern promontory of Spain[162], and, from the rock now covered by the fortreſs of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighbouring and fertile coaſt of Africa, Wallia reſumed the deſigns of conqueſt, which had been

[159] According to the ſyſtem of Jornandes (c. 33. p. 659.), the true hereditary right to the Gothic ſceptre was veſted in the *Amali*; but thoſe princes, who were the vaſſals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Oſtrogoths in ſome diſtant parts of Germany or Scythia.

[160] The murder is related by Olympiodorus; but the number of the children is taken from an epitaph of ſuſpected authority.

[161] The death of Adolphus was celebrated at Conſtantinople with illuminations and Circenſian games (ſee Chron. Alexandrin.). It may ſeem doubtful, whether the Greeks were actuated, on this occaſion, by their hatred of the Barbarians, or of the Latins.

[162] Quòd *Tarteſſiacis* avus hujus Vallia *terris*
Vandalicas turmas, et juncti Martis Alanos
Stravit, et occiduam texere cadavera *Calpen*.
Sidon. Apollinar. in Panegyr. Anthem. 363. p. 300. edit. Sirmond.

interrupted

interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again diſappointed the enterpriſe of the Goths; and the minds of a ſuperſtitious people were deeply affected by the repeated diſaſters of ſtorms and ſhipwrecks. In this diſpoſition, the ſucceſſor of Adolphus no longer refuſed to liſten to a Roman ambaſſador, whoſe propoſals were enforced by the real, or ſuppoſed, approach of a numerous army, under the conduct of the brave Conſtantius. A ſolemn treaty was ſtipulated and obſerved: Placidia was honourably reſtored to her brother; ſix hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths[163]; and Wallia engaged to draw his ſword in the ſervice of the empire. A bloody war was inſtantly excited among the Barbarians of Spain; and the contending princes are ſaid to have addreſſed their letters, their ambaſſadors, and their hoſtages, to the throne of the Weſtern emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil ſpectator of their conteſt; the events of which muſt be favourable to the Romans, by the mutual ſlaughter of their common enemies[164]. The Spaniſh war was obſtinately ſupported, during three campaigns, with deſperate valour, and various ſucceſs; and the martial atchievements of Wallia diffuſed through the empire the ſuperior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Bœtica. He ſlew, in battle, the king of the Alani; and the remains of thoſe Scythian wanderers, who eſcaped from the field, inſtead of chuſing a new leader, humbly ſought a refuge under the ſtandard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themſelves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the

[163] This ſupply was very acceptable: the Goths were inſulted by the Vandals of Spain with the epithet of *Truli*, becauſe, in their extreme diſtreſs, they had given a piece of gold for a *trula*, or about half a pound of flour. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 189.

[164] Oroſius inſerts a copy of theſe pretended letters. Tu cum omnibus pacem habe, omniumque obſides accipe; nos nobis confligimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus; immortalis vero quæſtus erat Reipublicæ tuæ, ſi utrique pereamus. The idea is juſt; but I cannot perſuade myſelf that it was entertained, or expreſſed, by the Barbarians.

invincible

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invincible Goths. The promiſcuous multitude of Barbarians, whoſe retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Gallicia; where they ſtill continued, in a narrow compaſs, and on a barren ſoil, to exerciſe their domeſtic and implacable hoſtilities. In the pride of victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he reſtored his Spaniſh conqueſts to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the Imperial officers ſoon reduced an oppreſſed people to regret the time of their Barbarian ſervitude. While the event of the war was ſtill doubtful, the firſt advantages obtained by the arms of Wallia, had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honours of a triumph to their feeble ſovereign. He entered Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and if the monuments of ſervile corruption had not long ſince met with the fate which they deſerved, we ſhould probably find that a crowd of poets, and orators, of magiſtrates, and biſhops, applauded the fortune, the wiſdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius[165].

Their eſtabliſhment in Aquitain, A.D. 419.

Such a triumph might have been juſtly claimed by the ally of Rome, if Wallia, before he repaſſed the Pyrenees, had extirpated the ſeeds of the Spaniſh war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had paſſed the Danube, were eſtabliſhed, according to the faith of treaties, in the poſſeſſion of the ſecond Aquitain; a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of Bourdeaux. That metropolis, advantageouſly ſituated for the trade of the ocean, was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were diſtinguiſhed among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the politeneſs of their manners. The adjacent province, which has been

[165] Romam triumphans ingreditur, is the formal expreſſion of Proſper's Chronicle. The facts which relate to the death of Adolphus, and the exploits of Wallia, are related from Olympiodorus (apud Phot. p. 188.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 43. p. 584—587.), Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 31, 32.), and the Chronicles of Idatius and Iſidore.

fondly

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fondly compared to the garden of Eden, is bleſſed with a fruitful ſoil, and a temperate climate; the face of the country diſplayed the arts and rewards of induſtry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriouſly exhauſted the rich vineyards of Aquitain[166]. The Gothic limits were enlarged, by the additional gift of ſome neighbouring dioceſes; and the ſucceſſors of Alaric fixed their royal reſidence at Thouloufe, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the ſpacious circuit of its walls. About the ſame time, in the laſt years of the reign of Honorius, the GOTHS, the BURGUNDIANS, and the FRANKS, obtained a permanent ſeat and dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the uſurper Jovinus to his Burgundian allies, was confirmed by the lawful emperor: the lands of the Firſt, or Upper Germany, were ceded to thoſe formidable Barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conqueſt or treaty, the two provinces which ſtill retain, with the titles of *Duchy* and of *County*, the national appellation of Burgundy[167]. The Franks, the valiant and faithful allies of the Roman republic, were ſoon tempted to imitate the invaders, whom they had ſo bravely reſiſted. Treves, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by their lawleſs bands; and the humble colony, which they ſo long maintained in the diſtrict of Toxandria, in Brabant, inſenſibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuſe and Scheld, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower Germany. Theſe facts may be ſufficiently juſtified by hiſtoric evidence: but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conqueſts, the laws,

The Burgundians.

[166] Auſonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 257—262.) celebrates Bourdeaux with the partial affection of a native. See in Salvian (de Gubern. Dei, p. 228. Paris 1608) a florid deſcription of the provinces of Aquitain and Novempopulania.

[167] Oroſius (l. vii. c. 32. p. 550.) commends the mildneſs and modeſty of theſe Burgundians, who treated their ſubjects of Gaul as their Chriſtian brethren. Maſcou has illuſtrated the origin of their kingdom in the four firſt annotations at the end of his laborious Hiſtory of the Ancient Germans, vol. ii. p. 555—572. of the Engliſh tranſlation.

and

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and even the exiſtence, of that hero, have been juſtly arraigned by the impartial ſeverity of modern criticiſm[168].

State of the Barbarians in Gaul, A. D. 420, &c.

The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the eſtabliſhment of theſe Barbarians, whoſe alliance was dangerous and oppreſſive, and who were capriciouſly impelled, by intereſt or paſſion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ranſom was impoſed on the ſurviving provincials, who had eſcaped the calamities of war; the faireſt and moſt fertile lands were aſſigned to the rapacious ſtrangers, for the uſe of their families, their ſlaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquiſhed with a ſigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet theſe domeſtic misfortunes, which are ſeldom the lot of a vanquiſhed people, had been felt and inflicted by the Romans themſelves, not only in the inſolence of foreign conqueſt, but in the madneſs of civil diſcord. The Triumvirs proſcribed eighteen of the moſt flouriſhing colonies of Italy; and diſtributed their lands and houſes to the veterans who revenged the death of Cæſar, and oppreſſed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in ſimilar circumſtances, the loſs of their patrimony: but the legionaries of Auguſtus appear to have ſurpaſſed, in violence and injuſtice, the Barbarians who invaded Gaul under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the utmoſt difficulty that Virgil eſcaped from the ſword of the Centurion, who had uſurped his farm in the neighbourhood of Mantua[169]; but Paulinus

[168] See Maſcou, l. viii. c. 43, 44, 45. Except in a ſhort and ſuſpicious line of the Chronicle of Proſper (in tom. i. p. 638.), the name of Pharamond is never mentioned before the ſeventh century. The author of the Geſta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 543.) ſuggeſts, probably enough, that the choice of Pharamond, or at leaſt of a king, was recommended to the Franks by his father Marcomir, who was an exile in Tuſcany.

[169] O Lycida, vivi pervenimus: advena noſtri
(Quod nunquam veriti ſumus) ut poſſeſſor agelli
Diceret: Hæc mea ſunt; veteres migrate coloni.
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linus of Bourdeaux received a ſum of money from his Gothic purchaſer, which he accepted with pleaſure and ſurpriſe; and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his eſtate, this act of rapine was diſguiſed by ſome colours of moderation and equity [170]. The odious name of conquerors, was ſoftened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *gueſts* of the Romans; and the Barbarians of Gaul, more eſpecially the Goths, repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hoſpitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military ſervice. The title of Honorius and his ſucceſſors, their laws, and their civil magiſtrates, were ſtill reſpected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had reſigned the poſſeſſion to the Barbarian allies; and the kings, who exerciſed a ſupreme and independent authority over their native ſubjects, ambitiouſly ſolicited the more honourable rank of maſter-generals of the Imperial armies [171]. Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name ſtill impreſſed on the minds of thoſe warriors, who had borne away in triumph the ſpoils of the Capitol.

Revolt of Britain and Armorica, A. D. 409.

Whilſt Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a ſucceſſion of feeble tyrants oppreſſed the provinces beyond the Alps, the Britiſh iſland ſeparated itſelf from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the ſavages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and

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[170] See the remarkable paſſage of the Eucharisticon of Paulinus, 575. apud Maſcou, l. viii. c. 42.

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doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They aſſembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important diſcovery of their own ſtrength [172]. Afflicted by ſimilar calamities, and actuated by the ſame ſpirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and the Loire [173]) reſolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring iſland. They expelled the Roman magiſtrates, who acted under the authority of the uſurper Conſtantine; and a free government was eſtabliſhed among a people who had ſo long been ſubject to the arbitrary will of a maſter. The independence of Britain and Armorica was ſoon confirmed by Honorius himſelf, the lawful emperor of the Weſt; and the letters, by which he committed to the new ſtates the care of their own ſafety, might be interpreted as an abſolute and perpetual abdication of the exerciſe and rights of ſovereignty. This interpretation was, in ſome meaſure, juſtified by the event. After the uſurpers of Gaul had ſucceſſively fallen, the maritime provinces were reſtored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious: the vain, inconſtant, rebellious diſpoſition of the people, was incompatible either with freedom or ſervitude [174]; and Armo-

[172] Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 376. 383.) relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armorica. Our antiquarians, even the great Cambden himſelf, have been betrayed into many groſs errors, by their imperfect knowledge of the hiſtory of the continent.

[173] The limits of Armorica are defined by two national geographers, Meſſieurs de Valois and d'Anville, in their *Notitias* of Ancient Gaul. The word had been uſed in a more extenſive, and was afterwards contracted to a much narrower, ſignification.

[174] Gens inter geminos notiſſima clauditur amnes,
Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta.
Torva, ferox, ventoſa, procax, incauta, rebellis;
Inconſtans, diſparque ſibi novitatis amore;
Prodiga verborum, ſed non et prodiga facti.

Erricus, Monach. in Vit. St. Germani, l. v. apud Valeſ. Notit. Galliarum, p. 43. Valeſius alleges ſeveral teſtimonies to confirm this character; to which I ſhall add the evidence of the preſbyter Conſtantine (A. D. 488), who, in the life of St. Germain, calls the Armorican rebels, mobilem et indiſciplinatum populum. See the Hiſtorians of France, tom. i. p. 643.

rica,

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rica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic [175], was agitated by frequent and deſtructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably loſt [176]. But as the emperors wiſely acquieſced in the independence of a remote province, the ſeparation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were ſucceeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendſhip [177].

State of Britain, A. D. 409—449.

This revolution diſſolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the deſcent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns [178]. I. Zoſimus, who alone has preſerved the memory of this ſingular tranſaction, very accurately obſerves, that the letters of Honorius were addreſſed to the *cities* of Britain [179]. Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two conſiderable towns had ariſen in the ſeveral parts of that great province; and, among theſe, thirty-three cities were diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by their ſuperior privileges and importance [180].

[175] I thought it neceſſary to enter my proteſt againſt this part of the ſyſtem of the Abbé Dubos, which Monteſquieu has ſo vigorouſly oppoſed. See Eſprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 24.

[176] Βρεταννιαν μεν τοι Ρωμαιοι ανασωσασθαι υκετι ἰσχυσαν, are the words of Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. p. 181. Louvre edition) in a very important paſſage, which has been too much neglected. Even Bede (Hiſt. Gent. Anglican. l. i. c. 12. p. 50. edit. Smith) acknowledges that the Romans finally left Britain in the reign of Honorius. Yet our modern hiſtorians and antiquaries extend the term of their dominion; and there are ſome who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons.

[177] Bede has not forgot the occaſional aid of the legions againſt the Scots and Picts; and more authentic proof will hereafter be produced, that the independent Britons raiſed 12,000 men for the ſervice of the emperor Anthemius, in Gaul.

[178] I owe it to myſelf, and to hiſtoric truth, to declare, that ſome *circumſtances* in this paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The ſtubbornneſs of our language has ſometimes forced me to deviate from the *conditional* into the *indicative* mood.

[179] Προς τας εν Βρεταννιᾳ πολεις. Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 383.

[180] Two cities of Britain were *municipia*, nine *colonies*, ten *Latii jure donatæ*, twelve *ſtipendiariæ* of eminent note. This detail is taken from Richard of Cirenceſter, de Sitû Britanniæ, p. 36.; and though it may not ſeem probable, that he wrote from the MSS. of a Roman general, he ſhews a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.

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Each of theſe cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpoſe of regulating their domeſtic policy; and the powers of municipal government were diſtributed among annual magiſtrates, a ſelect ſenate, and the aſſembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman conſtitution[181]. The management of a common revenue, the exereiſe of civil and criminal juriſdiction, and the habits of public counſel and command, were inherent to theſe petty republics; and when they aſſerted their independence, the youth of the city, and of the adjacent diſtricts, would naturally range themſelves under the ſtandard of the magiſtrate. But the deſire of obtaining the advantages, and of eſcaping the burthens, of political ſociety, is a perpetual and inexhauſtible ſource of diſcord; nor can it reaſonably be preſumed, that the reſtoration of Britiſh freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune muſt have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the ſubjects of their own ſervants[182], would ſometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch. II. The juriſdiction of each city over the adjacent country, was ſupported by the patrimonial influence of the principal ſenators; and the ſmaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land, conſulted their own ſafety by adhering to the ſhelter of theſe riſing republics. The ſphere of their attraction was proportioned to the reſpective degrees of their wealth and populouſneſs; but the hereditary lords of ample poſſeſſions, who were not oppreſſed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aſpired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exerciſed the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited ſome faint imitation

[181] See Maffei Verona Illuſtrata, part i. l. v. p. 83—106.

[182] Leges reſtituit, libertatemque reducit,
Et ſervos famulis non ſinit eſſe ſuis.
Itinerar. Rutil. l. i. 215.

of

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of Italian elegance, would ſoon be converted into ſtrong caſtles, the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country[183]: the produce of the land was applied to purchaſe arms and horſes; to maintain a military force of ſlaves, of peaſants, and of licentious followers; and the chieftain might aſſume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magiſtrate. Several of theſe Britiſh chiefs might be the genuine poſterity of ancient kings; and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been ſuſpended by the uſurpation of the Cæſars[184]. Their ſituation, and their hopes, would diſpoſe them to affect the dreſs, the language, and the cuſtoms of their anceſtors. If the *princes* of Britain relapſed into barbariſm, while the *cities* ſtudiouſly preſerved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole iſland muſt have been gradually divided by the diſtinction of two national parties; again broken into a thouſand ſubdiviſions of war and faction, by the various provocations of intereſt and reſentment. The public ſtrength, inſtead of being united againſt a foreign enemy, was conſumed in obſcure and inteſtine quarrels; and the perſonal merit which had placed a ſucceſsful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to ſubdue the freedom of ſome neighbouring cities; and to claim a rank among the *tyrants*[185], who infeſted Britain after the diſſolution of the Roman government. III. The

[183] An inſcription (apud Sirmond, Not. ad Sidon. Apollinar. p. 59.) deſcribes a caſtle, cum muris et portis, tuitioni omnium, erected by Dardanus on his own eſtate, near Siſteron, in the ſecond Narbonneſe, and named by him Theopolis.

[184] The eſtabliſhment of their power would have been eaſy indeed, if we could adopt the impracticable ſcheme of a lively and learned antiquarian; who ſuppoſes, that the Britiſh monarchs of the ſeveral tribes continued to reign, though with ſubordinate juriſdiction, from the time of Claudius to that of Honorius. See Whitaker's Hiſtory of Mancheſter, vol. i. p. 247—257.

[185] Αλλ' ωσα υπο τυραννοις απ' αυτης εμενε. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. p. 181. Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, was the expreſſion of Jerom, in the year 415. (tom. ii. p. 255. ad Cteſiphont.) By the pilgrims, who reſorted every year to the Holy Land, the monk of Bethlem received the earlieſt and moſt accurate intelligence.

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British church might be composed of thirty or forty bishops [186], with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor [187]) would compel them to deserve the public esteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest, as well as the temper of the clergy, was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country: those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the bishops, the important affairs of the state, as well as of the church, might be freely debated; differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed: and there is reason to believe, that in moments of extreme danger, a *Pendragon*, or Dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and superstition; and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they abhorred, as the peculiar disgrace of their native country [188].

Assembly of the seven provinces of Gaul, A. D. 418.

It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armorica should have introduced an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul. In a solemn edict [189], filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal

[186] See Bingham's Eccles. Antiquities, vol. i. l. ix. c. 6. p. 394.

[187] It is reported of *three* British bishops who assisted at the council of Rimini, A. D. 359. tam pauperes fuisse ut nihil haberent. Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 420. Some of their brethren, however, were in better circumstances.

[188] Consult Usher, de Antiq. Eccles. Britannicar. c. 8—12.

[189] See the correct text of this edict, as published by Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 147.). Hincmar, of Rheims, who assigns a place to the *bishops*, had probably seen (in the ninth century) a more perfect copy. Dubos, Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. p. 241—255.

affection

affection which princes ſo often expreſs, and ſo ſeldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual aſſembly of the *ſeven provinces*: a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitain, and the ancient Narbonneſe, which had long ſince exchanged their Celtic rudeneſs for the uſeful and elegant arts of Italy [190]. Arles, the ſeat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the aſſembly; which regularly continued twenty-eight days, from the fifteenth of Auguſt to the thirteenth of September, of every year. It conſiſted of the Prætorian præfect of the Gauls; of ſeven provincial governors, one conſular and ſix preſidents; of the magiſtrates, and perhaps the biſhops, of about ſixty cities; and of a competent, though indefinite, number of the moſt honourable and opulent *poſſeſſors* of land, who might juſtly be conſidered as the repreſentatives of their country. They were impowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their ſovereign; to expoſe the grievances and wiſhes of their conſtituents; to moderate the exceſſive or unequal weight of taxes; and to deliberate on every ſubject of local or national importance, that could tend to the reſtoration of the peace and proſperity of the ſeven provinces. If ſuch an inſtitution, which gave the people an intereſt in their own government, had been univerſally eſtabliſhed by Trajan or the Antonines, the ſeeds of public wiſdom and virtue might have been cheriſhed and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the ſubject would have ſecured the throne of the monarch; the abuſes of an arbitrary adminiſtration might have been prevented, in ſome degree, or corrected, by the interpoſition of theſe repreſentative aſſemblies; and the country would have been defended againſt a foreign enemy, by the arms of natives and freemen. Under

[190] It is evident from the *Notitia*, that the ſeven provinces were the Viennenſis, the maritime Alps, the firſt and ſecond Narbonneſe, Novempopulania, and the firſt and ſecond Aquitain. In the room of the firſt Aquitain, the Abbé Dubos, on the authority of Hincmar, deſires to introduce the firſt Lugdunenſis, or Lyonneſe.

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the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its exceſſive magnitude, and the inſtability of human affairs, had oppoſed ſuch perpetual continuance, its vital and conſtituent members might have ſeparately preſerved their vigour and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhauſted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or ſalutary effects. The emperor Honorius expreſſes his ſurpriſe, that he muſt compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they ſhould ardently have ſolicited. A fine of three, or even five, pounds of gold, was impoſed on the abſent repreſentatives; who ſeem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free conſtitution, as the laſt and moſt cruel inſult of their oppreſſors.

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Arcadius Emperor of the Eaſt.—Adminiſtration and Diſgrace of Eutropius.—Revolt of Gainas.—Perſecution of St. John Chryſoſtom.—Theodoſius II. *Emperor of the Eaſt.—His Siſter Pulcheria.—His Wife Eudocia.—The Perſian War, and Diviſion of Armenia.*

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The empire of the Eaſt, A. D. 395—1453.

Reign of Arcadius, A. D. 395—408.

THE diviſion of the Roman world between the ſons of Theodoſius, marks the final eſtabliſhment of the empire of the Eaſt, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, ſubſiſted one thouſand and fifty-eight years, in a ſtate of premature and perpetual decay. The ſovereign of that empire aſſumed, and obſtinately retained, the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the ROMANS; and the hereditary appellations of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS continued to declare, that he was the legitimate ſucceſſor of the firſt of men, who had reigned over the firſt of nations. The palace of Conſtantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Perſia; and the eloquent ſermons of St. Chryſoſtom [1] celebrate, while they condemn, the pom-

pous

[1] Father Montfaucon, who, by the command of his Benedictine ſuperiors, was compelled (ſee Longueruana, tom. i. p. 205.) to execute the laborious edition of St. Chryſoſtom, in thirteen volumes in folio (Paris, 1738), amuſed himſelf with extracting from that

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pous luxury of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor," ſays he, "wears on his head either a diadem, or a crown of gold, decorated "with precious ſtones of ineſtimable value. Theſe ornaments, and "his purple garments, are reſerved for his ſacred perſon alone; "and his robes of ſilk are embroidered with the figures of golden "dragons. His throne is of maſſy gold. Whenever he appears in "public, he is ſurrounded by his courtiers, his guards, and his "attendants. Their ſpears, their ſhields, their cuiraſſes, the bridles "and trappings of their horſes, have either the ſubſtance, or the ap-"pearance, of gold; and the large ſplendid boſs in the midſt of "their ſhield, is encircled with ſmaller boſſes, which repreſent the "ſhape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot "of the monarch, are perfectly white, and ſhining all over with "gold. The chariot itſelf, of pure and ſolid gold, attracts the admi-"ration of the ſpectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the "ſnowy carpet, the ſize of the precious ſtones, and the reſplendent "plates of gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the motion of "the carriage. The Imperial pictures are white, on a blue ground; "the emperor appears ſeated on his throne, with his arms, his "horſes, and his guards beſide him; and his vanquiſhed enemies "in chains at his feet." The ſucceſſors of Conſtantine eſtabliſhed their perpetual reſidence in the royal city, which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Aſia. Inacceſſible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received with each wind, the tributary productions of every climate; while the impregnable ſtrength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hoſtile attempts of the Barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Hadriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval

that immenſe collection of morals, ſome curious *antiquities*, which illuſtrate the manners of the Theodoſian age (ſee Chryſoſtom. Opera, tom. xiii. p. 192—196. and his French Diſſertation, in the Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. xiii. p. 474—490.).

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of twenty-five days navigation, which ſeparated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Æthiopia[2], was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the Eaſt. The populous countries of that empire were the ſeat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had aſſumed the language and manners of Greeks, ſtyled themſelves, with ſome appearance of truth, the moſt enlightened and civilized portion of the human ſpecies. The form of government was a pure and ſimple monarchy; the name of the ROMAN REPUBLIC, which ſo long preſerved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Conſtantinople meaſured their greatneſs by the ſervile obedience of their people. They were ignorant how much this paſſive diſpoſition enervates and degrades every faculty of the mind. The ſubjects, who had reſigned their will to the abſolute commands of a maſter, were equally incapable of guarding their lives and fortunes againſt the aſſaults of the Barbarians, or of defending their reaſon from the terrors of ſuperſtition.

Adminiſtration and character of Eutropius, A. D. 395—399.

The firſt events of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, are ſo intimately connected, that the rebellion of the Goths, and the fall of Rufinus, have already claimed a place in the hiſtory of the Weſt. It has already been obſerved, that Eutropius[3], one of the principal

[2] According to the looſe reckoning, that a ſhip could ſail, with a fair wind, 1000 ſtadia, or 125 miles, in the revolution of a day and night. Diodorus Siculus computes ten days from the Palus Mœotis to Rhodes, and four days from Rhodes to Alexandria. The navigation of the Nile, from Alexandria to Syene, under the tropic of Cancer, required, as it was againſt the ſtream, ten days more. Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. p. 200. edit. Weſſeling. He might, without much impropriety, meaſure the extreme heat from the verge of the torrid zone; but he ſpeaks of the Mœotis in the 47th degree of northern latitude, as if it lay within the polar circle.

[3] Barthius, who adored his author with the blind ſuperſtition of a commentator, gives the preference to the two books which Claudian compoſed againſt Eutropius, above all his other productions (Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, tom. iv. p. 227.). They are indeed a very elegant and ſpirited ſatire; and would be more valuable in an hiſtorical light, if the invective were leſs vague, and more temperate.

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eunuchs of the palace of Conſtantinople, ſucceeded the haughty miniſter whoſe ruin he had accompliſhed, and whoſe vices he ſoon imitated. Every order of the ſtate bowed to the new favourite; and their tame and obſequious ſubmiſſion encouraged him to inſult the laws, and, what is ſtill more difficult and dangerous, the manners of his country. Under the weakeſt of the predeceſſors of Arcadius, the reign of the eunuchs had been ſecret, and almoſt inviſible. They inſinuated themſelves into the confidence of the prince; but their oſtenſible functions were confined to the menial ſervice of the wardrobe and Imperial bed-chamber. They might direct, in a whiſper, the public counſels, and blaſt, by their malicious ſuggeſtions, the fame and fortunes of the moſt illuſtrious citizens; but they never preſumed to ſtand forward in the front of empire[4], or to profane the public honours of the ſtate. Eutropius was the firſt of his artificial ſex, who dared to aſſume the character of a Roman magiſtrate and general[5]. Sometimes, in the preſence of the bluſhing ſenate, he aſcended the tribunal, to pronounce judgment, or to repeat elaborate harangues; and ſometimes appeared on horſeback, at the head of his troops, in the dreſs and armour of a hero. The diſregard of cuſtom and decency always betrays a weak and ill-regulated mind; nor does Eutropius ſeem to have compenſated for the folly of the deſign, by any ſuperior merit

[4] After lamenting the progreſs of the eunuchs in the Roman palace, and defining their proper functions, Claudian adds,

——A fronte recedant
Imperii.

In Eutrop. i. 422.

Yet it does not appear that the eunuch had aſſumed any of the efficient offices of the empire; and he is ſtyled only Præpoſitus ſacri cubiculi, in the edict of his baniſhment. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 17.

[5] Jamque oblita ſui, nec ſobria divitiis mens
In miſeras leges hominumque negotia ludit:
Judicat eunuchus. . . . . .
Arma etiam violare parat. . . .

Claudian (i. 229—270.), with that mixture of indignation and humour, which always pleaſes in a ſatiric poet, deſcribes the inſolent folly of the eunuch, the diſgrace of the empire, and the joy of the Goths.

——Gaudet, cum viderit hoſtis,
Et ſentit jam deeſſe viros.

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or ability in the execution. His former habits of life had not introduced him to the ſtudy of the laws, or the exerciſes of the field; his awkward and unſucceſsful attempts provoked the ſecret contempt of the ſpectators; the Goths expreſſed their wiſh, that *ſuch* a general might always command the armies of Rome; and the name of the miniſter was branded with ridicule, more pernicious perhaps than hatred, to a public character. The ſubjects of Arcadius were exaſperated by the recollection, that this deformed and decrepid eunuch[6], who ſo perverſely mimicked the actions of a man, was born in the moſt abject condition of ſervitude; that, before he entered the Imperial palace, he had been ſucceſſively ſold, and purchaſed, by an hundred maſters, who had exhauſted his youthful ſtrength in every mean and infamous office, and at length diſmiſſed him, in his old age, to freedom and poverty[7]. While theſe diſgraceful ſtories were circulated, and perhaps exaggerated, in private converſations, the vanity of the favourite was flattered with the moſt extraordinary honours. In the ſenate, in the capital, in the provinces, the ſtatues of Eutropius were erected, in braſs or marble, decorated with the ſymbols of his civil and military virtues, and inſcribed with the pompous title of the third founder of Conſtantinople. He was promoted to the rank of *patrician*, which began to ſignify, in a popular, and even legal acceptation, the father of the

[6] The poet's lively deſcription of his deformity (i. 110—125.) is confirmed by the authentic teſtimony of Chryſoſtom (tom. iii. p. 384. edit. Montfaucon); who obſerves, that when the paint was waſhed away, the face of Eutropius appeared more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman. Claudian remarks (i. 469.), and the remark muſt have been founded on experience, that there was ſcarcely any interval between the youth and the decrepid age of an eunuch.

[7] Eutropius appears to have been a native of Armenia or Aſſyria. His three ſervices, which Claudian more particularly deſcribes, were theſe: 1. He ſpent many years as the catamite of Ptolemy, a groom or ſoldier of the Imperial ſtables. 2. Ptolemy gave him to the old general Arintheus, for whom he very ſkilfully exerciſed the profeſſion of a pimp. 3. He was given, on her marriage, to the daughter of Arintheus; and the future conſul was employed to comb her hair, to preſent the ſilver ewer, to waſh, and to fan his miſtreſs in hot weather. See l. i. 31—137.

emperor;

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emperor; and the laſt year of the fourth century was polluted by the *conſulſhip* of an eunuch and a ſlave. This ſtrange and inexpiable prodigy[8] awakened, however, the prejudices of the Romans. The effeminate conſul was rejected by the Weſt, as an indelible ſtain to the annals of the republic; and, without invoking the ſhades of Brutus and Camillus, the colleague of Eutropius, a learned and reſpectable magiſtrate[9], ſufficiently repreſented the different maxims of the two adminiſtrations.

His venality and injuſtice.

The bold and vigorous mind of Rufinus ſeems to have been actuated by a more ſanguinary and revengeful ſpirit; but the avarice of the eunuch was not leſs inſatiate than that of the præfect[10]. As long as he deſpoiled the oppreſſors, who had enriched themſelves with the plunder of the people, Eutropius might gratify his covetous diſpoſition without much envy or injuſtice: but the progreſs of his rapine ſoon invaded the wealth which had been acquired by lawful inheritance, or laudable induſtry. The uſual methods of extortion were practiſed and improved; and Claudian has ſketched a lively and original picture of the public auction of the ſtate. "The impotence of the eunuch" (ſays that agreeable ſatiriſt) "has ſerved only to ſtimulate his avarice; the ſame hand, which, in "his ſervile condition, was exerciſed in petty thefts, to unlock "the coffers of his maſter, now graſps the riches of the world;

[8] Claudian (l. i. in Eutrop. 1—22.), after enumerating the various prodigies of monſtrous births, ſpeaking animals, ſhowers of blood or ſtones, double ſuns, &c. adds, with ſome exaggeration,

Omnia ceſſerunt eunucho conſule monſtra.

The firſt book concludes with a noble ſpeech of the goddeſs of Rome to her favourite Honorius, deprecating the *new* ignominy to which ſhe was expoſed.

[9] Fl. Mallius Theodorus, whoſe civil honours, and philoſophical works, have been celebrated by Claudian in a very elegant panegyric.

[10] Μεθυων δε ηδη τω πλουτω, drunk with riches, is the forcible expreſſion of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 301.); and the avarice of Eutropius is equally execrated in the Lexicon of Suidas, and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Chryſoſtom had often admoniſhed the favourite, of the vanity and danger of immoderate wealth, tom. iii. p. 381.

"and

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" and this infamous broker of the empire appreciates and divides " the Roman provinces, from Mount Hæmus to the Tigris. One " man, at the expence of his villa, is made proconſul of Aſia; a " ſecond purchaſes Syria with his wife's jewels; and a third la- " ments, that he has exchanged his paternal eſtate for the govern- " ment of Bithynia. In the antichamber of Eutropius, a large tablet " is expoſed to public view, which marks the reſpective prices of " the provinces. The different value of Pontus, of Galatia, of Ly- " dia, is accurately diſtinguiſhed. Lycia may be obtained for ſo " many thouſand pieces of gold: but the opulence of Phrygia will " require a more conſiderable ſum. The eunuch wiſhes to obliterate, " by the general diſgrace, his perſonal ignominy; and as he has " been ſold himſelf, he is deſirous of ſelling the reſt of mankind. " In the eager contention, the balance, which contains the fate and " fortunes of the province, often trembles on the beam; and till " one of the ſcales is inclined, by a ſuperior weight, the mind of " the impartial judge remains in anxious ſuſpenſe [11]. Such" (continues the indignant poet) " are the fruits of Roman valour, of the defeat of " Antiochus, and of the triumph of Pompey." This venal proſtitution of public honours ſecured the impunity of *future* crimes; but the riches which Eutropius derived from confiſcation were *already* ſtained with injuſtice; ſince it was decent to accuſe, and to condemn, the proprietors of the wealth which he was impatient to confiſcate. Some noble blood was ſhed by the hand of the executioner; and the moſt inhoſpitable extremities of the empire were filled with innocent and illuſtrious exiles. Among the generals and conſuls of the Eaſt, Abundantius [12] had

[11] ——— certantum ſæpe duorum
Diverſum ſuſpendit onus: cum pondere Judex
Vergit, et in geminas nutat provincia lances.

Claudian (i. 192—209.) ſo curiouſly diſtinguiſhes the circumſtances of the ſale, that they all ſeem to allude to particular anecdotes.

[12] Claudian (i. 154—170.) mentions the *guilt* and exile of Abundantius, nor could he fail to quote the example of the artiſt, who made

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had reaſon to dread the firſt effects of the reſentment of Eutropius. He had been guilty of the unpardonable crime of introducing that abject ſlave to the palace of Conſtantinople: and ſome degree of praiſe muſt be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was ſatisfied with the diſgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was ſtripped of his ample fortunes by an Imperial reſcript, and baniſhed to Pityus, on the Euxine, the laſt frontier of the Roman world; where he ſubſiſted by the precarious mercy of the Barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile at Sidon in Phœnicia. The deſtruction of Timaſius[13] required a more ſerious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the maſter-general of the armies of Theodoſius, had ſignaliſed his valour by a deciſive victory, which he obtained over the Goths of Theſſaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his ſovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and deſigning flatterers. Timaſius had deſpiſed the public clamour, by promoting an infamous dependent to the command of a cohort; and he deſerved to feel the ingratitude of Bargus, who was ſecretly inſtigated by the favourite to accuſe his patron of a treaſonable conſpiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himſelf; and the principal eunuch ſtood by the ſide of the throne, to ſuggeſt the queſtions and anſwers of his ſovereign. But as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the farther

Ruin of Abundantius,

of Timaſius.

made the firſt trial of the brazen bull, which he preſented to Phalaris. See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 302. Jerom, tom. i. p. 26. The difference of place is eaſily reconciled; but the deciſive authority of Aſterius of Amaſia (Orat. iv. p. 76. apud Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 435.) muſt turn the ſcale in favour of Pityus.

[13] Suidas (moſt probably from the hiſtory of Eunapius) has given a very unfavourable picture of Timaſius. The account of his accuſer, the judges, trial, &c. is perfectly agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts. (See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 298, 299, 300.) I am almoſt tempted to quote the romance of a great maſter (Fielding's Works, vol. iv. p. 49, &c. 8vo edit.), which may be conſidered as the hiſtory of human nature.

inquiry

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inquiry into the crimes of Timaſius was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius; the former of conſular rank, the latter ſtill reſpected as the father-in-law of the emperor Valens. The appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt honeſty of Procopius; and he yielded with reluctance to the obſequious dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a ſentence of condemnation againſt the unfortunate Timaſius. His immenſe riches were confiſcated, in the name of the emperor, and for the benefit of the favourite; and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oaſis, a ſolitary ſpot in the midſt of the ſandy deſerts of Libya [14]. Secluded from all human converſe, the maſter-general of the Roman armies was loſt for ever to the world; but the circumſtances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is inſinuated, that Eutropius diſpatched a private order for his ſecret execution [15]. It was reported, that, in attempting to eſcape from Oaſis, he periſhed in the deſert of thirſt and hunger; and that his dead body was found on the ſands of Libya [16]. It has been aſſerted, with more confidence, that his ſon Syagrius, after ſucceſsfully eluding the purſuit of the agents and emiſſaries of the court, collected a band of African robbers; that he reſcued Timaſius from the place of his exile; and that both the father and the ſon diſappeared from the knowledge of mankind [17]. But the ungrateful Bargus, inſtead of being ſuffered to

[14] The great Oaſis was one of the ſpots in the ſands of Libya, watered with ſprings, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and palm-trees. It was about three days journey from north to ſouth, about half a day in breadth, and at the diſtance of about five days march to the weſt of Abydus, on the Nile. See d'Anville, Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 186, 187, 188. The barren deſert which encompaſſes Oaſis (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 300.) has ſuggeſted the idea of comparative fertility, and even the epithet of the *happy iſland* (Herodot. iii. 26.).

[15] The line of Claudian, in Eutrop. l. i. 180.

Marmaricus claris violatur cædibus Hammon,

evidently alludes to *his* perſuaſion of the death of Timaſius.

[16] Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. He ſpeaks from report, ως τινος επυθομην.

[17] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 300. Yet he ſeems to ſuſpect that this rumour was ſpread by the friends of Eutropius.

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poſſeſs the reward of guilt, was ſoon afterwards circumvented and deſtroyed, by the more powerful villany of the miniſter himſelf; who retained ſenſe and ſpirit enough to abhor the inſtrument of his own crimes.

A cruel and unjuſt law of treaſon, A. D. 397. September 4.

The public hatred, and the deſpair of individuals, continually threatened, or ſeemed to threaten, the perſonal ſafety of Eutropius; as well as of the numerous adherents, who were attached to his fortune, and had been promoted by his venal favour. For their mutual defence, he contrived the ſafeguard of a law, which violated every principle of humanity and juſtice [18]. I. It is enacted, in the name, and by the authority, of Arcadius, that all thoſe who ſhall conſpire, either with ſubjects, or with ſtrangers, againſt the lives of any of the perſons whom the emperor conſiders as the members of his own body, ſhall be puniſhed with death and confiſcation. This ſpecies of fictitious and metaphorical treaſon is extended to protect, not only the *illuſtrious* officers of the ſtate and army, who are admitted into the ſacred conſiſtory, but likewiſe the principal domeſtics of the palace, the ſenators of Conſtantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magiſtrates of the provinces; a vague and indefinite liſt, which, under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, included an obſcure and numerous train of ſubordinate miniſters. II. This extreme ſeverity might perhaps be juſtified, had it been only directed to ſecure the repreſentatives of the ſovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of Imperial dependents claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which ſcreened them, in the looſeſt moments of their lives, from the

[18] See the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. 14. ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis, leg. 3. and the Code of Juſtinian, l. ix. tit. viii. ad legem Juliam de Majeſtate, leg. 5. The alteration of the *title*, from murder to treaſon, was an improvement of the ſubtle Tribonian. Godefroy, in a formal diſſertation, which he has inſerted in his Commentary, illuſtrates this law of Arcadius, and explains all the difficult paſſages which had been perverted by the juriſconſults of the darker ages. See tom. iii. p. 88—111.

haſty,

haſty, perhaps the juſtifiable, reſentment of their fellow-citizens: and, by a ſtrange perverſion of the laws, the ſame degree of guilt and puniſhment was applied to a private quarrel, and to a deliberate conſpiracy againſt the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius moſt poſitively and moſt abſurdly declares, that in ſuch caſes of treaſon, *thoughts* and *actions* ought to be puniſhed with equal ſeverity; that the knowledge of a miſchievous intention, unleſs it be inſtantly revealed, becomes equally criminal with the intention itſelf [19]; and that thoſe raſh men, who ſhall preſume to ſolicit the pardon of traitors, ſhall themſelves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. "With regard to the ſons of the traitors" (continues the emperor), "although they ought to ſhare the puniſh-" ment, ſince they will probably imitate the guilt, of their parents; " yet by the ſpecial effect of our Imperial lenity, we grant them " their lives: but, at the ſame time, we declare them incapable of " inheriting, either on the father's or on the mother's ſide, or of " receiving any gift or legacy, from the teſtament either of kinſmen " or of ſtrangers. Stigmatiſed with hereditary infamy, excluded " from the hopes of honours or fortune, let them endure the pangs " of poverty and contempt, till they ſhall conſider life as a calamity, " and death as a comfort and relief." In ſuch words, ſo well adapted to inſult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law, which tranſferred the ſame unjuſt and inhuman penalties to the children of all thoſe who had ſeconded, or who had not diſcloſed, theſe fictitious conſpiracies. Some of the nobleſt regulations of Roman juriſpru-

[19] Bartolus underſtands a ſimple and naked conſciouſneſs, without any ſign of approbation or concurrence. For this opinion, ſays Baldus, he is now roaſting in hell. For my own part, continues the diſcreet Heineccius (Element. Jur. Civil. l. iv. p. 411.), I muſt approve the theory of Bartolus; but in practice I ſhould incline to the ſentiment of Baldus. Yet Bartolus was gravely quoted by the lawyers of Cardinal Richelieu; and Eutropius was indirectly guilty of the murder of the virtuous de Thou.

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dence have been ſuffered to expire; but this edict, a convenient and forcible engine of miniſterial tyranny, was carefully inſerted in the Codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian; and the ſame maxims have been revived in modern ages, to protect the electors of Germany, and the cardinals of the church of Rome [20].

Rebellion of Tribigild, A. D. 399.

Yet theſe ſanguinary laws, which ſpread terror among a diſarmed and diſpirited people, were of too weak a texture to reſtrain the bold enterpriſe of Tribigild [21] the Oſtrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodoſius in one of the moſt fertile diſtricts of Phrygia [22], impatiently compared the ſlow returns of laborious huſbandry, with the ſucceſsful rapine and liberal rewards of Alaric; and their leader reſented, as a perſonal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Conſtantinople. A ſoft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was aſtoniſhed by the ſound of war; and the faithful vaſſal, who had been diſregarded or oppreſſed, was again reſpected, as ſoon as he reſumed the hoſtile character of a Barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marſyas and the winding Mæander [23], were conſumed with fire; the decayed walls of the cities crumbled into duſt, at the firſt ſtroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants eſcaped from a bloody

[20] Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 89. It is, however, ſuſpected, that this law, ſo repugnant to the maxims of Germanic freedom, has been ſurreptitiouſly added to the golden bull.

[21] A copious and circumſtantial narrative (which he might have reſerved for more important events) is beſtowed by Zoſimus (l. v. p. 304—312.) on the revolt of Tribigild and Gainas. See likewiſe Socrates, l. vi. c. 6. and Sozomen, l. viii. c. 4. The ſecond book of Claudian againſt Eutropius, is a fine, though imperfect, piece of hiſtory.

[22] Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 237—250.) very accurately obſerves, that the ancient name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every ſide, till their limits were contracted by the colonies of the Bithynians of Thrace, of the Greeks, and at laſt of the Gauls. His deſcription (ii. 257—272.) of the fertility of Phrygia, and of the four rivers that produce gold, is juſt and picturesque.

[23] Xenophon. Anabaſis, l. i. p. 11, 12. edit. Hutchinſon. Strabo, l. xii. p. 865. edit. Amſtel. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1. Claudian compares the junction of the Marſyas and Mæander to that of the Saone and the Rhône; with this difference, however, that the ſmaller of the Phrygian rivers is not accelerated, but retarded, by the larger.

maſſacre

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maſſacre to the ſhores of the Helleſpont; and a conſiderable part of Aſia Minor was deſolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progreſs was checked by the reſiſtance of the peaſants of Pamphylia; and the Oſtrogoths, attacked in a narrow paſs, between the city of Selgæ [24], a deep moraſs, and the craggy clifts of Mount Taurus, were defeated with the loſs of their braveſt troops. But the ſpirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune; and his army was continually recruited by ſwarms of Barbarians and outlaws, who were deſirous of exerciſing the profeſſion of robbery, under the more honourable names of war and conqueſt. The rumours of the ſucceſs of Tribigild might for ſome time be ſuppreſſed by fear, or diſguiſed by flattery; yet they gradually alarmed both the court and the capital. Every misfortune was exaggerated in dark and doubtful hints; and the future deſigns of the rebels became the ſubject of anxious conjecture. Whenever Tribigild advanced into the inland country, the Romans were inclined to ſuppoſe that he meditated the paſſage of Mount Taurus, and the invaſion of Syria. If he deſcended towards the ſea, they imputed, and perhaps ſuggeſted, to the Gothic chief, the more dangerous project of arming a fleet in the harbours of Ionia, and of extending his depredations along the maritime coaſt, from the mouth of the Nile to the port of Conſtantinople. The approach of danger, and the obſtinacy of Tribigild, who refuſed all terms of accommodation, compelled Eutropius to ſummon a council of war [25]. After claiming for himſelf the privilege of a veteran ſoldier, the eunuch entruſted the guard of Thrace and

[24] Selgæ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians, had formerly numbered twenty thouſand citizens; but in the age of Zoſimus it was reduced to a πολιχνη, or ſmall town. See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 117.

[25] The council of Eutropius, in Claudian, may be compared to that of Domitian in the fourth ſatire of Juvenal. The principal members of the former were, juvenes protervi laſcivique ſenes; one of them had been a cook, a ſecond a woolcomber. The language of their original profeſſion expoſes their aſſumed dignity; and their trifling converſation about tragedies, dancers, &c. is made ſtill more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

the

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the Helleſpont to Gainas the Goth; and the command of the Aſiatic army to his favourite Leo; two generals, who differently, but effectually, promoted the cauſe of the rebels. Leo [26], who, from the bulk of his body, and the dulneſs of his mind, was ſurnamed the Ajax of the Eaſt, had deſerted his original trade of a woolcomber, to exerciſe, with much leſs ſkill and ſucceſs, the military profeſſion: and his uncertain operations were capriciouſly framed and executed, with an ignorance of real difficulties, and a timorous neglect of every favourable opportunity. The raſhneſs of the Oſtrogoths had drawn them into a diſadvantageous poſition between the rivers Melas and Eurymedon, where they were almoſt beſieged by the peaſants of Pamphylia; but the arrival of an Imperial army, inſtead of completing their deſtruction, afforded the means of ſafety and victory. Tribigild ſurpriſed the unguarded camp of the Romans, in the darkneſs of the night; ſeduced the faith of the greater part of the Barbarian auxiliaries, and diſſipated, without much effort, the troops, which had been corrupted by the relaxation of diſcipline, and the luxury of the capital. The diſcontent of Gainas, who had ſo boldly contrived and executed the death of Rufinus, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy ſucceſſor; he accuſed his own diſhonourable patience under the ſervile reign of an eunuch; and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at leaſt in the public opinion, of ſecretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domeſtic, as well as by a national, alliance [27]. When Gainas paſſed the Helleſpont, to unite under his ſtandard the remains of the Aſiatic troops, he ſkilfully adapted his motions to the wiſhes of the Oſtrogoths; abandoning, by his retreat, the country which

[26] Claudian (l. ii. 376—461) has branded him with infamy; and Zoſimus, in more temperate language, confirms his reproaches. L. v. p. 305.

[27] The *conſpiracy* of Gainas and Tribigild, which is atteſted by the Greek hiſtorian, had not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Oſtrogoth to his own *martial* ſpirit, and the advice of his wife.

they

they desired to invade; or facilitating, by his approach, the desertion of the Barbarian auxiliaries. To the Imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valour, the genius, the inexhaustible resources of Tribigild; confessed his own inability to prosecute the war; and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius, revealed the author and the design of this hostile conspiracy.

Fall of Eutropius, A. D. 399.

The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the partial and passionate censure of the Christian emperors, violates the dignity, rather than the truth, of history, by comparing the son of Theodosius to one of those harmless and simple animals, who scarcely feel that they are the property of their shepherd. Two passions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid soul of Arcadius: he was terrified by the threats of a victorious Barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to their father, implored his justice for some real or imaginary insult, which she imputed to the audacious eunuch [28]. The emperor's hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic spell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was instantly dissolved; and the acclamations, that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favourite, were converted into the clamours of the soldiers and people, who reproached his crimes, and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair, his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the church, whose privileges he had wisely, or profanely, attempted to circumscribe; and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of

[28] This anecdote, which Philostorgius alone has preserved (l. xi. c. 6. and Gothofred. Dissertat. p. 451—456.), is curious and important; since it connects the revolt of the Goths with the secret intrigues of the palace.

protecting

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protecting a proſtrate miniſter, whoſe choice had raiſed him to the eccleſiaſtical throne of Conſtantinople. The archbiſhop, aſcending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be diſtinctly ſeen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either ſex and of every age, pronounced a ſeaſonable and pathetic diſcourſe on the forgiveneſs of injuries, and the inſtability of human greatneſs. The agonies of the pale and affrighted wretch, who lay groveling under the table of the altar, exhibited a ſolemn and inſtructive ſpectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accuſed of inſulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might aſſuage the fury, of the people [29]. The powers of humanity, of ſuperſtition, and of eloquence, prevailed. The empreſs Eudoxia was reſtrained, by her own prejudices, or by thoſe of her ſubjects, from violating the ſanctuary of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of perſuaſion, and by an oath, that his life ſhould be ſpared [30]. Careleſs of the dignity of their ſovereign, the new miniſters of the palace immediately publiſhed an edict, to declare, that his late favourite had diſgraced the names of conſul and patrician, to aboliſh his ſtatues, to confiſcate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the iſland of Cyprus [31]. A deſpicable and decrepid

[29] See the Homily of Chryſoſtom, tom. iii. p. 381—386. of which the exordium is particularly beautiful. Socrates, l. vi. c. 5. Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. Montfaucon (in his Life of Chryſoſtom, tom. xiii. p. 135.) too haſtily ſuppoſes that Tribigild was *actually* in Conſtantinople; and that he commanded the ſoldiers who were ordered to ſeize Eutropius. Even Claudian, a Pagan poet (Præfat. ad l. ii. in Eutrop. 27.), has mentioned the flight of the eunuch to the ſanctuary.

Suppliciterque pias humilis proſtratus ad aras
Mitigat iratas voce tremente nurus.

[30] Chryſoſtom, in another homily (tom. iii. p. 386.), affects to declare, that Eutropius would not have been taken, had he not deſerted the church. Zoſimus (l. v. p. 313.) on the contrary pretends, that his enemies forced him (ἐξαφωσαντες αυτον) from the ſanctuary. Yet the promiſe is an evidence of ſome treaty; and the ſtrong aſſurance of Claudian (Præfat. ad l. ii. 46.),

Sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo,

may be conſidered as an evidence of ſome promiſe.

[31] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xi. leg. 14. The date of that law (Jan. 17, A. D. 399) is erroneous and corrupt; ſince the fall of Eutropius could not happen till the autumn of the ſame year. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 780.

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eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of ſolitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge ſtill envied him the laſt moments of a miſerable life, and Eutropius had no ſooner touched the ſhores of Cyprus, than he was haſtily recalled. The vain hope of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath, engaged the empreſs to transfer the ſcene of his trial and execution, from Conſtantinople to the adjacent ſuburb of Chalcedon. The conſul Aurelian pronounced the ſentence; and the motives of that ſentence expoſe the juriſprudence of a deſpotic government. The crimes which Eutropius had committed againſt the people, might have juſtified his death; but he was found guilty of harneſſing to his chariot the *ſacred* animals, who, from their breed, or colour, were reſerved for the uſe of the emperor alone [32].

Conſpiracy and fall of Gainas, A. D. 400.

While this domeſtic revolution was tranſacted, Gainas [33] openly revolted from his allegiance; united his forces, at Thyatira in Lydia, with thoſe of Tribigild; and ſtill maintained his ſuperior aſcendant over the rebellious leader of the Oſtrogoths. The confederate armies advanced, without reſiſtance, to the Streights of the Helleſpont, and the Boſphorus; and Arcadius was inſtructed to prevent the loſs of his Aſiatic dominions, by reſigning his authority and his perſon to the faith of the Barbarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, ſituate on a lofty eminence near Chalcedon [34], was choſen for the place of the interview. Gainas bowed, with reverence, at the feet of the emperor, whilſt he required the ſacrifice of Aurelian and

[32] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 313. Philoſtorgius, l. xi. c. 6.

[33] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 313—323.), Socrates (l. vi. c. 4.), Sozomen (l. viii. c. 4.), and Theodoret (l. v. c. 32, 33.), repreſent, though with ſome various circumſtances, the conſpiracy, defeat, and death of Gainas.

[34] Οσιας Ευφημιας μαρτυριον, is the expreſſion of Zoſimus himſelf (l. v. p. 314.), who inadvertently uſes the faſhionable language of the Chriſtians. Evagrius deſcribes (l. ii. c. 3.) the ſituation, architecture, relics, and miracles of that celebrated church, in which the general council of Chalcedon was afterwards held.

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Saturninus, two miniſters of conſular rank; and their naked necks were expoſed, by the haughty rebel, to the edge of the ſword, till he condeſcended to grant them a precarious and diſgraceful reſpite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately tranſported from Aſia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of maſter-general of the Roman armies, ſoon filled Conſtantinople with his troops, and diſtributed among his dependents, the honours and rewards of the empire. In his early youth, Gainas had paſſed the Danube as a ſuppliant, and a fugitive: his elevation had been the work of valour and fortune; and his indiſcreet, or perfidious conduct, was the cauſe of his rapid downfal. Notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the archbiſhop, he importunately claimed, for his Arian ſectaries, the poſſeſſion of a peculiar church; and the pride of the catholics was offended by the public toleration of hereſy [35]. Every quarter of Conſtantinople was filled with tumult and diſorder; and the Barbarians gazed with ſuch ardour on the rich ſhops of the jewellers, and the tables of the bankers, which were covered with gold and ſilver, that it was judged prudent to remove thoſe dangerous temptations from their ſight. They reſented the injurious precaution; and ſome alarming attempts were made, during the night, to attack and deſtroy with fire the Imperial palace [36]. In this ſtate of mutual and ſuſpicious hoſtility, the guards, and the people of Conſtantinople, ſhut the gates, and roſe in arms to prevent, or to puniſh, the conſpiracy of the Goths. During the abſence of Gainas, his troops were ſurpriſed and oppreſſed; ſeven thouſand Barbarians periſhed in this bloody

July 20.

[35] The pious remonſtrances of Chryſoſtom, which do not appear in his own writings, are ſtrongly urged by Theodoret; but his inſinuation, that they were ſucceſsful, is diſproved by facts. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. 383.) has diſcovered, that the emperor, to ſatisfy the rapacious demands of Gainas, was obliged to melt the plate of the church of the Apoſtles.

[36] The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who ſometimes guide, and ſometimes follow, the public opinion, moſt confidently aſſert, that the palace of Conſtantinople was guarded by legions of angels.

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maſſacre. In the fury of the purſuit, the catholics uncovered the roof, and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood, till they overwhelmed their adverſaries, who had retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent of the deſign, or too confident of his ſucceſs: he was aſtoniſhed by the intelligence, that the flower of his army had been ingloriouſly deſtroyed; that he himſelf was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman, Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had aſſumed the management of the war by ſea and land. The enterpriſes of the rebel, againſt the cities of Thrace, were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence: his hungry ſoldiers were ſoon reduced to the graſs that grew on the margin of the fortifications; and Gainas, who vainly regretted the wealth and luxury of Aſia, embraced a deſperate reſolution of forcing the paſſage of the Helleſpont. He was deſtitute of veſſels; but the woods of the Cherſoneſus afforded materials for rafts, and his intrepid Barbarians did not refuſe to truſt themſelves to the waves. But Fravitta attentively watched the progreſs of their undertaking. As ſoon as they had gained the middle of the ſtream, the Roman gallies[37], impelled by the full force, of oars, of the current, and of a favourable wind, ruſhed forwards in compact order, and with irreſiſtible weight; and the Helleſpont was covered with the fragments of the Gothic ſhipwreck. After the deſtruction of his hopes, and the loſs of many thouſands of his braveſt ſoldiers, Gainas, who could no longer aſpire to govern, or to ſubdue, the Romans, determined to reſume the independence of a ſavage life. A light and active body of Barbarian horſe, diſengaged from their infantry

December 23.

[37] Zoſimus (l. v. p. 319.) mentions theſe gallies by the name of *Liburnians*, and obſerves, that they were as ſwift (without explaining the difference between them) as the veſſels with fifty oars; but that they were far inferior in ſpeed to the *triremes*, which had been long diſuſed. Yet he reaſonably concludes, from the teſtimony of Polybius, that gallies of a ſtill larger ſize had been conſtructed in the Punic wars. Since the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire over the Mediterranean, the uſeleſs art of building large ſhips of war had probably been neglected, and at length forgotten.

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and baggage, might perform, in eight or ten days, a march of three hundred miles from the Helleſpont to the Danube [38]; the garriſons of that important frontier had been gradually annihilated; the river, in the month of December, would be deeply frozen; and the unbounded proſpect of Scythia was open to the ambition of Gainas. This deſign was ſecretly communicated to the national troops, who devoted themſelves to the fortunes of their leader; and before the ſignal of departure was given, a great number of provincial auxiliaries, whom he ſuſpected of an attachment to their native country, were perfidiouſly maſſacred. The Goths advanced, by rapid marches, through the plains of Thrace; and they were ſoon delivered from the fear of a purſuit, by the vanity of Fravitta, who, inſtead of extinguiſhing the war, haſtened to enjoy the popular applauſe, and to aſſume the peaceful honours of the conſulſhip. But a formidable ally appeared in arms to vindicate the majeſty of the empire, and to guard the peace and liberty of Scythia [39]. The ſuperior forces of Uldin, king of the Huns, oppoſed the progreſs of Gainas; an hoſtile and ruined country prohibited his retreat; he diſdained to capitulate; and after repeatedly attempting to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was ſlain, with his deſperate followers, in the field of battle. Eleven days after the naval victory of the Helleſpont, the head of Gainas, the ineſtimable gift of the conqueror, was received at Conſtantinople with the moſt liberal expreſſions of gratitude; and the public deliverance was celebrated by feſtivals and

A. D. 401, January 3.

[38] Chiſhull (Travels, p. 61—63. 72—76.) proceeded from Gallipoli, through Hadrianople, to the Danube, in about fifteen days. He was in the train of an Engliſh ambaſſador, whoſe baggage conſiſted of ſeventy-one waggons. That learned traveller has the merit of tracing a curious and unfrequented route.

[39] The narrative of Zoſimus, who actually leads Gainas beyond the Danube, muſt be corrected by the teſtimony of Socrates, and Sozomen, that he was killed in *Thrace*; and by the preciſe and authentic dates of the Alexandrian, or Paſchal, Chronicle, p. 307. The naval victory of the Helleſpont is fixed to the month Apellæus, the tenth of the calends of January (December 23.); the head of Gainas was brought to Conſtantinople the third of the nones of January (January 3.), in the month of Audynæus.

illuminations.

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illuminations. The triumphs of Arcadius became the ſubject of epic poems[40]; and the monarch, no longer oppreſſed by any hoſtile terrors, reſigned himſelf to the mild and abſolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia; who has ſullied her fame by the perſecution of St. John Chryſoſtom.

Election and merit of Chryſoſtom, A. D. 398. February 26.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the ſucceſſor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of Conſtantinople was diſtracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not aſhamed to ſolicit, with gold or flattery, the ſuffrage of the people, or of the favourite. On this occaſion, Eutropius ſeems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the ſuperior merit of a ſtranger. In a late journey into the Eaſt, he had admired the ſermons of John, a native and preſbyter of Antioch, whoſe name has been diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Chryſoſtom, or the Golden Mouth[41]. A private order was diſpatched to the governor of Syria; and as the people might be unwilling to reſign their favourite preacher, he was tranſported, with ſpeed and ſecrecy, in a poſt-chariot, from Antioch to Conſtantinople. The unanimous and unſolicited

[40] Euſebius Scholaſticus acquired much fame by his poem on the Gothic war, in which he had ſerved. Near forty years afterwards, Ammonius recited another poem on the ſame ſubject, in the preſence of the emperor Theodoſius. See Socrates, l. vi. c. 6.

[41] The ſixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth of Theodoret, afford curious and authentic materials for the life of John Chryſoſtom. Beſides thoſe general hiſtorians, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographers of the ſaint. 1. The author of a partial and paſſionate Vindication of the Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, compoſed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his zealous partiſan, Palladius, biſhop of Helenopolis (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 500—533.). It is inſerted among the works of Chryſoſtom, tom. xiii. p. 1—90. edit. Montfaucon. 2. The moderate Eraſmus (tom. iii. epiſt. MCL. p. 1331—1347. edit. Lugd. Bat.). His vivacity and good ſenſe were his own; his errors, in the uncultivated ſtate of eccleſiaſtical antiquity, were almoſt inevitable. 3. The learned Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſiaſtiques, tom. xi. p. 1—405. 547—626, &c. &c.); who compiles the lives of the ſaints with incredible patience, and religious accuracy. He has minutely ſearched the voluminous works of Chryſoſtom himſelf. 4. Father Montfaucon; who has peruſed thoſe works with the curious diligence of an editor, diſcovered ſeveral new homilies, and again reviewed and compoſed the life of Chryſoſtom (Opera Chryſoſtom. tom. xiii. p. 91—177.).

conſent

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conſent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the miniſter; and, both as a ſaint, and as an orator, the new archbiſhop ſurpaſſed the ſanguine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family, in the capital of Syria, Chryſoſtom had been educated, by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the moſt ſkilful maſters. He ſtudied the art of rhetoric in the ſchool of Libanius; and that celebrated ſophiſt, who ſoon diſcovered the talents of his diſciple, ingenuouſly confeſſed, that John would have deſerved to ſucceed him, had he not been ſtolen away by the Chriſtians. His piety ſoon diſpoſed him to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm; to renounce the lucrative and honourable profeſſion of the law; and to bury himſelf in the adjacent deſert, where he ſubdued the luſts of the fleſh by an auſtere pennance of ſix years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the ſociety of mankind; and the authority of Meletius devoted his talents to the ſervice of the church: but in the midſt of his family, and afterwards on the archiepiſcopal throne, Chryſoſtom ſtill perſevered in the practice of the monaſtic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predeceſſors had conſumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the eſtabliſhment of hoſpitals; and the multitudes, who were ſupported by his charity, preferred the eloquent and edifying diſcourſes of their archbiſhop, to the amuſements of the theatre, or the circus. The monuments of that eloquence, which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Conſtantinople, have been carefully preſerved; and the poſſeſſion of near one thouſand ſermons, or homilies, has authoriſed the critics[42] of ſucceeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chryſoſtom. They unanimouſly attribute to the Chriſtian

[42] As I am *almoſt* a ſtranger to the voluminous ſermons of Chryſoſtom, I have given my confidence to the two moſt judicious and moderate of the eccleſiaſtical critics, Eraſmus (tom. iii. p. 1344.), and Dupin (Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique, tom. iii. p. 38.): yet the good taſte of the former is ſometimes vitiated by an exceſſive love of antiquity; and the good ſenſe of the latter is always reſtrained by prudential conſiderations.

orator,

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orator, the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philoſophy; an inexhauſtible fund of metaphors and ſimilitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illuſtrate the moſt familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the paſſions in the ſervice of virtue; and of expoſing the folly, as well as the turpitude, of vice, almoſt with the truth and ſpirit of a dramatic repreſentation.

His adminiſtration and defects, A. D. 398—403.

The paſtoral labours of the archbiſhop of Conſtantinople provoked, and gradually united againſt him, two ſorts of enemies; the aſpiring clergy, who envied his ſucceſs, and the obſtinate ſinners, who were offended by his reproofs. When Chryſoſtom thundered, from the pulpit of St. Sophia, againſt the degeneracy of the Chriſtians, his ſhafts were ſpent among the crowd, without wounding, or even marking, the character of any individual. When he declaimed againſt the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a tranſient conſolation from his invectives; but the guilty were ſtill ſheltered by their numbers; and the reproach itſelf was dignified by ſome ideas of ſuperiority, and enjoyment. But as the pyramid roſe towards the ſummit, it inſenſibly diminiſhed to a point; and the magiſtrates, the miniſters, the favourite eunuchs, the ladies of the court[43], the empreſs Eudoxia herſelf, had a much larger ſhare of guilt, to divide among a ſmaller proportion of criminals. The perſonal applications of the audience were anticipated, or confirmed, by the teſtimony of their own conſcience; and the intrepid preacher aſſumed the dangerous right of expoſing both the offence, and the offender, to the

[43] The females of Conſtantinople diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their enmity or their attachment to Chryſoſtom. Three noble and opulent widows, Marſa, Caſtricia, and Eugraphia, were the leaders of the perſecution (Pallad. Dialog. tom. xiii. p. 14.). It was impoſſible that they ſhould forgive a preacher, who reproached their affectation to conceal, by the ornaments of dreſs, their age and uglineſs (Pallad. p. 27.). Olympias, by equal zeal, diſplayed in a more pious cauſe, has obtained the title of ſaint. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 416—440.

public

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public abhorrence. The ſecret reſentment of the court encouraged the diſcontent of the clergy and monks of Conſtantinople, who were too haſtily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbiſhop. He had condemned, from the pulpit, the domeſtic females of the clergy of Conſtantinople, who, under the name of ſervants, or ſiſters, afforded a perpetual occaſion either of ſin, or of ſcandal. The ſilent and ſolitary aſcetics, who had ſecluded themſelves from the world, were intitled to the warmeſt approbation of Chryſoſtom; but he deſpiſed and ſtigmatiſed, as the diſgrace of their holy profeſſion, the crowd of degenerate monks, who, from ſome unworthy motives of pleaſure or profit, ſo frequently infeſted the ſtreets of the capital. To the voice of perſuaſion, the archbiſhop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardour, in the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, was not always exempt from paſſion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chryſoſtom was naturally of a choleric diſpoſition[44]. Although he ſtruggled, according to the precepts of the goſpel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himſelf in the privilege of hating the enemies of God, and of the church; and his ſentiments were ſometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expreſſion. He ſtill maintained, from ſome conſiderations of health, or abſtinence, his former habits of taking his repaſts alone; and this inhoſpitable cuſtom[45], which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed, at leaſt, to nouriſh the infirmity of a moroſe and unſocial humour. Separated from that familiar intercourſe, which

[44] Sozomen, and more eſpecially Socrates, have defined the real character of Chryſoſtom with a temperate and impartial freedom, very offenſive to his blind admirers. Thoſe hiſtorians lived in the next generation, when party violence was abated, and had converſed with many perſons intimately acquainted with the virtues and imperfections of the ſaint.

[45] Palladius (tom. xiii. p. 40, &c.) very ſeriouſly defends the archbiſhop. 1. He never taſted wine. 2. The weakneſs of his ſtomach required a peculiar diet. 3. Buſineſs, or ſtudy, or devotion, often kept him faſting till ſun-ſet. 4. He deteſted the noiſe and levity of great dinners. 5. He ſaved the expence for the uſe of the poor. 6. He was apprehenſive, in a capital like Conſtantinople, of the envy and reproach of partial invitations.

facilitates

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facilitates the knowledge and the dispatch of business, he reposed an unsuspecting confidence in his deacon Serapion; and seldom applied his speculative knowledge of human nature to the particular characters, either of his dependents, or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his genius, the archbishop of Constantinople extended the jurisdiction of the Imperial city, that he might enlarge the sphere of his pastoral labours; and the conduct which the prophane imputed to an ambitious motive, appeared to Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces, he deposed thirteen bishops of Lydia and Phrygia; and indiscreetly declared, that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order [46]. If those bishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well-grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous associates of their guilt would soon discover, that their own safety depended on the ruin of the archbishop; whom they studied to represent as the tyrant of the Eastern church.

Chrysostom is persecuted by the empress Eudoxia, A. D. 403.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus [47], archbishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who displayed the fruits of rapine in monuments of ostentation. His national dislike to the rising greatness of a city, which degraded him from the second, to the third, rank, in the Christian world, was exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom himself [48]. By the private invitation of the empress, Theophilus landed at Constantinople,

[46] Chrysostom declares his free opinion (tom. ix. hom. iii. in Act. Apostol. p. 29.), that the number of bishops, who might be saved, bore a very small proportion to those who would be damned.

[47] See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xi. p. 441—500.

[48] I have purposely omitted the controversy which arose among the monks of Egypt, concerning Origenism and Antropomorphism; the dissimulation and violence of Theophilus; his artful management of the simplicity of Epiphanius; the persecution and flight of the *long*, or tall, brothers; the ambiguous support which they received at Constantinople from Chrysostom, &c. &c.

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with a ſtout body of Egyptian mariners, to encounter the populace; and a train of dependent biſhops, to ſecure, by their voices, the majority of a ſynod. The ſynod[49] was convened in the ſuburb of Chalcedon, ſurnamed the *Oak*, where Ruſinus had erected a ſtately church and monaſtery; and their proceedings were continued during fourteen days, or ſeſſions. A biſhop and a deacon accuſed the archbiſhop of Conſtantinople; but the frivolous or improbable nature of the forty-ſeven articles which they preſented againſt him, may juſtly be conſidered as a fair and unexceptionable panegyric. Four ſucceſſive ſummons were ſignified to Chryſoſtom; but he ſtill refuſed to truſt either his perſon, or his reputation, in the hands of his implacable enemies, who prudently declining the examination of any particular charges, condemned his contumacious diſobedience, and haſtily pronounced a ſentence of depoſition. The ſynod of the *Oak* immediately addreſſed the emperor to ratify and execute their judgment, and charitably inſinuated, that the penalties of treaſon might be inflicted on the audacious preacher, who had reviled, under the name of Jezabel, the empreſs Eudoxia herſelf. The archbiſhop was rudely arreſted, and conducted through the city, by one of the Imperial meſſengers, who landed him, after a ſhort navigation, near the entrance of the Euxine; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was glorioufly recalled.

Popular tumults at Conſtantinople.

The firſt aſtoniſhment of his faithful people had been mute and paſſive: they ſuddenly roſe with unanimous and irreſiſtible fury. Theophilus eſcaped; but the promiſcuous crowd of monks and Egyptian mariners was ſlaughtered without pity in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople[50].

A ſeaſonable

[49] Photius (p. 53—60.) has preſerved the original acts of the ſynod of the Oak; which deſtroy the falſe aſſertion, that Chryſoſtom was condemned by no more than thirty-ſix biſhops, of whom twenty-nine were Egyptians. Forty-five biſhops ſubſcribed his ſentence. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 595.

[50] Palladius owns (p. 30.), that if the people of Conſtantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the ſea. Socrates mentions (l. vi. c. 17.)

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A ſeaſonable earthquake juſtified the interpoſition of heaven; the torrent of ſedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the empreſs, agitated by fear, or remorſe, threw herſelf at the feet of Arcadius, and confeſſed, that the public ſafety could be purchaſed only by the reſtoration of Chryſoſtom. The Boſphorus was covered with innumerable veſſels; the ſhores of Europe and Aſia were profuſely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbiſhop; who, too eaſily, conſented to reſume the exerciſe of his functions, before his ſentence had been legally reverſed by the authority of an eccleſiaſtical ſynod. Ignorant, or careleſs, of the impending danger, Chryſoſtom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his reſentment; declaimed with peculiar aſperity againſt *female* vices; and condemned the profane honours which were addreſſed, almoſt in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the ſtatue of the empreſs. His imprudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty ſpirit of Eudoxia, by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a ſermon, "Herodias is again "furious; Herodias again dances; ſhe once more requires the head "of John:" an inſolent alluſion, which, as a woman and a ſovereign, it was impoſſible for her to forgive [51]. The ſhort interval of a perfidious truce was employed to concert more effectual meaſures for the diſgrace and ruin of the archbiſhop. A numerous council of the Eaſtern prelates, who were guided from a diſtance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the juſtice, of the former ſentence; and a detachment of Barbarian

c. 17.) a battle between the mob and the ſailors of Alexandria, in which many wounds were given, and ſome lives were loſt. The maſſacre of the monks is obſerved only by the Pagan Zoſimus (l. v. p. 324.), who acknowledges that Chryſoſtom had a ſingular talent to lead the illiterate multitude, ην γαρ ο ανηρ πιθανος ολιγον οχλον υπαγαγεσθαι θειος.

[51] See Socrates, l. vi. c. 18. Sozomen, l. viii. c. 20. Zoſimus (l. v. p. 324. 327.) mentions, in general terms, his invectives againſt Eudoxia. The homily, which begins with thoſe famous words, is rejected as ſpurious. Montfaucon, tom. xiii. p. 151. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 603.

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troops was introduced into the city, to ſuppreſs the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Eaſter, the ſolemn adminiſtration of baptiſm was rudely interrupted by the ſoldiers, who alarmed the modeſty of the naked catechumens, and violated, by their preſence, the awful myſteries of the Chriſtian worſhip. Arſacius occupied the church of St. Sophia, and the archiepiſcopal throne. The catholics retreated to the baths of Conſtantine, and afterwards to the fields: where they were ſtill purſued and inſulted by the guards, the biſhops, and the magiſtrates. The fatal day of the ſecond and final exile of Chryſoſtom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the ſenate-houſe, and of the adjacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed, without proof, but not without probability, to the deſpair of a perſecuted faction [52].

Exile of Chryſoſtom, A. D. 404, June 20.

Cicero might claim ſome merit, if his voluntary baniſhment preſerved the peace of the republic [53]; but the ſubmiſſion of Chryſoſtom was the indiſpenſable duty of a Chriſtian and a ſubject. Inſtead of liſtening to his humble prayer, that he might be permitted to reſide at Cyzicus, or Nicomedia, the inflexible empreſs aſſigned for his exile the remote and deſolate town of Cucuſus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Leſſer Armenia. A ſecret hope was entertained, that the archbiſhop might periſh in a difficult and dangerous march of ſeventy days in the heat of ſummer, through the provinces of Aſia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hoſtile attacks of the Iſaurians, and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chryſoſtom arrived in ſafety at the place of his confinement; and the three years, which he ſpent at Cucuſus, and the neighbouring

[52] We might naturally expect ſuch a charge from Zoſimus (l. v. p. 327.); but it is remarkable enough, that it ſhould be confirmed by Socrates, l. vi. c. 18. and the Paſchal Chronicle, p. 307.

[53] He diſplays thoſe ſpecious motives (Poſt Reditum, c. 13, 14.) in the language of an orator and a politician.

town

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town of Arabiſſus, were the laſt and moſt glorious of his life. His character was conſecrated by abſence and perſecution; the faults of his adminiſtration were no longer remembered; but every tongue repeated the praiſes of his genius and virtue: and the reſpectful attention of the Chriſtian world was fixed on a deſert ſpot among the mountains of Taurus. From that ſolitude, the archbiſhop, whoſe active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a ſtrict and frequent correſpondence [54] with the moſt diſtant provinces; exhorted the ſeparate congregation of his faithful adherents to perſevere in their allegiance; urged the deſtruction of the temples of Phœnicia, and the extirpation of hereſy in the iſle of Cyprus; extended his paſtoral care to the miſſions of Perſia and Scythia; negotiated, by his ambaſſadors, with the Roman pontiff, and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed, from a partial ſynod, to the ſupreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illuſtrious exile was ſtill independent; but his captive body was expoſed to the revenge of the oppreſſors, who continued to abuſe the name and authority of Arcadius [55]. An order was diſpatched for the inſtant removal of Chryſoſtom to the extreme deſert of Pityus; and his guards ſo faithfully obeyed their cruel inſtructions, that, before he reached the ſea-coaſt of the Euxine, he expired at Comana, in Pontus, in the ſixtieth year of his age. The ſucceeding generation acknow-

His death, A. D. 407, September 14.

[54] Two hundred and forty-two of the epiſtles of Chryſoſtom are ſtill extant (Opera, tom. iii. p. 528—736.). They are addreſſed to a great variety of perſons, and ſhew a firmneſs of mind, much ſuperior to that of Cicero in his exile. The fourteenth epiſtle contains a curious narrative of the dangers of his journey.

[55] After the exile of Chryſoſtom, Theophilus publiſhed an *enormous* and *horrible* volume againſt him, in which he perpetually repeats the polite expreſſions of hoſtem humanitatis, ſacrilegorum principem, immundum dæmonem; he affirms, that John Chryſoſtom had delivered his ſoul to be adulterated by the devil; and wiſhes that ſome farther puniſhment, adequate (if poſſible) to the magnitude of his crimes, may be inflicted on him. St. Jerom, at the requeſt of his friend Theophilus, tranſlated this edifying performance from Greek into Latin. See Facundus Hermian. Defenſ. pro iii Capitul. l. vi. c. 5. publiſhed by Sirmond, Opera, tom. ii. p. 595, 596, 597.

ledged

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ledged his innocence and merit. The archbiſhops of the Eaſt, who might bluſh, that their predeceſſors had been the enemies of Chryſoſtom, were gradually diſpoſed, by the firmneſs of the Roman pontiff, to reſtore the honours of that venerable name [56]. At the pious ſolicitation of the clergy and people of Conſtantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were tranſported from their obſcure ſepulchre to the royal city [57]. The emperor Theodoſius advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon; and, falling proſtrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveneſs of the injured ſaint [58].

His relics tranſported to Conſtantinople, A. D. 438, January 27.

Yet a reaſonable doubt may be entertained, whether any ſtain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his ſucceſſor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her paſſions, and deſpiſed her huſband: Count John enjoyed, at leaſt, the familiar confidence of the empreſs; and the public named him as the real father of Theodoſius the younger [59]. The birth of a ſon was accepted, however, by the pious huſband, as an event the moſt fortunate and honourable to himſelf, to his family, and to the eaſtern world: and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was inveſted with the titles of Cæſar and Auguſtus. In leſs than four years

The death of Arcadius, A. D. 408, May 1.

[56] His name was inſerted by his ſucceſſor Atticus in the Dyptics of the church of Conſtantinople, A. D. 418. Ten years afterwards he was revered as a ſaint. Cyril, who inherited the place, and the paſſions, of his uncle Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See Facund. Hermian. l. iv. c. 1. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 277—283.

[57] Socrates, l. vii. c. 45. Theodoret, l. v. c. 36. This event reconciled the Joannites, who had hitherto refuſed to acknowledge his ſucceſſors. During his lifetime, the Joannites were reſpected by the catholics, as the true and orthodox communion of Conſtantinople. Their obſtinacy gradually drove them to the brink of ſchiſm.

[58] According to ſome accounts (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 438, N° 9, 10.), the emperor was forced to ſend a letter of invitation and excuſes, before the body of the ceremonious ſaint could be moved from Comana.

[59] Zoſimus, l. v. p. 315. The chaſtity of an empreſs ſhould not be impeached without producing a witneſs; but it is aſtoniſhing, that the witneſs ſhould write and live under a prince, whoſe legitimacy he dared to attack. We muſt ſuppoſe that his hiſtory was a party libel, privately read and circulated by the Pagans. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 782.) is not averſe to brand the reputation of Eudoxia.

afterwards,

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afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was deſtroyed by the conſequences of a miſcarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy biſhop[60], who, amidſt the univerſal joy, had ventured to foretel, that ſhe ſhould behold the long and auſpicious reign of her glorious ſon. The catholics applauded the juſtice of heaven, which avenged the perſecution of St. Chryſoſtom; and perhaps the emperor was the only perſon who ſincerely bewailed the loſs of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domeſtic miſfortune afflicted *him* more deeply than the public calamities of the Eaſt[61]; the licentious excurſions, from Pontus to Paleſtine, of the Iſaurian robbers, whoſe impunity accuſed the weakneſs of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locuſts[62], which the popular diſcontent was equally diſpoſed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-firſt year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuſe that word) of thirteen years, three months, and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Conſtantinople. It is impoſſible to delineate his character; ſince, in a period very copiouſly furniſhed with hiſtorical materials, it has not been poſſible to remark one action that properly belongs to the ſon of the great Theodoſius.

His ſuppoſed teſtament.

The hiſtorian Procopius[63] has indeed illuminated the mind of the dying emperor with a ray of human prudence, or celeſtial wiſdom. Arcadius conſidered, with anxious foreſight, the helpleſs condition of his ſon Theodoſius, who was no more than ſeven years of age,

[60] Porphyry of Gaza. His zeal was tranſported by the order which he had obtained for the deſtruction of eight Pagan temples of that city. See the curious details of his life (Baronius, A.D. 401, N° 17—51.), originally written in Greek, or perhaps in Syriac, by a monk, one of his favourite deacons.

[61] Philoſtorg. l. xi. c. 8. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 457.

[62] Jerom (tom. vi. p. 73. 76.) deſcribes, in lively colours, the regular and deſtructive march of the locuſts, which ſpread a dark cloud, between heaven and earth, over the land of Paleſtine. Seaſonable winds ſcattered them, partly into the Dead Sea, and partly into the Mediterranean.

[63] Procopius, de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 2. p. 8. edit. Louvre.

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the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aſpiring ſpirit of Jezdegerd, the Perſian monarch. Inſtead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious ſubject, by the participation of ſupreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a ſolemn teſtament, the ſceptre of the Eaſt in the hands of Jezdegerd himſelf. The royal guardian accepted and diſcharged this honourable truſt with unexampled fidelity; and the infancy of Theodoſius was protected by the arms and councils of Perſia. Such is the ſingular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not diſputed by Agathias[64], while he preſumes to diſſent from his judgment, and to arraign the wiſdom of a Chriſtian emperor, who, ſo raſhly, though ſo fortunately, committed his ſon and his dominions to the unknown faith of a ſtranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the diſtance of one hundred and fifty years, this political queſtion might be debated in the court of Juſtinian; but a prudent hiſtorian will refuſe to examine the *propriety*, till he has aſcertained the *truth*, of the teſtament of Arcadius. As it ſtands without a parallel in the hiſtory of the world, we may juſtly require, that it ſhould be atteſted by the poſitive and unanimous evidence of contemporaries. The ſtrange novelty of the event, which excites our diſtruſt, muſt have attracted their notice; and their univerſal ſilence annihilates the vain tradition of the ſucceeding age.

Adminiſtration of Anthemius, A. D. 408—415.

The maxims of Roman juriſprudence, if they could fairly be tranſferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianſhip of his nephew, till he had attained, at leaſt, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakneſs of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, diſqualified him from proſecuting this natural claim; and ſuch was the abſolute ſepa-

[64] Agathias, l. iv. p. 136, 137. Although he confeſſes the prevalence of the tradition, he aſſerts, that Procopius was the firſt who had committed it to writing. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 597.) argues very ſenſibly on the merits of this fable. His criticiſm was not warped by any eccleſiaſtical authority: both Procopius and Agathias are half Pagans.

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ration of the two monarchies, both in intereſt and affection, that Conſtantinople would have obeyed, with leſs reluctance, the orders of the Perſian, than thoſe of the Italian, court. Under a prince, whoſe weakneſs is diſguiſed by the external ſigns of manhood and diſcretion, the moſt worthleſs favourites may ſecretly diſpute the empire of the palace; and dictate to ſubmiſſive provinces, the commands of a maſter, whom they direct and deſpiſe. But the miniſters of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the ſanction of the royal name, muſt acquire and exerciſe an independent authority. The great officers of the ſtate and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an ariſtocracy, which might have inſpired them with the idea of a free republic; and the government of the Eaſtern empire was fortunately aſſumed by the præfect Anthemius[65], who obtained, by his ſuperior abilities, a laſting aſcendant over the minds of his equals. The ſafety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmneſs ſuſtained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldin, with a formidable hoſt of Barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thrace; he proudly rejected all terms of accommodation; and, pointing to the riſing ſun, declared to the Roman ambaſſadors, that the courſe of that planet ſhould alone terminate the conqueſts of the Huns. But the deſertion of his confederates, who were privately convinced of the juſtice and liberality of the Imperial miniſters, obliged Uldin to repaſs the Danube: the tribe of the Scyrri, which compoſed his rear-guard, was almoſt extirpated; and many thouſand captives were diſperſed, to cultivate, with ſervile labour, the

[65] Socrates, l. vii. c. 1. Anthemius was the grandſon of Philip, one of the miniſters of Conſtantius, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthemius. After his return from the Perſian embaſſy, he was appointed conſul and Prætorian præfect of the Eaſt, in the year 405; and held the præfecture about ten years. See his honours and praiſes in Godefroy, Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 350. Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 1, &c.

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fields of Aſia [66]. In the midſt of the public triumph, Conſtantinople was protected by a ſtrong incloſure of new and more extenſive walls; the ſame vigilant care was applied to reſtore the fortifications of the Illyrian cities; and a plan was judiciouſly conceived, which, in the ſpace of ſeven years, would have ſecured the command of the Danube, by eſtabliſhing on that river a perpetual fleet of two hundred and fifty armed veſſels [67].

Character and adminiſtration of Pulcheria, A. D. 414—453.

But the Romans had ſo long been accuſtomed to the authority of a monarch, that the firſt, even among the females, of the Imperial family, who diſplayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to aſcend the vacant throne of Theodoſius. His ſiſter Pulcheria [68], who was only two years older than himſelf, received, at the age of ſixteen, the title of *Auguſta*; and though her favour might be ſometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, ſhe continued to govern the Eaſtern empire near forty years; during the long minority of her brother, and after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal huſband. From a motive, either of prudence, or religion, ſhe embraced a life of celibacy; and notwithſtanding ſome aſperſions on the chaſtity of Pulcheria [69], this reſolution, which ſhe communicated to her ſiſters Arcadia and Marina, was celebrated by the Chriſtian world, as the ſublime effort of heroic piety. In the preſence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius [70] dedicated their virginity to God; and the obligation of

[66] Sozomen, l. ix. c. 5. He ſaw ſome Scyrri at work near Mount Olympus, in Bithynia, and cheriſhed the vain hope that thoſe captives were the laſt of the nation.

[67] Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xvii. l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 49.

[68] Sozomen has filled three chapters with a magnificent panegyric of Pulcheria (l. ix. c. 1, 2, 3.); and Tillemont (Memoires Eccleſ. tom. xv. p. 171—184.) has dedicated a ſeparate article to the honour of St. Pulcheria, virgin, and empreſs.

[69] Suidas (Excerpta, p. 68. in Script. Byzant.) pretends, on the credit of the Neſtorians, that Pulcheria was exaſperated againſt their founder, becauſe he cenſured her connection with the beautiful Paulinus, and her inceſt with her brother Theodoſius.

[70] See Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 70. Flaccilla, the eldeſt daughter, either died before

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of their ſolemn vow was inſcribed on a tablet of gold and gems; which they publicly offered in the great church of Conſtantinople. Their palace was converted into a monaſtery; and all males, except the guides of their conſcience, the ſaints who had forgotten the diſtinction of ſexes, were ſcrupulouſly excluded from the holy threſhold. Pulcheria, her two ſiſters, and a choſen train of favourite damſels, formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dreſs; interrupted, by frequent faſts, their ſimple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery; and devoted ſeveral hours of the day and night to the exerciſes of prayer and pſalmody. The piety of a Chriſtian virgin was adorned by the zeal and liberality of an empreſs. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory deſcribes the ſplendid churches, which were built at the expence of Pulcheria, in all the provinces of the Eaſt; her charitable foundations for the benefit of ſtrangers and the poor; the ample donations which ſhe aſſigned for the perpetual maintenance of monaſtic ſocieties; and the active ſeverity with which ſhe laboured to ſuppreſs the oppoſite hereſies of Neſtorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were ſuppoſed to deſerve the peculiar favour of the Deity; and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in viſions and revelations to the Imperial ſaint[71]. Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and ſhe alone, among all the deſcendants of the great Theodoſius, appears to have inherited any ſhare of his manly

before Arcadius, or if *ſhe* lived till the year 431 (Marcellin. Chron.), ſome defect of mind or body muſt have excluded her from the honours of her rank.

[71] She was admoniſhed, by repeated dreams, of the place where the relics of the forty martyrs had been buried. The ground had ſucceſſively belonged to the houſe and garden of a woman of Conſtantinople, to a monaſtery of Macedonian monks, and to a church of St. Thyrſus, erected by Cæſarius, who was conſul A. D. 397; and the memory of the relics was almoſt obliterated. Notwithſtanding the charitable wiſhes of Dr. Jortin (Remarks, tom. iv. p. 234.), it is not eaſy to acquit Pulcheria of ſome ſhare in the pious fraud; which muſt have been tranſacted, when ſhe was more than five-and-thirty years of age.

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ſpirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar uſe which ſhe had acquired, both of the Greek and Latin languages, was readily applied to the various occaſions of ſpeaking, or writing, on public buſineſs: her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions were prompt and deciſive; and, while ſhe moved without noiſe or oſtentation the wheel of government, ſhe diſcreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor, the long tranquillity of his reign. In the laſt years of his peaceful life, Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extenſive provinces of Aſia ſtill continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repoſe. Theodoſius the younger was never reduced to the diſgraceful neceſſity of encountering and puniſhing a rebellious ſubject: and ſince we cannot applaud the vigour, ſome praiſe may be due to the mildneſs, and proſperity, of the adminiſtration of Pulcheria.

Education and character of Theodoſius the younger.

The Roman world was deeply intereſted in the education of its maſter. A regular courſe of ſtudy and exerciſe was judiciouſly inſtituted; of the military exerciſes of riding, and ſhooting with the bow; of the liberal ſtudies of grammar, rhetoric, and philoſophy: the moſt ſkilful maſters of the Eaſt ambitiouſly ſolicited the attention of their royal pupil; and ſeveral noble youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendſhip. Pulcheria alone diſcharged the important taſk of inſtructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precepts may countenance ſome ſuſpicion of the extent of her capacity, or of the purity of her intentions. She taught him to maintain a grave and majeſtic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to ſeat himſelf on his throne, in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abſtain from laughter; to liſten with condeſcenſion; to return ſuitable anſwers; to aſſume, by turns, a ſerious or a placid countenance; in a word, to repreſent with grace and dignity the external figure of a Roman emperor. But

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Theodoſius [72] was never excited to ſupport the weight and glory of an illuſtrious name; and, inſtead of aſpiring to imitate his anceſtors, he degenerated (if we may preſume to meaſure the degrees of incapacity) below the weakneſs of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been aſſiſted by the guardian care of a parent, whoſe leſſons were enforced by his authority, and example. But the unfortunate prince, who is born in the purple, muſt remain a ſtranger to the voice of truth; and the ſon of Arcadius was condemned to paſs his perpetual infancy, encompaſſed only by a ſervile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leiſure, which he acquired by neglecting the eſſential duties of his high office, was filled by idle amuſements, and unprofitable ſtudies. Hunting was the only active purſuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he moſt aſſiduouſly laboured, ſometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the elegance with which he tranſcribed religious books, entitled the Roman emperor to the ſingular epithet of *Calligraphes*, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodoſius truſted the perſons whom he loved; he loved thoſe who were accuſtomed to amuſe and flatter his indolence; and as he never peruſed the papers that were preſented for the royal ſignature, the acts of injuſtice the moſt repugnant to his character, were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himſelf was chaſte, temperate, liberal, and merciful; but theſe qualities, which

[72] There is a remarkable difference between the two eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who in general bear ſo cloſe a reſemblance. Sozomen (l. ix. c. 1.) aſcribes to Pulcheria the government of the empire, and the education of her brother; whom he ſcarcely condeſcends to praiſe. Socrates, though he affectedly diſclaims all hopes of favour or fame, compoſes an elaborate panegyric on the emperor, and cautiouſly ſuppreſſes the merits of his ſiſter (l. vii. c. 22. 42.). Philoſtorgius (l. xii. c. 7.) expreſſes the influence of Pulcheria in gentle and courtly language, τας βασιλικας σημειωσεις υπηρετουμενη και διευθυνουσα. Suidas (Excerpt. p. 53.) gives a true character of Theodoſius; and I have followed the example of Tillemont (tom. vi. p. 25.), in borrowing ſome ſtrokes from the modern Greeks.

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can only deſerve the name of virtues, when they are ſupported by courage, and regulated by diſcretion, were ſeldom beneficial, and they ſometimes proved miſchievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppreſſed, and degraded, by abject ſuperſtition: he faſted, he ſung pſalms, he blindly accepted the miracles and doctrines, with which his faith was continually nouriſhed. Theodoſius devoutly worſhipped the dead and living ſaints of the Catholic church; and he once refuſed to eat, till an inſolent monk, who had caſt an excommunication on his ſovereign, condeſcended to heal the ſpiritual wound which he had inflicted[73].

Character and adventures of the empreſs Eudocia, A. D. 421—460.

The ſtory of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the Imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance, if ſuch a romance had not been verified in the marriage of Theodoſius. The celebrated Athenais[74] was educated by her father Leontius in the religion and ſciences of the Greeks; and ſo advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philoſopher entertained of his contemporaries, that he divided his patrimony between his two ſons, bequeathing to his daughter a ſmall legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and merit would be a ſufficient portion. The jealouſy and avarice of her brothers ſoon compelled Athenias to ſeek a refuge at Conſtantinople; and, with ſome hopes, either of juſtice, or favour, to throw herſelf at the feet of Pulcheria. That ſagacious princeſs liſtened to her elo-

[73] Theodoret, l. v. c. 37. The biſhop of Cyrrhus, one of the firſt men of his age for his learning and piety, applauds the obedience of Theodoſius to the divine laws.

[74] Socrates (l. vii. c. 21.) mentions her name (Athenais, the daughter of Leontius, an Athenian ſophiſt), her baptiſm, marriage, and poetical genius. The moſt ancient account of her hiſtory is in John Malala (part ii. p. 20, 21. edit. Venet. 1743), and in the Paſchal Chronicle (p. 311, 312.). Thoſe authors had probably ſeen original pictures of the empreſs Eudocia. The modern Greeks, Zonaras, Cedrenus, &c. have diſplayed the love, rather than the talent, of fiction. From Nicephorus, indeed, I have ventured to aſſume her age. The writer of a romance would not have *imagined*, that Athenais was near twenty-eight years old when ſhe inflamed the heart of a young emperor.

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quent complaint; and ſecretly deſtined the daughter of the philoſopher Leontius for the future wife of the emperor of the Eaſt, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She eaſily excited the curioſity of her brother, by an intereſting picture of the charms of Athenais; large eyes, a well-proportioned noſe, a fair complexion, golden locks, a ſlender perſon, a graceful demeanour, an underſtanding improved by ſtudy, and a virtue tried by diſtreſs. Theodoſius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his ſiſter, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin: the modeſt youth immediately declared his pure and honourable love; and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidſt the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was eaſily perſuaded to renounce the errors of Paganiſm, received at her baptiſm the Chriſtian name of Eudocia; but the cautious Pulcheria withheld the title of Auguſta, till the wife of Theodoſius had approved her fruitfulneſs by the birth of a daughter, who eſpouſed, fifteen years afterwards, the emperor of the Weſt. The brothers of Eudocia obeyed, with ſome anxiety, her Imperial ſummons; but, as ſhe could eaſily forgive their fortunate unkindneſs, ſhe indulged the tenderneſs, or perhaps the vanity, of a ſiſter, by promoting them to the rank of conſuls and præfects. In the luxury of the palace, ſhe ſtill cultivated thoſe ingenuous arts which had contributed to her greatneſs; and wiſely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion, and of her huſband. Eudocia compoſed a poetical paraphraſe of the firſt eight books of the Old Teſtament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zachariah; a cento of the verſes of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Chriſt, the legend of St. Cyprian, and a panegyric on the Perſian victories of Theodoſius: and her writings, which were applauded by a ſervile and ſuperſtitious age, have not been diſdained by the candour of impartial criticiſm[73]. The fondneſs of the emperor was not abated by time

[73] Socrates, l. vii. c. 21. Photius, p. 413—420. The Homeric cento is ſtill extant, and has been repeatedly printed; but the claim of Eudocia to that inſipid performance is

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time and poſſeſſion; and Eudocia, after the marriage of her daughter, was permitted to diſcharge her grateful vows by a ſolemn pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. Her oſtentatious progreſs through the Eaſt may ſeem inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of Chriſtian humility: ſhe pronounced, from a throne of gold and gems, an eloquent oration to the ſenate of Antioch, declared her royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, beſtowed a donative of two hundred pounds of gold to reſtore the public baths, and accepted the ſtatues, which were decreed by the gratitude of Antioch. In the Holy Land, her alms and pious foundations exceeded the munificence of the great Helena; and though the public treaſure might be impoveriſhed by this exceſſive liberality, ſhe enjoyed the conſcious ſatisfaction of returning to Conſtantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an undoubted picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke [76]. But this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia. Satiated with empty pomp, and unmindful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, ſhe ambitiouſly aſpired to the government of the Eaſtern empire: the palace was diſtracted by female diſcord; but the victory was at laſt decided, by the ſuperior aſcendant of the ſiſter of Theodoſius. The execution of Paulinus, maſter of the offices, and the diſgrace of Cyrus, Prætorian præfect of the Eaſt, convinced the public, that the favour of Eudocia was inſufficient to protect her moſt faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of Paulinus encouraged the ſecret rumour, that his guilt was that of a ſucceſsful lover [77]. As ſoon as the empreſs perceived that the affection of The-

is diſputed by the critics. See Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. i. p. 357. The *Ionia*, a miſcellaneous dictionary of hiſtory and fable, was compiled by another empreſs of the name of Eudocia, who lived in the eleventh century; and the work is ſtill extant in manuſcript.

[76] Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 438, 439) is copious and florid; but he is accuſed of placing the lies of different ages on the ſame level of authenticity.

[77] In this ſhort view of the diſgrace of Eudocia, I have imitated the caution of Evagrius (l. i. c. 21.), and count Marcellinus (in Chron. A. D. 440 and 444). The two authentic dates aſſigned by the latter, overturn a great part of the Greek fictions; and the celebrated ſtory of the *apple*, &c. is fit only for the Arabian Nights, where ſomething not very unlike it may be found.

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odoſius was irretrievably loſt, ſhe requeſted the permiſſion of retiring to the diſtant ſolitude of Jeruſalem. She obtained her requeſt; but the jealouſy of Theodoſius, or the vindictive ſpirit of Pulcheria, purſued her in her laſt retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domeſtics, was directed to puniſh with death two eccleſiaſtics, her moſt favoured ſervants. Eudocia inſtantly revenged them by the aſſaſſination of the count: the furious paſſions, which ſhe indulged on this ſuſpicious occaſion, ſeemed to juſtify the ſeverity of Theodoſius; and the empreſs, ignominiouſly ſtript of the honours of her rank [78], was diſgraced, perhaps unjuſtly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about ſixteen years, was ſpent in exile and devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodoſius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was led a captive from Rome to Carthage, and the ſociety of the Holy Monks of Paleſtine, inſenſibly confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the viciſſitudes of human life, the daughter of the philoſopher Leontius expired, at Jeruſalem, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of her age; proteſting with her dying breath, that ſhe had never tranſgreſſed the bounds of innocence and friendſhip [79].

The Perſian war, A. D. 422.

The gentle mind of Theodoſius was never inflamed by the ambition of conqueſt, or military renown; and the ſlight alarm of a Perſian war ſcarcely interrupted the tranquillity of the Eaſt. The motives of this war were juſt and honourable. In the laſt year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the ſuppoſed guardian of Theodoſius, a

[78] Priſcus (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 69.), a contemporary, and a courtier, dryly mentions her Pagan and Chriſtian names, without adding any title of honour or reſpect.

[79] For the *two* pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long reſidence at Jeruſalem, her devotion, alms, &c. ſee Socrates (l. vii. c. 47.) and Evagrius (l. i. c. 20, 21, 22.). The Paſchal Chronicle may ſometimes deſerve regard; and, in the domeſtic hiſtory of Antioch, John Malala becomes a writer of good authority. The Abbé Guenée, in a memoir on the fertility of Paleſtine, of which I have only ſeen an extract, calculates the gifts of Eudocia at 20,488 pounds of gold, above 800,000 pounds ſterling.

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biſhop, who aſpired to the crown of martyrdom, deſtroyed one of the fire-temples of Suſa [80]. His zeal and obſtinacy were revenged on his brethren: the Magi excited a cruel perſecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jezdegerd was imitated by his ſon Varanes, or Bahram, who ſoon afterwards aſcended the throne. Some Chriſtian fugitives, who eſcaped the Roman frontier, were ſternly demanded, and generouſly refuſed: and the refuſal, aggravated by commercial diſputes, ſoon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia, and the plains or Meſopotamia, were filled with hoſtile armies; but the operations of two ſucceſſive campaigns were not productive of any deciſive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, ſome towns were beſieged, with various and doubtful ſucceſs; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long loſt poſſeſſion of Niſibis, the Perſians were repulſed from the walls of a Meſopotamian city, by the valour of a martial biſhop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Thomas the Apoſtle. Yet the ſplendid victories, which the incredible ſpeed of the meſſenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Conſtantinople, were celebrated with feſtivals and panegyrics. From theſe panegyrics the hiſtorians [81] of the age might borrow their extraordinary, and, perhaps, fabulous, tales; of the proud challenge of a Perſian hero, who was entangled by the net, and diſpatched by the ſword, of Areobindus the Goth; of the ten thouſand *Immortals*, who were ſlain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thouſand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic terror to throw themſelves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events

[80] Theodoret, l. v. c. 39. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 356—364. Aſſemanni, Bibl. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 396. tom. iv. p. 61. Theodoret blames the raſhneſs of Abdas, but extols the conſtancy of his martyrdom. Yet I do not clearly underſtand the caſuiſtry which prohibits our repairing the damage which we have unlawfully committed.

[81] Socrates (l. vii. c. 18, 19, 20, 21.) is the beſt author for the Perſian war. We may likewiſe conſult the three Chronicles, the Paſchal, and thoſe of Marcellinus and Malala.

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may be disbelieved, or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acacius of Amida, whose name might have dignified the saintly calendar, shall not be lost in oblivion. Boldly declaring, that vases of gold and silver are useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amida; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and dismissed them to their native country, to inform their king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midst of war must always tend to assuage the animosity of contending nations; and I wish to persuade myself, that Acacius contributed to the restoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign, by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power; when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch, who was yet ignorant of this distant war. A truce of one hundred years was solemnly ratified; and, although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near fourscore years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.

Armenia divided between the Persians and the Romans, A. D. 431—440.

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia [82] was alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors; and in the course of this History, several events, which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Arme-

[82] This account of the ruin and division of the kingdom of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene. Deficient as he is in every qualification of a good historian, his local information, his passions, and his prejudices, are strongly expressive of a native and contemporary. Procopius (de Edificiis, l. iii. c. i. 5.) relates the same facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumstances the most probable in themselves, and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene.

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nia to the ambition of Sapor; and the ſcale of Perſia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arſaces impatiently ſubmitted to the houſe of Saſſan; the turbulent nobles aſſerted, or betrayed, their hereditary independence; and the nation was ſtill attached to the *Chriſtian* princes of Conſtantinople. In the beginning of the fifth century, Armenia was divided by the progreſs of war and faction [83]; and the unnatural diviſion precipitated the downfal of that ancient monarchy. Choſroes, the Perſian vaſſal, reigned over the Eaſtern and moſt extenſive portion of the country; while the Weſtern province acknowledged the juriſdiction of Arſaces, and the ſupremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arſaces, the Romans ſuppreſſed the regal government, and impoſed on their allies the condition of ſubjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier; the city of Theodoſiopolis [84] was built and fortified in a ſtrong ſituation, on a fertile and lofty ground, near the ſources of the Euphrates; and the dependent territories were ruled by five ſatraps, whoſe dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The leſs fortunate nobles, who lamented the loſs of their king, and envied the honours of their equals, were provoked to negotiate their peace and pardon at the Perſian court; and returning, with their followers, to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Choſroes for their lawful ſovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artaſires, the nephew and ſucceſſor of Choſroes, fell under the diſpleaſure of the haughty and capricious

[83] The weſtern Armenians uſed the Greek language and characters in their religious offices; but the uſe of that hoſtile tongue was prohibited by the Perſians in the eaſtern provinces, which were obliged to uſe the Syriac, till the invention of the Armenian letters by Meſrobes, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the ſubſequent verſion of the Bible into the Armenian language; an event which relaxed the connection of the church and nation with Conſtantinople.

[84] Moſes Choren. l. iii. c. 59. p. 309. and p. 358. Procopius, de Edificiis, l. iii. c. 5. Theodoſiopolis ſtands, or rather ſtood, about thirty-five miles to the eaſt of Arzeroum, the modern capital of Turkiſh Armenia. See d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 99, 100.

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nobles of Armenia; and they unanimouſly deſired a Perſian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The anſwer of the archbiſhop Iſaac, whoſe ſanction they earneſtly ſolicited, is expreſſive of the character of a ſuperſtitious people. He deplored the manifeſt and inexcuſable vices of Artaſires; and declared that he ſhould not heſitate to accuſe him before the tribunal of a Chriſtian emperor, who would puniſh, without deſtroying, the ſinner. "Our king," continued Iſaac, "is too much addicted to licentious pleaſures, but "he has been purified in the holy waters of baptiſm. He is a lover "of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He "may deſerve the reproach of lewdneſs, but he is an undoubted "Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious. "I will never conſent to abandon my ſheep to the rage of devouring "wolves; and you would ſoon repent your raſh exchange of the "infirmities of a believer, for the ſpecious virtues of an heathen [85]." Exaſperated by the firmneſs of Iſaac, the factious nobles accuſed both the king and the archbiſhop as the ſecret adherents of the emperor; and abſurdly rejoiced in the ſentence of condemnation, which, after a partial hearing, was ſolemnly pronounced by Bahram himſelf. The deſcendants of Arſaces were degraded from the royal dignity [86], which they had poſſeſſed above five hundred and ſixty years [87]; and the dominions of the unfortunate Artaſires, under the new and ſig-

[85] Moſes Choren. l. iii. c. 63. p. 316. According to the inſtitution of St. Gregory the apoſtle of Armenia, the archbiſhop was always of the royal family; a circumſtance, which, in ſome degree, corrected the influence of the ſacerdotal character, and united the mitre with the crown.

[86] A branch of the royal houſe of Arſaces ſtill ſubſiſted, with the rank and poſſeſſions (as it ſhould ſeem) of Armenian ſatraps. See Moſes Choren. l. iii. c. 65. p. 321.

[87] Valarſaces was appointed king of Armenia by his brother the Parthian monarch, immediately after the defeat of Antiochus Sidetes (Moſes Choren. l. ii. c. 2. p. 85.), one hundred and thirty years before Chriſt. Without depending on the various and contradictory periods of the reigns of the laſt kings, we may be aſſured, that the ruin of the Armenian kingdom happened after the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 431 (l. iii. c. 61. p. 312.); and under Veramus, or Bahram, king of Perſia (l. iii. c. 64. p. 317.), who reigned from A. D. 420 to 440. See Aſſemanni, Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 396.

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nificant appellation of Perſarmenia, were reduced into the form of a province. This uſurpation excited the jealouſy of the Roman government; but the riſing diſputes were ſoon terminated by an amicable, though unequal, partition of the ancient kingdom of Armenia; and a territorial acquiſition, which Auguſtus might have deſpiſed, reflected ſome luſtre on the declining empire of the younger Theodoſius.

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Death of Honorius.—Valentinian III. *Emperor of the Eaſt.—Adminiſtration of his Mother Placidia.—Ætius and Boniface.—Conqueſt of Africa by the Vandals.*

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Laſt years and death of Honorius, A. D. 423, Auguſt 27.

DURING a long and diſgraceful reign of twenty-eight years, Honorius, emperor of the Weſt, was ſeparated from the friendſhip of his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who reigned over the Eaſt; and Conſtantinople beheld, with apparent indifference and ſecret joy, the calamities of Rome. The ſtrange adventures of Placidia [1] gradually renewed, and cemented, the alliance of the two empires. The daughter of the great Theodoſius had been the captive and the queen of the Goths: ſhe loſt an affectionate huſband; ſhe was dragged in chains by his inſulting aſſaſſin; ſhe taſted the pleaſure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for ſix hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new perſecution in the boſom of her family. She was averſe to a marriage, which had been ſtipulated without her conſent; and the brave Conſtantius, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquiſhed, received, from the hand of Honorius himſelf, the ſtruggling and reluctant hand of the widow of Adolphus. But her reſiſtance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials: nor did Placidia refuſe to become the mother of Honoria and Valentinian the third, or to aſſume and exerciſe an abſolute dominion over the mind of her grateful huſband. The generous ſoldier, whoſe time had hitherto been divided between ſocial pleaſure and military ſervice, was taught new leſſons of avarice and ambition:

[1] See p. 252—268.

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ambition: he extorted the title of Auguſtus; and the ſervant of Honorius was aſſociated to the empire of the Weſt. The death of Conſtantius, in the ſeventh month of his reign, inſtead of diminiſhing, ſeemed to increaſe, the power of Placidia; and the indecent familiarity [a] of her brother, which might be no more than the ſymptoms of a childiſh affection, was univerſally attributed to inceſtuous love. On a ſudden, by ſome baſe intrigues of a ſteward and a nurſe, this exceſſive fondneſs was converted into an irreconcilable quarrel: the debates of the emperor and his ſiſter were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and as the Gothic ſoldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appeaſed by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Conſtantinople, ſoon after the marriage of Theodoſius, during the feſtival of the Perſian victories. They were treated with kindneſs and magnificence: but as the ſtatues of the emperor Conſtantius had been rejected by the Eaſtern court, the title of Auguſta could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a ſwift meſſenger announced the death of Honorius, the conſequence of a dropſy; but the important ſecret was not divulged, till the neceſſary orders had been diſpatched for the march of a large body of troops to the ſea-coaſt of Dalmatia. The ſhops and the gates of Conſtantinople remained ſhut during ſeven days; and the loſs of a foreign prince, who could neither be eſteemed nor regretted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonſtrations of the public grief.

[a] Τα συνηχη κατα τομα φιληματα, is the expreſſion of Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 197.); who means, perhaps, to deſcribe the ſame careſſes which Mahomet beſtowed on his *daughter* Phatemah. Quando (ſays the prophet himſelf), quando ſubit mihi deſiderium Paradiſi, oſculor eam, et ingero linguam meam in os ejus. But this ſenſual indulgence was juſtified by miracle and myſtery; and the anecdote has been communicated to the public by the Reverend Father Maracci, in his Verſion and Confutation of the Koran, tom. i. p. 32.

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Elevation and fall of the uſurper John, A. D. 423—425.

While the miniſters of Conſtantinople deliberated, the vacant throne of Honorius was uſurped by the ambition of a ſtranger. The name of the rebel was John: he filled the confidential office of *Primicerius*, or principal ſecretary; and hiſtory has attributed to his character more virtues, than can eaſily be reconciled with the violation of the moſt ſacred duty. Elated by the ſubmiſſion of Italy, and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, John preſumed to inſult, by an embaſſy, the majeſty of the Eaſtern emperor; but when he underſtood that his agents had been baniſhed, impriſoned, and at length chaſed away with deſerved ignominy, John prepared to aſſert, by arms, the injuſtice of his claims. In ſuch a cauſe, the grandſon of the great Theodoſius ſhould have marched in perſon: but the young emperor was eaſily diverted, by his phyſicians, from ſo raſh and hazardous a deſign; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was prudently entruſted to Ardaburius, and his ſon Aſpar, who had already ſignaliſed their valour againſt the Perſians. It was reſolved, that Ardaburius ſhould embark with the infantry; whilſt Aſpar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placidia, and her ſon Valentinian, along the ſea-coaſt of the Hadriatic. The march of the cavalry was performed with ſuch active diligence, that they ſurpriſed, without reſiſtance, the important city of Aquileia; when the hopes of Aſpar were unexpectedly confounded by the intelligence, that a ſtorm had diſperſed the Imperial fleet; and that his father, with only two gallies, was taken and carried a priſoner into the port of Ravenna. Yet this incident, unfortunate as it might ſeem, facilitated the conqueſt of Italy. Ardaburius employed, or abuſed, the courteous freedom, which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a ſenſe of loyalty and gratitude; and, as ſoon as the conſpiracy was ripe for execution, he invited by private meſſages, and preſſed the approach of, Aſpar. A ſhepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the Eaſtern cavalry, by

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a ſecret, and, it was thought, an impaſſable road, through the moraſſes of the Po: the gates of Ravenna, after a ſhort ſtruggle, were thrown open; and the defenceleſs tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was firſt cut off; and, after he had been expoſed, mounted on an aſs, to the public deriſion, John was beheaded in the Circus of Aquileia. The emperor Theodoſius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horſe-races; and ſinging, as he marched through the ſtreets, a ſuitable pſalm, conducted his people from the Hippodrome to the church, where he ſpent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion [3].

Valentinian III. emperor of the Weſt, A. D. 425—455.

In a monarchy, which, according to various precedents, might be conſidered as elective, or hereditary, or patrimonial, it was impoſſible that the intricate claims of female and collateral ſucceſſion ſhould be clearly defined [4]; and Theodoſius, by the right of conſanguinity, or conqueſt, might have reigned the ſole legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps, his eyes were dazzled by the proſpect of unbounded ſway; but his indolent temper gradually acquieſced in the dictates of ſound policy. He contented himſelf with the poſſeſſion of the Eaſt; and wiſely relinquiſhed the laborious taſk, of waging a diſtant and doubtful war againſt the Barbarians beyond the Alps; or of ſecuring the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whoſe minds were alienated by the irreconcilable difference of language and intereſt. Inſtead of liſtening to the voice of ambition,

[3] For theſe revolutions of the Weſtern empire, conſult Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 192, 193. 196, 197. 200. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 16. Socrates, l. vii. 23, 24. Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 10, 11. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 486. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3. p. 182, 183. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 72, 73. and the Chronicles.

[4] See Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. ii. c. 7. He has laboriouſly, but vainly, attempted to form a reaſonable ſyſtem of juriſprudence, from the various and diſcordant modes of royal ſucceſſion, which have been introduced by fraud, or force, by time, or accident.

Theodoſius

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Theodoſius reſolved to imitate the moderation of his grandfather, and to ſeat his couſin Valentinian on the throne of the Weſt. The royal infant was diſtinguiſhed at Conſtantinople by the title of *Nobiliſſimus*: he was promoted, before his departure from Theſſalonica, to the rank and dignity of *Cæſar*; and, after the conqueſt of Italy, the patrician Helion, by the authority of Theodoſius, and in the preſence of the ſenate, ſaluted Valentinian the third by the name of Auguſtus, and ſolemnly inveſted him with the diadem, and the Imperial purple[5]. By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the ſon of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodoſius and Athenais; and, as ſoon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alliance was faithfully accompliſhed. At the ſame time, as a compenſation, perhaps, for the expences of the war, the Weſtern Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Conſtantinople[6]. The emperor of the Eaſt acquired the uſeful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous ſovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which had been filled and ravaged, above twenty years, by a promiſcuous crowd of Huns, Oſtrogoths, Vandals, and *Bavarians*. Theodoſius and Valentinian continued to reſpect the obligations of their public and domeſtic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally diſſolved. By a poſitive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar author; unleſs he ſhould think proper to communicate them, ſubſcribed with his own hand, for the approbation of his independent colleague[7].

Valentinian,

[5] The original writers are not agreed (ſee Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 139.), whether Valentinian received the Imperial diadem at Rome or Ravenna. In this uncertainty, I am willing to believe, that ſome reſpect was ſhewn to the ſenate.

[6] The count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 292—300.) has eſtabliſhed the reality, explained the motives, and traced the conſequences, of this remarkable ceſſion.

[7] See the firſt *Novel* of Theodoſius, by which he ratifies and communicates (A. D. 438) the Theodoſian Code. About forty

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Administration of his mother Placidia, A. D. 425—450.

Valentinian, when he received the title of Auguſtus, was no more than ſix years of age; and his long minority was entruſted to the guardian care of a mother, who might aſſert a female claim to the ſucceſſion of the Weſtern empire. Placidia envied, but ſhe could not equal, the reputation and virtues of the wife and ſiſter of Theodoſius; the elegant genius of Eudocia, the wiſe and ſucceſsful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power, which ſhe was incapable of exerciſing [8]: ſhe reigned twenty-five years, in the name of her ſon; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the ſuſpicion, that Placidia had enervated his youth by a diſſolute education, and ſtudiouſly diverted his attention from every manly and honourable purſuit. Amidſt the decay of military ſpirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Ætius [9] and Boniface [10], who may be deſervedly named as the laſt of the Romans. Their union might have ſupported a ſinking empire; their diſcord was the fatal and immediate cauſe of the loſs of Africa. The invaſion and defeat of Attila has immortalized the fame of Ætius; and though time has thrown a ſhade over the exploits of his rival, the defence of Marſeilles, and the deliverance of

Her two generals, Ætius and Boniface.

years before that time, the unity of legiſlation had been proved by an exception. The Jews, who were numerous in the cities of Apulia and Calabria, produced a law of the Eaſt to juſtify their exemption from municipal offices (Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 13.); and the Weſtern emperor was obliged to invalidate, by a ſpecial edict, the law, quam conſtat meis partibus eſſe damnoſam. Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. i. leg. 158.

[8] Caſſiodorus (Variar. l. xi. epiſt. i. p. 238.) has compared the regencies of Placidia and Amalaſuntha. He arraigns the weakneſs of the mother of Valentinian, and praiſes the virtues of his royal miſtreſs. On this occaſion, flattery ſeems to have ſpoken the language of truth.

[9] Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 12. and Godefroy's Diſſertat. p. 493, &c.; and Renatus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 8. in tom. ii. p. 163. The father of Ætius was Gaudentius, an illuſtrious citizen of the province of Scythia, and maſter-general of the cavalry: his mother was a rich and noble Italian. From his earlieſt youth, Ætius, as a ſoldier and a hoſtage, had converſed with the Barbarians.

[10] For the character of Boniface, ſee Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 196.; and St. Auguſtin, apud Tillemont, Memoires Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 712—715. 886. The biſhop of Hippo at length deplored the fall of his friend, who, after a ſolemn vow of chaſtity, had married a ſecond wife of the Arian ſect, and who was ſuſpected of keeping ſeveral concubines in his houſe.

Africa,

Africa, atteſt the military talents of count Boniface. In the field of battle, in partial encounters, in ſingle combats, he was ſtill the terror of the Barbarians; the clergy, and particularly his friend Auguſtin, were edified by the Chriſtian piety, which had once tempted him to retire from the world: the people applauded his ſpotleſs integrity; the army dreaded his equal and inexorable juſtice, which may be diſplayed in a very ſingular example. A peaſant, who complained of the criminal intimacy between his wife and a Gothic ſoldier, was directed to attend his tribunal the following day: in the evening the count, who had diligently informed himſelf of the time and place of the aſſignation, mounted his horſe, rode ten miles into the country, ſurpriſed the guilty couple, puniſhed the ſoldier with inſtant death, and ſilenced the complaints of the huſband, by preſenting him, the next morning, with the head of the adulterer. The abilities of Ætius and Boniface might have been uſefully employed againſt the public enemies, in ſeparate and important commands; but the experience of their paſt conduct ſhould have decided the real favour and confidence of the empreſs Placidia. In the melancholy ſeaſon of her exile and diſtreſs, Boniface alone had maintained her cauſe with unſhaken fidelity; and the troops and treaſures of Africa had eſſentially contributed to extinguiſh the rebellion. The ſame rebellion had been ſupported by the zeal and activity of Ætius, who brought an army of ſixty thouſand Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy, for the ſervice of the uſurper. The untimely death of John compelled him to accept an advantageous treaty; but he ſtill continued, the ſubject and the ſoldier of Valentinian, to entertain a ſecret, perhaps a treaſonable, correſpondence with his Barbarian allies, whoſe retreat had been purchaſed by liberal gifts, and more liberal promiſes. But Ætius poſſeſſed an advantage of ſingular moment in a female reign: he was preſent; he beſieged, with artful and aſſiduous flattery, the palace of Ravenna; diſguiſed his dark deſigns with

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the maſk of loyalty and friendſhip; and at length deceived both his miſtreſs and his abſent rival, by a ſubtle conſpiracy, which a weak woman, and a brave man, could not eaſily ſuſpect. He ſecretly perſuaded [21] Placidia to recal Boniface from the government of Africa; he ſecretly adviſed Boniface to diſobey the Imperial ſummons: to the one, he repreſented the order as a ſentence of death; to the other, he ſtated the refuſal as a ſignal of revolt; and when the credulous and unſuſpectful count had armed the province in his defence, Ætius applauded his ſagacity in foreſeeing the rebellion, which his own perfidy had excited. A temperate inquiry into the real motives of Boniface, would have reſtored a faithful ſervant to his duty and to the republic; but the arts of Ætius ſtill continued to betray and to inflame, and the count was urged, by perſecution, to embrace the moſt deſperate counſels. The ſucceſs with which he eluded or repelled the firſt attacks, could not inſpire a vain confidence, that, at the head of ſome looſe, diſorderly Africans, he ſhould be able to withſtand the regular forces of the Weſt, commanded by a rival, whoſe military character it was impoſſible for him to deſpiſe. After ſome heſitation, the laſt ſtruggles of prudence and loyalty, Boniface diſpatched a truſty friend to the court, or rather to the camp, of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, with the propoſal of a ſtrict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual ſettlement.

Error and revolt of Boniface in Africa, A. D. 427.

He invites the Vandals, A. D. 428.

After the retreat of the Goths, the authority of Honorius had obtained a precarious eſtabliſhment in Spain; except only in the province of Gallicia, where the Suevi and the Vandals had fortified their camps, in mutual diſcord, and hoſtile independence. The Vandals prevailed; and their adverſaries were beſieged in the Ner-

[21] Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3, 4. p. 182—186.) relates the fraud of Ætius, the revolt of Boniface, and the loſs of Africa. This anecdote, which is ſupported by ſome collateral teſtimony (ſee Ruinart, Hiſt. Perſecut. Vandal. p. 420, 421.), ſeems agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts, and would be naturally revealed by the repentance of Boniface.

vaſian

vaſian hills, between Leon and Oviedo, till the approach of count Aſterius compelled, or rather provoked, the victorious Barbarians to remove the ſcene of the war to the plains of Bœtica. The rapid progreſs of the Vandals ſoon required a more effectual oppoſition; and the maſter-general Caſtinus marched againſt them with a numerous army of Romans and Goths. Vanquiſhed in battle by an inferior enemy, Caſtinus fled with diſhonour to Tarragona; and this memorable defeat, which has been repreſented as the puniſhment, was moſt probably the effect, of his raſh preſumption[12]. Seville and Carthagena became the reward, or rather the prey, of the ferocious conquerors: and the veſſels which they found in the harbour of Carthagena, might eaſily tranſport them to the iſles of Majorca and Minorca, where the Spaniſh fugitives, as in a ſecure receſs, had vainly concealed their families and their fortunes. The experience of navigation, and perhaps the proſpect of Africa, encouraged the Vandals to accept the invitation which they received from count Boniface; and the death of Gonderic ſerved only to forward and animate the bold enterpriſe. In the room of a prince, not conſpicuous for any ſuperior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his baſtard brother, the terrible Genſeric[13]; a name, which, in the deſtruction of the Roman empire, has deſerved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila. The king of the Vandals is deſcribed to have been of a middle ſtature, with a lameneſs in one leg,

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Genſeric, king of the Vandals.

[12] See the Chronicles of Proſper and Idatius. Salvian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. vii. p. 246. Paris, 1608) aſcribes the victory of the Vandals to their ſuperior piety. They faſted, they prayed, they carried a Bible in the front of the Hoſt, with the deſign, perhaps, of reproaching the perfidy and ſacrilege of their enemies.

[13] Gizericus (his name is variouſly expreſſed) ſtaturâ mediocris et equi caſû claudicans, animo profundus, ſermone rarus, luxuriæ contemptor, irâ turbidus habendi, cupidus, ad ſolicitandas gentes providentiſſimus, ſemina contentionum jacere, odia miſcere paratus. Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 33. p. 657. This portrait, which is drawn with ſome ſkill, and a ſtrong likeneſs, muſt have been copied from the Gothic hiſtory of Caſſiodorius.

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which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horſe. His ſlow and cautious ſpeech ſeldom declared the deep purpoſes of his ſoul: he diſdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquiſhed; but he indulged the ſterner paſſions of anger and revenge. The ambition of Genſeric was without bounds, and without ſcruples; and the warrior could dexterouſly employ the dark engines of policy to ſolicit the allies who might be uſeful to his ſucceſs, or to ſcatter among his enemies the ſeeds of hatred and contention. Almoſt in the moment of his departure he was informed, that Hermanric, king of the Suevi, had preſumed to ravage the Spaniſh territories, which he was reſolved to abandon. Impatient of the inſult, Genſeric purſued the haſty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida; precipitated the king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to the ſea-ſhore, to embark his victorious troops. The veſſels which tranſported the Vandals over the modern Streights of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, were furniſhed by the Spaniards, who anxiouſly wiſhed their departure; and by the African general, who had implored their formidable aſſiſtance [14].

He lands in Africa, A. D. 429, May,

Our fancy, ſo long accuſtomed to exaggerate and multiply the martial ſwarms of Barbarians that ſeemed to iſſue from the North, will perhaps be ſurpriſed by the account of the army which Genſeric muſtered on the coaſt of Mauritania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to Mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warlike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alani, who had paſſed, within the term of human life, from the cold of Scythia to the exceſſive heat of

and reviews his army, A. D. 429.

[14] See the Chronicle of Idatius. That biſhop, a Spaniard and a contemporary, places the paſſage of the Vandals in the month of May, of the year of Abraham (which commences in October) 2444. This date, which coincides with A. D. 429, is confirmed by Iſidore, another Spaniſh biſhop, and is juſtly preferred to the opinion of thoſe writers, who have marked for that event, one of the two preceding years. See Pagi Critica, tom. ii. p. 205, &c.

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an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the same means which had occasioned their ruin. Yet this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric artfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing eighty *chiliarchs*, or commanders of thousands, the fallacious increase of old men, of children, and of slaves, would scarcely have swelled his army to the number of fourscore thousand persons[15]. But his own dexterity, and the discontents of Africa, soon fortified the Vandal powers, by the accession of numerous and active allies. The parts of Mauritania which border on the great desert, and the Atlantic ocean, were filled with a fierce and untractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exasperated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors[16], as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore, and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armour, the martial pride and discipline, of the unknown strangers, who had landed on their coast; and the fair complexions of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany, formed a very singular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue, which is derived from the neighbourhood of the torrid zone. After the first difficulties had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless

The Moors.

[15] Compare Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 190.) and Victor Vitensis (de Persecutione Vandal. l. i. c. 1. p. 3. edit. Ruinart). We are assured by Idatius, that Genseric evacuated Spain, cum Vandalis *omnibus* eorumque familiis; and Possidius (in Vit. Augustin. c. 28. apud Ruinart, p. 427.) describes his army, as manus ingens immanium gentium Vandalorum et Alanorum, commixtam secum habens Gothorum gentem, aliarumque diversarum personas.

[16] For the manners of the Moors, see Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 6. p. 249.); for their figure and complexion, M. de Buffon (Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 430.). Procopius says in general, that the Moors had joined the Vandals before the death of Valentinian (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 190.); and it is probable, that the independent tribes did not embrace any uniform system of policy.

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of any future conſequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked ſavages ruſhed from the woods and vallies of Mount Atlas, to ſatiate their revenge on the poliſhed tyrants, who had injuriouſly expelled them from the native ſovereignty of the land.

The Donatiſts.

The perſecution of the Donatiſts[17] was an event not leſs favourable to the deſigns of Genſeric. Seventeen years before he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at Carthage, by the order of the magiſtrate. The Catholics were ſatisfied, that, after the invincible reaſons which they had alleged, the obſtinacy of the ſchiſmatics muſt be inexcuſable and voluntary; and the emperor Honorius was perſuaded to inflict the moſt rigorous penalties on a faction, which had ſo long abuſed his patience and clemency. Three hundred biſhops[18], with many thouſands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches, ſtripped of their eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, baniſhed to the iſlands, and proſcribed by the laws, if they preſumed to conceal themſelves in the provinces of Africa. Their numerous congregations, both in cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens, and of the exerciſe of religious worſhip. A regular ſcale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of ſilver, was curiouſly aſcertained, according to the diſtinctions of rank and fortune, to puniſh the crime of aſſiſting at a ſchiſmatic conventicle; and if the fine had been levied five times, without ſubduing the obſtinacy of the offender, his future puniſhment was referred to the diſcretion of the Imperial court[19].

[17] See Tillemont, Memoires Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 516—558.; and the whole ſeries of the perſecution, in the original monuments, publiſhed by Dupin at the end of Optatus, p. 323—515.

[18] The Donatiſt biſhops, at the conference of Carthage, amounted to 279; and they aſſerted, that their whole number was not leſs than 400. The Catholics had 286 preſent, 120 abſent, beſides ſixty-four vacant biſhoprics.

[19] The fifth title of the ſixteenth book of the Theodoſian Code, exhibits a ſeries of the Imperial laws againſt the Donatiſts, from the year 400 to the year 428. Of theſe the 54th law, promulgated by Honorius, A. D. 414, is the moſt ſevere and effectual.

By

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By theſe ſeverities, which obtained the warmeſt approbation of St. Auguſtin[20], great numbers of Donatiſts were reconciled to the Catholic church: but the fanatics, who ſtill perſevered in their oppoſition, were provoked to madneſs and deſpair; the diſtracted country was filled with tumult and bloodſhed; the armed troops of Circumcellions alternately pointed their rage againſt themſelves, or againſt their adverſaries; and the calendar of martyrs received on both ſides a conſiderable augmentation[21]. Under theſe circumſtances, Genſeric, a Chriſtian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion, ſhewed himſelf to the Donatiſts as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reaſonably expect the repeal of the odious and oppreſſive edicts of the Roman emperors[22]. The conqueſt of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal, or the ſecret favour, of a domeſtic faction; the wanton outrages againſt the churches and the clergy, of which the Vandals are accuſed, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticiſm of their allies; and the intolerant ſpirit, which diſgraced the triumph of Chriſtianity, contributed to the loſs of the moſt important province of the Weſt[23].

[20] St. Auguſtin altered his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of heretics. His pathetic declaration of pity and indulgence for the Manichæans, has been inſerted by Mr. Locke (vol. iii. p. 469.) among the choice ſpecimens of his common-place book. Another philoſopher, the celebrated Bayle (tom. ii. p. 445—496.), has refuted, with ſuperfluous diligence and ingenuity, the arguments, by which the biſhop of Hippo juſtified, in his old age, the perſecution of the Donatiſts.

[21] See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 586—592. 806. The Donatiſts boaſted of *thouſands* of theſe voluntary martyrs. Auguſtin aſſerts, and probably with truth, that theſe numbers were much exaggerated; but he ſternly maintains, that it was better that *ſome* ſhould burn themſelves in this world, than that *all* ſhould burn in hell flames.

[22] According to St. Auguſtin and Theodoret, the Donatiſts were inclined to the principles, or at leaſt to the party, of the Arians, which Genſeric ſupported. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 68.

[23] See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 428, N° 7. A. D. 439, N° 35. The cardinal, though more inclined to ſeek the cauſe of great events in heaven than on the earth, has obſerved the apparent connection of the Vandals and the Donatiſts. Under the reign of the Barbarians, the ſchiſmatics of Africa enjoyed an obſcure peace of one hundred years; at the end of which, we may again trace them by the light of the Imperial perſecutions. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 192, &c.

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Tardy repentance of Boniface, A. D. 430.

The court and the people were aſtoniſhed by the ſtrange intelligence, that a virtuous hero, after ſo many favours, and ſo many ſervices, had renounced his allegiance, and invited the Barbarians to deſtroy the province entruſted to his command. The friends of Boniface, who ſtill believed that his criminal behaviour might be excuſed by ſome honourable motive, ſolicited, during the abſence of Ætius, a free conference with the count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high diſtinction, was named for the important embaſſy[24]. In their firſt interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the oppoſite letters of Ætius were produced and compared; and the fraud was eaſily detected. Placidia and Boniface lamented their fatal error; and the count had ſufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveneſs of his ſovereign, or to expoſe his head to her future reſentment. His repentance was fervent and ſincere; but he ſoon diſcovered, that it was no longer in his power to reſtore the edifice which he had ſhaken to its foundations. Carthage, and the Roman garriſons, returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian; but the reſt of Africa was ſtill diſtracted with war and faction; and the inexorable king of the Vandals, diſdaining all terms of accommodation, ſternly refuſed to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of his prey. The band of veterans, who marched under the ſtandard of Boniface, and his haſty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with conſiderable loſs: the victorious Barbarians inſulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, were the only cities that appeared to riſe above the general inundation.

[24] In a confidential letter to count Boniface, St. Auguſtin, without examining the grounds of the quarrel, piouſly exhorts him to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian and a ſubject; to extricate himſelf without delay from his dangerous and guilty ſituation; and even, if he could obtain the conſent of his wife, to embrace a life of celibacy and pennance (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 890.). The biſhop was intimately connected with Darius, the miniſter of peace (Id. tom. xiii. p. 928.).

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Deſolation of Africa.

The long and narrow tract of the African coaſt was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the reſpective degrees of improvement might be accurately meaſured by the diſtance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A ſimple reflection will impreſs every thinking mind with the cleareſt idea of fertility and cultivation: the country was extremely populous; the inhabitants reſerved a liberal ſubſiſtence for their own uſe; and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was ſo regular and plentiful, that Africa deſerved the name of the common granary of Rome and of mankind. On a ſudden, the ſeven fruitful provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invaſion of the Vandals; whoſe deſtructive rage has perhaps been exaggerated by popular animoſity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation. War, in its faireſt form, implies a perpetual violation of humanity and juſtice; and the hoſtilities of Barbarians are inflamed by the fierce and lawleſs ſpirit which inceſſantly diſturbs their peaceful and domeſtic ſociety. The Vandals, where they found reſiſtance, ſeldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whoſe walls they had fallen. Careleſs of the diſtinctions of age, or ſex, or rank, they employed every ſpecies of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a diſcovery of their hidden wealth. The ſtern policy of Genſeric juſtified his frequent examples of military execution: he was not always the maſter of his own paſſions, or of thoſe of his followers; and the calamities of war were aggravated by the licentiouſneſs of the Moors, and the fanaticiſm of the Donatiſts. Yet I ſhall not eaſily be perſuaded, that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives, and other fruit-trees, of a country where they intended to ſettle: nor can I believe that it was a uſual ſtratagem to ſlaughter great numbers of their priſoners before the walls of a beſieged city, for the ſole purpoſe of infecting the air, and producing a peſti-

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a peſtilence, of which they themſelves muſt have been the firſt victims [25].

Siege of Hippo, A. D. 430, May.

The generous mind of count Boniface was tortured by the exquiſite diſtreſs of beholding the ruin which he had occaſioned, and whoſe rapid progreſs he was unable to check. After the loſs of a battle, he retired into Hippo Regius; where he was immediately beſieged by an enemy, who conſidered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The maritime colony of *Hippo* [26], about two hundred miles weſtward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the diſtinguiſhing epithet of *Regius*, from the reſidence of Numidian kings; and ſome remains of trade and populouſneſs ſtill adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The military labours, and anxious reflections, of count Boniface, were alleviated by the edifying converſation of his friend St. Auguſtin [27]; till that biſhop, the light and pillar of the Catholic church, was gently releaſed, in the third month of the ſiege, and in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country. The youth of Auguſtin had been ſtained by the vices and errors, which he ſo ingenuouſly confeſſes; but from the

Death of St. Auguſtin, A. D. 430, Auguſt 28.

[25] The original complaints of the deſolation of Africa are contained, 1. In a letter from Capreolus, biſhop of Carthage, to excuſe his abſence from the council of Epheſus (ap. Ruinart, p. 429.). 2. In the life of St. Auguſtin, by his friend and colleague Poſſidius (ap. Ruinart, p. 427.). 3. In the Hiſtory of the Vandalic Perſecution, by Victor Vitenſis (l. i. c. 1, 2, 3. edit. Ruinart). The laſt picture, which was drawn ſixty years after the event, is more expreſſive of the author's paſſions than of the truth of facts.

[26] See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. part ii. p. 112. Leo African. in Ramuſio, tom. i. fol. 70. L'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii. p. 434. 437. Shaw's Travels, p. 46, 47. The old Hippo Regius was finally deſtroyed by the Arabs in the ſeventh century; but a new town, at the diſtance of two miles, was built with the materials; and it contained, in the ſixteenth century, about three hundred families of induſtrious, but turbulent, manufacturers. The adjacent territory is renowned for a pure air, a fertile ſoil, and plenty of exquiſite fruits.

[27] The life of St. Auguſtin, by Tillemont, fills a quarto volume (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii.) of more than one thouſand pages; and the diligence of that learned Janſeniſt was excited, on this occaſion, by factious and devout zeal for the founder of his ſect.

moment of his converſion, to that of his death, the manners of the biſhop of Hippo were pure and auſtere: and the moſt conſpicuous of his virtues was an ardent zeal againſt heretics of every denomination; the Manichæans, the Donatiſts, and the Pelagians, againſt whom he waged a perpetual controverſy. When the city, ſome months after his death, was burnt by the Vandals, the library was fortunately ſaved, which contained his voluminous writings; two hundred and thirty-two ſeparate books or treatiſes on theological ſubjects, beſides a complete expoſition of the pſalter and the goſpel, and a copious magazine of epiſtles and homilies[28]. According to the judgment of the moſt impartial critics, the ſuperficial learning of Auguſtin was confined to the Latin language[29]; and his ſtyle, though ſometimes animated by the eloquence of paſſion, is uſually clouded by falſe and affected rhetoric. But he poſſeſſed a ſtrong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly ſounded the dark abyſs of grace, predeſtination, free-will, and original ſin; and the rigid ſyſtem of Chriſtianity which he framed or reſtored[30], has been entertained, with public applauſe, and ſecret reluctance, by the Latin church[31].

By

[28] Such at leaſt is the account of Victor Vitenſis (de Perſecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 3.); though Gennadius ſeems to doubt whether any perſon had read, or even collected, *all* the works of St. Auguſtin (See Hieronym. Opera, tom. i. p. 319. in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccleſ.). They have been repeatedly printed; and Dupin (Bibliotheque Eccleſ. tom. iii. p. 158—257.) has given a large and ſatisfactory abſtract of them, as they ſtand in the laſt edition of the Benedictines. My perſonal acquaintance with the biſhop of Hippo does not extend beyond the *Confeſſions* and the *City of God*.

[29] In his early youth (Confeſſ. i. 14.) St. Auguſtin diſliked and neglected the ſtudy of Greek; and he frankly owns that he read the Platoniſts in a Latin verſion (Confeſſ. vii. 9.). Some modern critics have thought, that his ignorance of Greek diſqualified him from expounding the ſcriptures; and Cicero or Quintilian would have required the knowledge of that language in a profeſſor of rhetoric.

[30] Theſe queſtions were ſeldom agitated, from the time of St. Paul to that of St. Auguſtin. I am informed that the Greek fathers maintain the natural ſentiments of the Semi-pelagians; and that the orthodoxy of St. Auguſtin was derived from the Manichæan ſchool.

[31] The church of Rome has canoniſed Auguſtin, and reprobated Calvin. Yet as the *real* difference between them is inviſible even

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Defeat and retreat of Boniface, A. D. 431.

By the ſkill of Boniface, and perhaps by the ignorance of the Vandals, the ſiege of Hippo was protracted above fourteen months: the ſea was continually open; and when the adjacent country had been exhauſted by irregular rapine, the beſiegers themſelves were compelled by famine to relinquiſh their enterpriſe. The importance and danger of Africa were deeply felt by the regent of the Weſt. Placidia implored the aſſiſtance of her Eaſtern ally; and the Italian fleet and army were reinforced by Aſpar, who ſailed from Conſtantinople with a powerful armament. As ſoon as the force of the two empires was united under the command of Boniface, he boldly marched againſt the Vandals; and the loſs of a ſecond battle irretrievably decided the fate of Africa. He embarked with the precipitation of deſpair; and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects, to occupy the vacant place of the ſoldiers, the greateſt part of whom were either ſlain or made priſoners by the Vandals. The count, whoſe fatal credulity had wounded the vitals of the republic, might enter the palace of Ravenna with ſome anxiety, which was ſoon removed by the ſmiles of Placidia. Boniface accepted with gratitude the rank of patrician, and the dignity of maſter-general of the Roman armies; but he muſt have bluſhed at the ſight of thoſe medals, in which he was repreſented with the name and attributes of victory[32]. The diſcovery of his fraud, the

even to a theological microſcope; the Moliniſts are oppreſſed by the authority of the ſaint, and the Janſeniſts are diſgraced by their reſemblance to the heretic. In the mean while the Proteſtant Arminians ſtand aloof, and deride the mutual perplexity of the diſputants (ſee a curious Review of the Controverſy, by Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Univerſelle, tom. xiv. p. 144—398.). Perhaps a reaſoner ſtill more independent, may ſmile in his turn, when he peruſes an Arminian Commentary on the Epiſtle to the Romans.

[32] Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 67. On one ſide, the head of Valentinian; on the reverſe, Boniface, with a ſcourge in one hand, and a palm in the other, ſtanding in a triumphal car, which is drawn by four horſes, or, in another medal, by four ſtags; an unlucky emblem! I ſhould doubt whether another example can be found of the head of a ſubject on the reverſe of an Imperial medal. See Science des Medailles, by the Pere Jobert, tom. i. p. 132—150. edit. of 1739, by the Baron de la Baſtie.

diſpleaſure

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displeasure of the empress, and the distinguished favour of his rival, exasperated the haughty and perfidious soul of Ætius. He hastily returned from Gaul to Italy, with a retinue, or rather with an army, of Barbarian followers; and such was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle. Boniface was successful; but he received in the conflict a mortal wound from the spear of his adversary, of which he expired within a few days, in such Christian and charitable sentiments, that he exhorted his wife, a rich heiress of Spain, to accept Ætius for her second husband. But Ætius could not derive any immediate advantage from the generosity of his dying enemy: he was proclaimed a rebel by the justice of Placidia; and though he attempted to defend some strong fortresses erected on his patrimonial estate, the Imperial power soon compelled him to retire into Pannonia, to the tents of his faithful Huns. The republic was deprived, by their mutual discord, of the service of her two most illustrious champions [33].

His death, A. D. 432.

It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface, that the Vandals would atchieve, without resistance or delay, the conquest of Africa. Eight years however elapsed, from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval, the ambitious Genseric, in the full tide of apparent prosperity, negotiated a treaty of peace, by which he gave his son Hunneric for an hostage; and consented to leave the Western emperor in the undisturbed possession of the three Mauritanias [34]. This

Progress of the Vandals in Africa, A. D. 431—439.

[33] Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3, p. 185.) continues the history of Boniface no farther than his return to Italy. His death is mentioned by Prosper and Marcellinus; the expression of the latter, that Ætius, the day before, had provided himself with a *longer* spear, implies something like a regular duel.

[34] See Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 186. Valentinian published several humane laws, to relieve the distress of his Numidian and Mauritanian subjects; he discharged them, in a great measure, from the payment of their debts, reduced their tribute to one-eighth, and gave them a right of appeal from their provincial magistrates to the præfect of Rome. Cod. Theod. tom. vi. Novell. p. 11, 12.

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moderation, which cannot be imputed to the juſtice, muſt be aſcribed to the policy, of the conqueror. His throne was encompaſſed with domeſtic enemies; who accuſed the baſeneſs of his birth, and aſſerted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the ſons of Gonderic. Thoſe nephews, indeed, he ſacrificed to his ſafety; and their mother, the widow of the deceaſed king, was precipitated, by his order, into the river Ampſaga. But the public diſcontent burſt forth in dangerous and frequent conſpiracies; and the warlike tyrant is ſuppoſed to have ſhed more Vandal blood by the hand of the executioner, than in the field of battle [35]. The convulſions of Africa, which had favoured his attack, oppoſed the firm eſtabliſhment of his power; and the various ſeditions of the Moors and Germans, the Donatiſts and Catholics, continually diſturbed, or threatened, the unſettled reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Carthage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the Weſtern provinces; the ſea-coaſt was expoſed to the naval enterpriſes of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and, in the heart of Numidia, the ſtrong inland city of Corta ſtill perſiſted in obſtinate independence [36]. Theſe difficulties were gradually ſubdued by the ſpirit, the perſeverance, and the cruelty of Genſeric; who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the eſtabliſhment of his African kingdom. He ſubſcribed a ſolemn treaty, with the hope of deriving ſome advantage from the term of its continuance, and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed by the proteſtations of friendſhip, which concealed his hoſtile approach; and Carthage was at length ſurpriſed by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty-five years after the deſtruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio [37].

[35] Victor Vitenſis, de Perſecut. Vandal. l. ii. c. 5. p. 26. The cruelties of Genſeric towards his ſubjects, are ſtrongly expreſſed in Proſper's Chronicle, A. D. 442.

[36] Poſſidius, in Vit. Auguſtin. c. 28. apud Ruinart, p. 428.

[37] See the Chronicles of Idatius, Iſidore, Proſper, and Marcellinus. They mark the ſame year, but different days, for the ſurpriſal of Carthage.

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They ſurpriſe Carthage, A. D. 439, October 9.

A new city had ariſen from its ruins, with the title of a colony; and though Carthage might yield to the royal prerogatives of Conſtantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria, or the ſplendour of Antioch, ſhe ſtill maintained the ſecond rank in the Weſt; as the *Rome* (if we may uſe the ſtyle of contemporaries) of the African world. That wealthy and opulent metropolis [38] diſplayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flouriſhing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treaſures of the ſix provinces. A regular ſubordination of civil honours, gradually aſcended from the procurators of the ſtreets and quarters of the city, to the tribunal of the ſupreme magiſtrate, who, with the title of proconſul, repreſented the ſtate and dignity of a conſul of ancient Rome. Schools and *gymnaſia* were inſtituted for the education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philoſophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages. The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent: a ſhady grove was planted in the midſt of the capital; the *new* port, a ſecure and capacious harbour, was ſubſervient to the commercial induſtry of citizens and ſtrangers; and the ſplendid games of the circus and theatre were exhibited almoſt in the preſence of the Barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith ſtill adhered to their ſubtle and faithleſs character [39]. The habits of trade, and the abuſe of luxury, had corrupted their manners; but

[38] The picture of Carthage, as it flouriſhed in the fourth and fifth centuries, is taken from the Expoſitio totius Mundi, p. 17, 18. in the third volume of Hudſon's Minor Geographers; from Auſonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 228, 229.; and principally from Salvian, de Gubernatione Dei, l. vii. p. 257, 258. I am ſurpriſed that the *Notitia* ſhould not place either a mint, or an arſenal, at Carthage; but only a gynecæum, or female manufacture.

[39] The anonymous author of the Expoſitio totius Mundi, compares, in his barbarous Latin, the country and the inhabitants; and, after ſtigmatiſing their want of faith, he coolly concludes, Difficile autem inter eos invenitur bonus, tamen ~~in multis~~ pauci boni eſſe poſſunt, p. 18.

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their impious contempt of monks, and the ſhameleſs practice of unnatural luſts, are the two abominations which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age[40]. The king of the Vandals ſeverely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, noble, ingenuous, freedom of Carthage (theſe expreſſions of Victor are not without energy), was reduced by Genſeric into a ſtate of ignominious ſervitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to ſatiate their rage and avarice, he inſtituted a more regular ſyſtem of rapine and oppreſſion. An edict was promulgated, which enjoined all perſons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, ſilver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel, to the royal officers; and the attempt to ſecrete any part of their patrimony, was inexorably puniſhed with death and torture, as an act of treaſon againſt the ſtate. The lands of the proconſular province, which formed the immediate diſtrict of Carthage, were accurately meaſured, and divided among the Barbarians; and the conqueror reſerved for his peculiar domain, the fertile territory of Byzacium, and the adjacent parts of Numidia and Getulia[41].

African exiles and captives.

It was natural enough that Genſeric ſhould hate thoſe whom he had injured: the nobility and ſenators of Carthage were expoſed to his jealouſy and reſentment; and all thoſe who refuſed the ignominious terms, which their honour and religion forbade them to accept, were compelled by the Arian tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual baniſhment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the

[40] He declares, that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the ſink of Carthage (l. vii. p. 257.). In the indulgence of vice, the Africans applauded their manly virtue. Et illi ſe magis virilis fortitudinis eſſe crederent, qui maxime viros fœminei usûs probroſitate fregiſſent (p. 268.). The ſtreets of Carthage were polluted by effeminate wretches, who publicly aſſumed the countenance, the dreſs, and the character of women (p. 264). If a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was purſued with impious ſcorn and ridicule; deteſtantibus ridentium cachinnis (p. 289.).

[41] Compare Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 189, 190.; and Victor Vitenſis, de Perſecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 4.

Eaſt,

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East, were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of ingenuous captives, who solicited the public compassion: and the benevolent epistles of Theodoret, still preserve the names and misfortunes of Cælestian and Maria [42]. The Syrian bishop deplores the misfortunes of Cælestian, who, from the state of a noble and opulent senator of Carthage, was reduced, with his wife and family, and servants, to beg his bread in a foreign country; but he applauds the resignation of the Christian exile, and the philosophic temper, which, under the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy more real happiness, than was the ordinary lot of wealth and prosperity. The story of Maria, the daughter of the magnificent Eudæmon, is singular and interesting. In the sack of Carthage, she was purchased from the Vandals by some merchants of Syria, who afterwards sold her as a slave in their native country. A female attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold in the same family, still continued to respect a mistress whom fortune had reduced to the common level of servitude; and the daughter of Eudæmon received from her grateful affection the domestic services, which she had once required from her obedience. This remarkable behaviour divulged the real condition of Maria; who, in the absence of the bishop of Cyrrhus, was redeemed from slavery by the generosity of some soldiers of the garrison. The liberality of Theodoret provided for her decent maintenance; and she passed ten months among the deaconesses of the church; till she was unexpectedly informed, that her father, who had escaped from the ruin of Carthage, exercised an honourable office in one of the Western provinces. Her filial impatience was seconded by the pious bishop: Theodoret, in a letter still extant, recommends Maria to the bishop of Ægæ, a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented, during the annual fair, by the vessels of the

[42] Ruinart (p. 444—457.) has collected from Theodoret, and other authors, the misfortunes, real and fabulous, of the inhabitants of Carthage.

West;

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Weſt; moſt earneſtly requeſting, that his colleague would uſe the maiden with a tenderneſs ſuitable to her birth; and that he would entruſt her to the care of ſuch faithful merchants, as would eſteem it a ſufficient gain, if they reſtored a daughter, loſt beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Fable of the ſeven ſleepers.

Among the inſipid legends of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, I am tempted to diſtinguiſh the memorable fable of the SEVEN SLEEPERS [43]: whoſe imaginary date correſponds with the reign of the younger Theodoſius, and the conqueſt of Africa by the Vandals [44]. When the emperor Decius perſecuted the Chriſtians, ſeven noble youths of Epheſus concealed themſelves in a ſpacious cavern in the ſide of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to periſh by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance ſhould be firmly ſecured with a pile of huge ſtones. They immediately fell into a deep ſlumber, which was miraculouſly prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-ſeven years. At the end of that time the ſlaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had deſcended, removed the ſtones, to ſupply materials for ſome ruſtic edifice: the light of the ſun darted into the cavern, and the ſeven ſleepers were permitted to awake. After a ſlumber, as they thought of a few hours, they were preſſed by the calls of hunger; and reſolved that Jamblichus, one of their

[43] The choice of fabulous circumſtances is of ſmall importance; yet I have confined myſelf to the narrative which was tranſlated from the Syriac by the care of Gregory of Tours (de Gloriâ Martyrûm, l. i. c. 95. in Max. Bibliothecâ Patrum, tom. xi. p. 856.), to the Greek acts of their martyrdom (apud Photium, p. 1400, 1401.), and to the Annals of the Patriarch Eutychius (tom. i. p. 391. 531, 532. 535. verſ. Pocock).

[44] Two Syriac writers, as they are quoted by Aſſemanni (Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 336. 338.), place the reſurrection of the Seven Sleepers in the year 736 (A. D. 425), or 748 (A. D. 437), of the æra of the Seleucides. Their Greek acts, which Photius had read, aſſign the date of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Theodoſius, which may coincide either with A. D. 439, or 446. The period which had elapſed ſince the perſecution of Decius is eaſily aſcertained; and nothing leſs than the ignorance of Mahomet, or the legendaries, could ſuppoſe an interval of three or four hundred years.

number,

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number, ſhould ſecretly return to the city, to purchaſe bread for the uſe of his companions. The youth (if we may ſtill employ that appellation) could no longer recogniſe the once familiar aſpect of his native country; and his ſurpriſe was increaſed by the appearance of a large croſs, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Epheſus. His ſingular dreſs and obſolete language, confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the empire; and Jamblicus, on the ſuſpicion of a ſecret treaſure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual inquiries produced the amazing diſcovery, that two centuries were almoſt elapſed ſince Jamblicus and his friends had eſcaped from the rage of a Pagan tyrant. The biſhop of Epheſus, the clergy, the magiſtrates, the people, and as it is ſaid the emperor Theodoſius himſelf, haſtened to viſit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers; who beſtowed their benediction, related their ſtory, and at the ſame inſtant peaceably expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be aſcribed to the pious fraud and credulity of the *modern* Greeks, ſince the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century of the ſuppoſed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian biſhop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodoſius, has devoted one of his two hundred and thirty homilies to the praiſe of the young men of Epheſus [45]. Their legend, before the end of the ſixth century, was tranſlated from the Syriac, into the Latin language, by the care of Gregory of Tours. The hoſtile communions of the Eaſt preſerve their memory with equal reverence; and their names are honourably inſcribed in the Roman, the Habyſſinian, and the

[45] James, one of the orthodox fathers of the Syrian church, was born A. D. 452.; he began to compoſe his ſermons A. D. 474.: he was made biſhop of Batnæ, in the diſtrict of Sarug, and province of Meſopotamia, A. D. 519, and died A. D. 521. (Aſſemanni, tom. i. p. 288, 289.) For the homily *de Pueris Epheſinis*, ſee p. 335—339.: though I could wiſh that Aſſemanni had tranſlated the text of James of Sarug, inſtead of anſwering the objections of Baronius.

Ruſſian

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Ruſſian calendar [46]. Nor has their reputation been confined to the Chriſtian world. This popular tale, which Mahomet might learn when he drove his camels to the fairs of Syria, is introduced as a divine revelation into the Koran [47]. The ſtory of the Seven Sleepers has been adopted, and adorned, by the nations, from Bengal to Africa, who profeſs the Mahometan religion [48]; and ſome veſtiges of a ſimilar tradition have been diſcovered in the remote extremities of Scandinavia [49]. This eaſy and univerſal belief, ſo expreſſive of the ſenſe of mankind, may be aſcribed to the genuine merit of the fable itſelf. We imperceptibly advance from youth to age, without obſerving the gradual, but inceſſant, change of human affairs; and even in our larger experience of hiſtory, the imagination is accuſtomed, by a perpetual ſeries of cauſes and effects, to unite the moſt diſtant revolutions. But if the interval between two memorable æras could be inſtantly annihilated; if it were poſſible, after a momentary ſlumber of two hundred years, to diſplay the *new* world to the eyes of a ſpectator, who ſtill retained a lively and recent impreſſion of the *old*, his ſurpriſe and his reflections would furniſh the pleaſing ſubject of a philoſophical romance. The ſcene could not be more ad-

[46] See the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandiſts (Menſis Julii, tom. vi. p. 375—397.). This immenſe calendar of ſaints, in one hundred and twenty-ſix years (1644—1770.), and in fifty volumes in folio, has advanced no farther than the 7th day of October. The ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits has moſt probably checked an undertaking, which, through the medium of fable and ſuperſtition, communicates much hiſtorical and philoſophical inſtruction.

[47] See Maracci Alcoran. Sura xviii. tom. ii. p. 420—427. and tom. i. part iv. p. 103. With ſuch an ample privilege, Mahomet has not ſhewn much taſte or ingenuity. He has invented the dog (Al Rakim) of the Seven Sleepers; the reſpect of the ſun, who altered his courſe twice a-day, that he might not ſhine into the cavern; and the care of God himſelf, who preſerved their bodies from putrefaction, by turning them to the right and left.

[48] See d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 139.; and Renaudot, Hiſt. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 39, 40.

[49] Paul the deacon of Aquileia (de Geſtis Langobardorum, l. i. c. 4. p. 745, 746. edit. Grot.), who lived towards the end of the eighth century, has placed in a cavern under a rock, on the ſhore of the ocean, the Seven Sleepers of the North, whoſe long repoſe was reſpected by the Barbarians. Their dreſs declared them to be Romans; and the deacon conjectures, that they were reſerved by Providence as the future apoſtles of thoſe unbelieving countries.

vantageouſly

vantageouſly placed, than in the two centuries which elapſed between the reigns of Decius and of Theodoſius the Younger. During this period, the ſeat of government had been tranſported from Rome to a new city on the banks of the Thracian Boſphorus; and the abuſe of military ſpirit had been ſuppreſſed by an artificial ſyſtem of tame and ceremonious ſervitude. The throne of the perſecuting Decius was filled by a ſucceſſion of Chriſtian and orthodox princes, who had extirpated the fabulous gods of antiquity: and the public devotion of the age was impatient to exalt the ſaints and martyrs of the Catholic church, on the altars of Diana and Hercules. The union of the Roman empire was diſſolved: its genius was humbled in the duſt; and armies of unknown Barbarians, iſſuing from the frozen regions of the North, had eſtabliſhed their victorious reign over the faireſt provinces of Europe and Africa.

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The Character, Conquests, and Court of Attila, King of the Huns.—Death of Theodosius the Younger.—Elevation of Marcian to the Empire of the East.

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The Huns, A. D. 376—433.

THE western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandals, who fled before the Huns; but the atchievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hords had spread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of ATTILA [1], the Huns again became the terror of the world; and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable Barbarian; who alternately

[1] The authentic materials for the history of Attila may be found in Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 34—50. p. 660—688. edit. Grot.) and Priscus (Excerpta de Legationibus, p. 33—76. Paris, 1648). I have not seen the lives of Attila, composed by Juvencus Cælius Calanus Dalmatinus, in the twelfth century, or by Nicolas Olahus, archbishop of Gran, in the fixteenth. See Mascou's History of the Germans, ix. 23. and Maffei, Osservazioni Litterarie, tom. i. p. 88, 89. Whatever the modern Hungarians have added, must be fabulous; and they do not seem to have excelled in the art of fiction. They suppose, that when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, &c. he was one hundred and twenty years of age. Thewrocz Chron. p. i. c. 22. in Script. Hungar. tom. i. p. 76.

insulted

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insulted and invaded the East and the West, and urged the rapid downfal of the Roman empire.

Their establishment in modern Hungary.

In the tide of emigration, which impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. The accumulated weight was sustained for a while by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without satisfying, the insolent demands of the Barbarians, who had acquired an eager appetite for the luxuries of civilized life. The Hungarians, who ambitiously insert the name of Attila among their native kings, may affirm with truth, that the hords, which were subject to his uncle Roas, or Rugilas, had formed their encampments within the limits of modern Hungary[z], in a fertile country, which liberally supplied the wants of a nation of hunters and shepherds. In this advantageous situation, Rugilas, and his valiant brothers, who continually added to their power and reputation, commanded the alternative of peace or war with the two empires. His alliance with the Romans of the West was cemented by his personal friendship for the great Ætius; who was always secure of finding in the Barbarian camp, a hospitable reception, and a powerful support. At his solicitation, and in the name of John the usurper, sixty thousand Huns advanced to the confines of Italy; their march and their retreat were alike expensive to the state: and the grateful policy of Ætius abandoned the possession of Pannonia to his faithful confederates. The Romans of the East were not less apprehensive of the

[z] Hungary has been successively occupied by three Scythian colonies. 1. The Huns of Attila; 2. the Abares, in the sixth century; and, 3. the Turks or Magiars, A. D. 889; the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the two former is extremely faint and remote. The *Prodromus* and *Notitia* of Matthew Belius appear to contain a rich fund of information concerning ancient and modern Hungary. I have seen the extracts in Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. xxii. p. 1—51. and Bibliotheque Raisonnée, tom. xvi. p. 127—175.

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arms of Rugilas, which threatened the provinces, or even the capital. Some eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians have deſtroyed the Barbarians with lightning and peſtilence[3]; but Theodoſius was reduced to the more humble expedient of ſtipulating an annual payment of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold, and of diſguiſing this diſhonourable tribute by the title of general, which the king of the Huns condeſcended to accept. The public tranquillity was frequently interrupted by the fierce impatience of the Barbarians, and the perfidious intrigues of the Byzantine court. Four dependent nations, among whom we may diſtinguiſh the Bavarians, diſclaimed the ſovereignty of the Huns; and their revolt was encouraged and protected by a Roman alliance; till the juſt claims, and formidable power, of Rugilas were effectually urged by the voice of Eſlaw his ambaſſador. Peace was the unanimous wiſh of the ſenate: their decree was ratified by the emperor; and two ambaſſadors were named, Plinthas, a general of Scythian extraction, but of conſular rank; and the quæſtor Epigenes, a wiſe and experienced ſtateſman, who was recommended to that office by his ambitious colleague.

Reign of Attila, A. D. 433—453.

The death of Rugilas ſuſpended the progreſs of the treaty. His two nephews, Attila and Bleda, who ſucceeded to the throne of their uncle, conſented to a perſonal interview with the ambaſſadors of Conſtantinople; but as they proudly refuſed to diſmount, the buſineſs was tranſacted on horſeback, in a ſpacious plain near the city of Margus, in the Upper Mæſia. The kings of the Huns aſſumed the ſolid benefits, as well as the vain honours, of the negotiation. They dictated the conditions of peace, and each condition was an inſult on the majeſty of the empire. Beſides the freedom

[3] Socrates, l. vii. c. 43. Theodoret, l. v. c. 36. Tillemont, who always depends on the faith of his eccleſiaſtical authors, ſtrenuouſly contends (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 136. 607.), that the wars and perſonages were not the ſame.

of

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of a ſafe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, they required that the annual contribution ſhould be augmented from three hundred and fifty, to ſeven hundred, pounds of gold; that a fine, or ranſom, of eight pieces of gold, ſhould be paid for every Roman captive, who had eſcaped from his Barbarian maſter; that the emperor ſhould renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns; and that all the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the court, or provinces, of Theodoſius, ſhould be delivered to the juſtice of their offended ſovereign. This juſtice was rigorouſly inflicted on ſome unfortunate youths of a royal race. They were crucified on the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila; and, as ſoon as the king of the Huns had impreſſed the Romans with the terror of his name, he indulged them in a ſhort and arbitrary reſpite, whilſt he ſubdued the rebellious or independent nations of Scythia and Germany [4].

His figure and character;

Attila, the ſon of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, deſcent [5] from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the obſervation of a Gothic hiſtorian, bore the ſtamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck [6]; a large head, a ſwarthy complexion, ſmall deep-ſeated eyes, a flat noſe, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad ſhoulders, and a ſhort ſquare body, of nervous ſtrength, though of a diſproportioned form. The haughty ſtep and demeanour of the king of the Huns expreſſed the conſciouſneſs of his ſuperiority above the reſt of mankind;

[4] See Priſcus, p. 47, 48. and Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. c. xii, xiii, xiv, xv.

[5] Priſcus, p. 39. The modern Hungarians have deduced his genealogy, which aſcends, in the thirty-fifth degree, to Ham the ſon of Noah; yet they are ignorant of his father's real name (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 297.).

[6] Compare Jornandes (c. 35. p. 661.) with Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 380. The former had a right to obſerve, originis ſuæ ſigna reſtituens. The character and portrait of Attila are probably tranſcribed from Caſſiodorius.

and

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and he had a cuſtom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wiſhed to enjoy the terror which he inſpired. Yet this ſavage hero was not inacceſſible to pity; his ſuppliant enemies might confide in the aſſurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was conſidered by his ſubjects as a juſt and indulgent maſter. He delighted in war; but, after he had aſcended the throne in a mature age, his head, rather than his hand, atchieved the conqueſt of the North; and the fame of an adventurous ſoldier was uſefully exchanged for that of a prudent and ſucceſsful general. The effects of perſonal valour are ſo inconſiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among Barbarians, muſt depend on the degree of ſkill, with which the paſſions of the multitude are combined and guided for the ſervice of a ſingle man. The Scythian conquerors, Attila and Zingis, ſurpaſſed their rude countrymen in art, rather than in courage; and it may be obſerved, that the monarchies, both of the Huns, and of the Moguls, were erected by their founders on the baſis of popular ſuperſtition. The miraculous conception, which fraud and credulity aſcribed to the virgin-mother of Zingis, raiſed him above the level of human nature; and the naked prophet, who, in the name of the Deity, inveſted him with the empire of the earth, pointed the valour of the Moguls with irreſiſtible enthuſiaſm[7]. The religious arts of Attila were not leſs ſkilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough, that the Scythians ſhould adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abſtract idea, or a corporeal repreſentation, they worſhipped their tutelar deity under the ſymbol of an iron cimeter[8].

One

[7] Abulpharag. Dynaſt. verſ. Pocock, p. 281. Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars, by Abulghazi Bahader Khan, part iii. c. 15. part iv. c. 3. Vie de Gengiſcan, par Petit de la Croix, l. i. c. 1. 6. The relations of the miſſionaries, who viſited Tartary in the thirteenth century (ſee the ſeventh volume of the Hiſtoire des Voyages), expreſs the popular language and opinions; Zingis is ſtyled the Son of God, &c. &c.

[8] Nec templum apud eos viſitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni

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he diſcovers the ſword of Mars,

One of the ſhepherds of the Huns perceived, that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herſelf in the foot, and curiouſly followed the track of the blood, till he diſcovered, among the long graſs, the point of an ancient ſword; which he dug out of the ground, and preſented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful, prince accepted, with pious gratitude, this celeſtial favour; and, as the rightful poſſeſſor of the *ſword of Mars*, aſſerted his divine and indefeaſible claim to the dominion of the earth[9]. If the rites of Scythia were practiſed on this ſolemn occaſion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raiſed in a ſpacious plain; and the ſword of Mars was placed erect on the ſummit of this ruſtic altar, which was annually conſecrated by the blood of ſheep, horſes, and of the hundredth captive[10]. Whether human ſacrifices formed any part of the worſhip of Attila, or whether he propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favourite of Mars ſoon acquired a ſacred character, which rendered his conqueſts more eaſy, and more permanent; and the Barbarian princes confeſſed, in the language of devotion or flattery, that they could not preſume to gaze, with a ſteady eye, on the divine majeſty of the king of the Huns[11]. His brother Bleda, who reigned over a conſiderable part of the nation,

cerni uſquam poteſt; ſed *gladius* Barbarico ritû humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircant præſulem verecundius colunt. Ammian. Marcellin. xxxi. 2. and the learned Notes of Lindenbrogius and Valeſius.

[9] Priſcus relates this remarkable ſtory, both in his own text (p. 65.), and in the quotation made by Jornandes (c. 35. p. 662.). He might have explained the tradition, or fable, which characteriſed this famous ſword, and the name, as well as attributes, of the Scythian deity, whom he has tranſlated into the Mars of the Greeks and Romans.

[10] Herodot. l. iv. c. 62. For the ſake of œconomy, I have calculated by the ſmalleſt ſtadium. In the human ſacrifices, they cut off the ſhoulder and arm of the victim, which they threw up into the air, and drew omens and preſages from the manner of their falling on the pile.

[11] Priſcus, p. 55. A more civilized hero, Auguſtus himſelf, was pleaſed, if the perſon on whom he fixed his eyes ſeemed unable to ſupport their divine luſtre. Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 79.

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was compelled to reſign his ſceptre, and his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a ſupernatural impulſe; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the ſword of Mars, convinced the world, that it had been reſerved alone for his invincible arm [12]. But the extent of his empire affords the only remaining evidence of the number, and importance, of his victories; and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of ſcience and philoſophy, might, perhaps, lament, that his illiterate ſubjects were deſtitute of the art which could perpetuate the memory of his exploits.

and acquires the empire of Scythia and Germany.

If a line of ſeparation were drawn between the civilized and the ſavage climates of the globe; between the inhabitants of cities, who cultivated the earth, and the hunters and ſhepherds, who dwelt in tents, Attila might aſpire to the title of ſupreme and ſole monarch of the Barbarians [13]. He alone, among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia; and thoſe vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be underſtood with an ample latitude. Thuringia, which ſtretched beyond its actual limits, as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces: he interpoſed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domeſtic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chaſtiſed, and almoſt exterminated, the Burgundians of the Rhine. He ſubdued the iſlands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompaſſed and divided by the waters of the Baltic; and the Huns might derive a tribute of furs from that northern region, which has been protected from all other conquerors by the ſeverity of the climate, and the courage of the natives. Towards the Eaſt,

[12] The count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 428, 429.) attempts to clear Attila from the murder of his brother; and is almoſt inclined to reject the concurrent teſtimony of Jornandes, and the contemporary Chronicles.

[13] Fortiſſimarum gentium dominus, qui inauditâ ante ſe potentiâ, ſolus Scythica et Germanica regna poſſedit. Jornandes, c. 49. p. 684. Priſcus, p. 64, 65. M. de Guignes, by his knowledge of the Chineſe, has acquired (tom. ii. p. 295—301.) an adequate idea of the empire of Attila.

it

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it is difficult to circumſcribe the dominion of Attila over the Scythian deſerts; yet we may be aſſured, that he reigned on the banks of the Volga; that the king of the Huns was dreaded not only as a warrior, but as a magician [14]; that he inſulted and vanquiſhed the khan of the formidable Geougen; and that he ſent ambaſſadors to negotiate an equal alliance with the empire of China. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the ſovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his lifetime, the thought of a revolt, the Gepidæ and the Oſtrogoths were diſtinguiſhed by their numbers, their bravery, and the perſonal merit of their chiefs. The renowned Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, was the faithful and ſagacious counſellor of the monarch; who eſteemed his intrepid genius, whilſt he loved the mild and diſcreet virtues of the noble Walamir, king of the Oſtrogoths. The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of ſo many martial tribes, who ſerved under the ſtandard of Attila, were ranged in the ſubmiſſive order of guards and domeſtics, round the perſon of their maſter. They watched his nod; they trembled at his frown; and, at the firſt ſignal of his will, they executed, without murmur or heſitation, his ſtern and abſolute commands. In time of peace, the dependent princes, with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular ſucceſſion; but when Attila collected his military force, he was able to bring into the field an army of five, or, according to another account, of ſeven hundred thouſand Barbarians [15].

[14] See Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 296. The Geougen believed, that the Huns could excite at pleaſure, ſtorms of wind and rain. This phænomenon was produced by the ſtone *Gezi*; to whoſe magic power the loſs of a battle was aſcribed by the Mahometan Tartars of the fourteenth century. See Chereffeddin Ali, Hiſt. de Timur Bec, tom. i. p. 82, 83.

[15] Jornandes, c. 35. p. 661. c. 37. p. 667. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 129. 138. Corneille has repreſented the pride of Attila to his ſubject kings; and his tragedy opens with theſe two ridiculous lines:

Ils ne ſont pas venus, nos deux rois! qu'on leur die
Qu'ils ſe font trop attendre, et qu'Attila s'ennuie.

The two kings of the Gepidæ and the Oſtrogoths are profound politicians and ſentimental lovers; and the whole piece exhibits the defects, without the genius, of the poet.

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The Huns invade Perſia, A. D. 430—440.

The ambaſſadors of the Huns might awaken the attention of Theodoſius, by reminding him, that they were his neighbours both in Europe and Aſia; ſince they touched the Danube on one hand, and reached, with the other, as far as the Tanais. In the reign of his father Arcadius, a band of adventurous Huns had ravaged the provinces of the Eaſt; from whence they brought away rich ſpoils and innumerable captives [16]. They advanced, by a ſecret path, along the ſhores of the Caſpian ſea; traverſed the ſnowy mountains of Armenia; paſſed the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited their weary cavalry with the generous breed of Cappadocian horſes; occupied the hilly country of Cilicia, and diſturbed the feſtal ſongs and dances of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembled at their approach; and the monks and pilgrims of the Holy Land prepared to eſcape their fury by a ſpeedy embarkation. The memory of this invaſion was ſtill recent in the minds of the Orientals. The ſubjects of Attila might execute, with ſuperior forces, the deſign which theſe adventurers had ſo boldly attempted; and it ſoon became the ſubject of anxious conjecture, whether the tempeſt would fall on the dominions of Rome, or of Perſia. Some of the great vaſſals of the king of the Huns, who were themſelves in the rank of powerful princes, had been ſent to ratify an alliance and ſociety of arms with the emperor, or rather with the general, of the Weſt. They related, during their reſidence at Rome, the circumſtances of an expedition

[16] ——— alii per Caſpia clauſtra
Armeniaſque nives, inopino tramite ducti.
Invadunt Orientis opes: jam paſcua fumant
Cappadocum, volucrumque parens Argæus equorum.
Jam rubet altus Halys, nec ſe defendit iniquo
Monte Cilix; Syriæ tractus vaſtantur amæni;
Aſſuetumque choris et lætâ plebe canorum
Proterit imbellem ſonipes hoſtilis Orontem.
Cladian, in Rufin. l. ii. 28—35.
See, likewiſe, in Eutrop. l. i. 243—251. and the ſtrong deſcription of Jerom, who wrote from his feelings, tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodor. p. 220. ad Ocean. Philoſtorgius (l. ix. c. 8.) mentions this irruption.

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pedition which they had lately made into the Eaſt. After paſſing a deſert and a moraſs, ſuppoſed by the Romans to be the lake Mæotis, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days march, on the confines of Media; where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Baſic and Curſic. They encountered the Perſian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own expreſſion, was darkened by a cloud of arrows. But the Huns were obliged to retire, before the numbers of the enemy. Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they loſt the greateſt part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with ſome knowledge of the country, and an impatient deſire of revenge. In the free converſation of the Imperial ambaſſadors, who diſcuſſed, at the court of Attila, the character and deſigns of their formidable enemy, the miniſters of Conſtantinople expreſſed their hope, that his ſtrength might be diverted and employed in a long and doubtful conteſt with the princes of the houſe of Saſſan. The more ſagacious Italians admoniſhed their Eaſtern brethren of the folly and danger of ſuch a hope; and convinced them, *that* the Medes and Perſians were incapable of reſiſting the arms of the Huns; and, *that* the eaſy and important acquiſition would exalt the pride, as well as power, of the conqueror. Inſtead of contenting himſelf with a moderate contribution, and a military title, which equalled him only to the generals of Theodoſius, Attila would proceed to impoſe a diſgraceful and intolerable yoke on the necks of the proſtrate and captive Romans, who would then be encompaſſed, on all ſides, by the empire of the Huns [17].

They attack the Eaſtern empire, A. D. 441, &c.

While the powers of Europe and Aſia were ſolicitous to avert the impending danger, the alliance of Attila maintained the Vandals in the poſſeſſion of Africa. An enterpriſe had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Conſtantinople, for the recovery of that

[17] See the original converſation in Priſcus, p. 64, 65.

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valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodoſius. But the ſubtle Genſeric, who ſpread his negotiations round the world, prevented their deſigns, by exciting the king of the Huns to invade the Eaſtern empire; and a trifling incident ſoon became the motive, or pretence, of a deſtructive war [18]. Under the faith of the treaty of Margus, a free market was held on the northern ſide of the Danube, which was protected by a Roman fortreſs, ſurnamed Conſtantia. A troop of Barbarians violated the commercial ſecurity: killed, or diſperſed, the unſuſpecting traders; and levelled the fortreſs with the ground. The Huns juſtified this outrage as an act of repriſal; alleged, that the biſhop of Margus had entered their territories, to diſcover and ſteal a ſecret treaſure of their kings; and ſternly demanded the guilty prelate, the ſacrilegious ſpoil, and the fugitive ſubjects, who had eſcaped from the juſtice of Attila. The refuſal of the Byzantine court was the ſignal of war; and the Mæſians at firſt applauded the generous firmneſs of their ſovereign. But they were ſoon intimidated by the deſtruction of Viminiacum and the adjacent towns; and the people was perſuaded to adopt the convenient maxim, that a private citizen, however innocent or reſpectable, may be juſtly ſacrificed to the ſafety of his country. The biſhop of Margus, who did not poſſeſs the ſpirit of a martyr, reſolved to prevent the deſigns which he ſuſpected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; ſecured, by ſolemn oaths, his pardon and reward; poſted a numerous detachment of Barbarians, in ſilent ambuſh, on the banks of the Danube; and, at the appointed hour, opened, with his own

[18] Priſcus, p. 331. His hiſtory contained a copious and elegant account of the war (Evagrius, l. i. c. 17.); but the extracts which relate to the embaſſies are the only parts that have reached our times. The original work was acceſſible, however, to the writers, from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge, Jornandes, Theophanes, Count Marcellinus, Proſper-Tyro, and the author of the Alexandrian, or Paſchal, Chronicle. M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. c. xv.) has examined the cauſe, the circumſtances, and the duration, of this war and will not allow it to extend beyond the year four hundred and forty-four.

hand,

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hand, the gates of his epiſcopal city. This advantage, which had been obtained by treachery, ſerved as a prelude to more honourable and deciſive victories. The Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of caſtles and fortreſſes; and though the greateſt part of them conſiſted only of a ſingle tower, with a ſmall garriſon, they were commonly ſufficient to repel, or to intercept, the inroads of an enemy, who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular ſiege. But theſe ſlight obſtacles were inſtantly ſwept away by the inundation of the Huns [19]. They deſtroyed, with fire and ſword, the populous cities of Sirmium and Singidunum, of Ratiaria and Marcianapolis, of Naiſſus and Sardica; where every circumſtance, in the diſcipline of the people, and the conſtruction of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to the ſole purpoſe of defence. The whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Hadriatic, was at once invaded, and occupied, and deſolated, by the myriads of Barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The public danger and diſtreſs could not, however, provoke Theodoſius to interrupt his amuſements and devotion, or to appear in perſon at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops, which had been ſent againſt Genſeric, were haſtily recalled from Sicily; the garriſons, on the ſide of Perſia, were exhauſted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable by their arms and numbers, if the generals had underſtood the ſcience of command, and their ſoldiers the duty of obedience. The armies of the Eaſtern empire were vanquiſhed in three ſucceſſive engagements; and the progreſs of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former, on the banks of the Utus, and under the walls of Marcianapolis, were fought in the extenſive plains between the Da-

and ravage Europe, as far as Conſtantinople.

[19] Procopius, de Edificiis, l. iv. c. 5. Theſe fortreſſes were afterwards reſtored, ſtrengthened, and enlarged by the emperor Juſtinian; but they were ſoon deſtroyed by the Abares, who ſucceeded to the power and poſſeſſions of the Huns.

nube

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nube and Mount Hæmus. As the Romans were preſſed by a victorious enemy, they gradually, and unſkilfully, retired towards the Cherſoneſus of Thrace; and that narrow peninſula, the laſt extremity of the land, was marked by their third, and irreparable, defeat. By the deſtruction of this army, Attila acquired the indiſputable poſſeſſion of the field. From the Helleſpont to Thermopylæ, and the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, he ravaged, without reſiſtance, and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Heraclea and Hadrianople might, perhaps, eſcape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words, the moſt expreſſive of total extirpation and eraſure, are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on ſeventy cities of the Eaſtern empire[20]. Theodoſius, his court, and the unwarlike people, were protected by the walls of Conſtantinople; but thoſe walls had been ſhaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage indeed was ſpeedily repaired; but this accident was aggravated by a ſuperſtitious fear, that Heaven itſelf had delivered the Imperial city to the ſhepherds of Scythia, who were ſtrangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans[21].

The Scythian, or Tartar wars.

In all their invaſions of the civilized empires of the South, the Scythian ſhepherds have been uniformly actuated by a ſavage and deſtructive ſpirit. The laws of war, that reſtrain the exerciſe of national rapine and murder, are founded on two principles of ſubſtantial intereſt: the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate uſe of conqueſt; and a juſt apprehenſion,

[20] Septuaginta civitates (ſays Proſper-Tyro) deprædatione vaſtatæ. The language of Count Marcellinus is ſtill more forcible. Pene totam Europam, invaſis *exciſiſque* civitatibus atque caſtellis, *conraſit*.

[21] Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 106, 107.) has paid great attention to this memorable earthquake; which was felt as far from Conſtantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the eccleſiaſtical writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

leſt

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leſt the deſolation which we inflict on the enemy's country, may be retaliated on our own. But theſe conſiderations of hope and fear are almoſt unknown in the paſtoral ſtate of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injuſtice, be compared to the Moguls and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of Oriental hiſtory may reflect ſome light on the ſhort and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had ſubdued the northern provinces of China, it was ſeriouſly propoſed, not in the hour of victory and paſſion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the paſture of cattle. The firmneſs of a Chineſe mandarin [22], who inſinuated ſome principles of rational policy into the mind of Zingis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid deſign. But in the cities of Aſia, which yielded to the Moguls, the inhuman abuſe of the rights of war was exerciſed, with a regular form of diſcipline, which may, with equal reaſon, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants, who had ſubmitted to their diſcretion, were ordered to evacuate their houſes, and to aſſemble in ſome plain adjacent to the city; where a diviſion was made of the vanquiſhed into three parts. The firſt claſs conſiſted of the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and of the young men capable of bearing arms; and their fate was inſtantly decided: they were either inliſted among the Moguls, or they were maſſacred on the ſpot by the troops, who, with pointed ſpears and bended bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The ſecond claſs, compoſed of the young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profeſſion, and

[22] He repreſented, to the emperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces (Petcheli, Chantong, Chanſi, and Leaotong) which he already poſſeſſed, might annually produce, under a mild adminiſtration, 500,000 ounces of ſilver, 400,000 meaſures of rice, and 800,000 pieces of ſilk. Gaubil. Hiſt. de la Dynaſtie des Mongous, p. 58, 59. Yelutchouſay (ſuch was the name of the mandarin) was a wiſe and virtuous miniſter, who ſaved his country, and civilized the conquerors. See p. 102, 103.

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of the more wealthy or honourable citizens, from whom a private ranſom might be expected, was diſtributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whoſe life or death was alike uſeleſs to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city; which, in the mean while, had been ſtripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was impoſed on thoſe wretched inhabitants for the indulgence of breathing their native air. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not conſcious of any extraordinary rigour [23]. But the moſt caſual provocation, the ſlighteſt motive, of caprice or convenience, often provoked them to involve a whole people in an indiſcriminate maſſacre: and the ruin of ſome flouriſhing cities was executed with ſuch unrelenting perſeverance, that, according to their own expreſſion, horſes might run, without ſtumbling, over the ground where they had once ſtood. The three great capitals of Khoraſan, Maru, Neiſabour, and Herat, were deſtroyed by the armies of Zingis; and the exact account, which was taken of the ſlain, amounted to four millions three hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand perſons [24]. Timur, or Tamerlane, was educated in a leſs barbarous age; and in the profeſſion of the Mahometan religion: yet, if Attila equalled the hoſtile ravages of Tamerlane [25], either the Tartar or the Hun might deſerve the epithet of the SCOURGE OF GOD [26].

It

[23] Particular inſtances would be endleſs; but the curious reader may conſult the life of Gengiſcan, by Petit de la Croix, the Hiſtoire des Mongous, and the fifteenth book of the Hiſtory of the Huns.

[24] At Maru, 1,300,000; at Herat, 1,600,000; at Neiſabour, 1,747,000. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 380, 381. I uſe the orthography of d'Anville's maps. It muſt however be allowed, that the Perſians were diſpoſed to exaggerate their loſſes, and the Moguls, to magnify their exploits.

[25] Cherefeddin Ali, his ſervile panegyriſt, would afford us many horrid examples. In his camp before Delhi, Timur maſſacred 100,000 Indian priſoners who had *ſmiled* when the army of their countrymen appeared in fight (Hiſt. de Timur Bec, tom. iii. p. 90.). The people of Iſpahan ſupplied 70,000 human ſculls for the ſtructure of ſeveral lofty towers (Id. tom. i. p. 434.). A ſimilar tax was levied on the revolt of Bagdad (tom. iii. p. 370.); and the exact account, which Cherefeddin was not able to procure from the proper officers, is ſtated by another hiſtorian (Ahmed Arabſiada, tom. ii. p. 175. verſ. Manger) at 90,000 heads.

[26] The ancients, Jornandes, Priſcus, &c. are

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State of the captives.

It may be affirmed, with bolder aſſurance, that the Huns depopulated the provinces of the empire, by the number of Roman ſubjects whom they led away into captivity. In the hands of a wiſe legiſlator, ſuch an induſtrious colony might have contributed to diffuſe, through the deſarts of Scythia, the rudiments of the uſeful and ornamental arts; but theſe captives, who had been taken in war, were accidentally diſperſed among the hords, that obeyed the empire of Attila. The eſtimate of their reſpective value was formed by the ſimple judgment of unenlightened, and unprejudiced, Barbarians. Perhaps they might not underſtand the merit of a theologian, profoundly ſkilled in the controverſies of the Trinity and the Incarnation: yet they reſpected the miniſters of every religion; and the active zeal of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, without approaching the perſon, or the palace, of the monarch, ſucceſsfully laboured in the propagation of the goſpel [27]. The paſtoral tribes, who were ignorant of the diſtinction of landed property, muſt have diſregarded the uſe, as well as the abuſe, of civil juriſprudence; and the ſkill of an eloquent lawyer could excite only their contempt, or their abhorrence [28]. The perpetual intercourſe of the Huns and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the Barbarians were ambitious of converſing in Latin, the

are ignorant of this epithet. The modern Hungarians have imagined, that it was applied, by a hermit of Gaul, to Attila, who was pleaſed to inſert it among the titles of his royal dignity. Maſcou, ix. 23. and Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 143.

[27] The miſſionaries of St. Chryſoſtom had converted great numbers of the Scythians, who dwelt, beyond the Danube, in tents and waggons. Theodoret, l. v. c. 31. Photius, p. 1517. The Mahometans, the Neſtorians, and the Latin Chriſtians, thought themſelves ſecure of gaining the ſons and grandſons of Zingis, who treated the rival miſſionaries with impartial favour.

[28] The Germans, who exterminated Varus and his legions, had been particularly offended with the Roman laws and lawyers. One of the Barbarians, after the effectual precautions of cutting out the tongue of an advocate, and ſewing up his mouth, obſerved, with much ſatisfaction, that the viper could no longer hiſs. Florus, iv. 12.

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military idiom, even of the Eaſtern empire[29]. But they diſdained the language, and the ſciences, of the Greeks; and the vain ſophiſt, or grave philoſopher, who had enjoyed the flattering applauſe of the ſchools, was mortified to find, that his robuſt ſervant was a captive of more value and importance than himſelf. The mechanic arts were encouraged and eſteemed, as they tended to ſatisfy the wants of the Huns. An architect, in the ſervice of Onegeſius, one of the favourites of Attila, was employed to conſtruct a bath: but this work was a rare example of private luxury; and the trades of the ſmith, the carpenter, the armourer, were much more adapted to ſupply a wandering people with the uſeful inſtruments of peace and war. But the merit of the phyſician was received with univerſal favour and reſpect; the Barbarians, who deſpiſed death, might be apprehenſive of diſeaſe; and the haughty conqueror trembled in the preſence of a captive, to whom he aſcribed, perhaps, an imaginary power, of prolonging, or preſerving, his life[30]. The Huns might be provoked to inſult the miſery of their ſlaves, over whom they exerciſed a deſpotic command[31]; but their manners were not ſuſceptible of a refined ſyſtem of oppreſſion; and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompenſed by the gift of freedom. The hiſtorian Priſcus, whoſe embaſſy is a ſource of curious inſtruction, was accoſted, in the camp of Attila, by a ſtranger, who ſaluted him in the Greek language, but whoſe dreſs and figure diſplayed the

[29] Priſcus, p. 59. It ſhould ſeem, that the Huns preferred the Gothic and Latin languages to their own; which was probably a harſh and barren idiom.

[30] Philip de Comines, in his admirable picture of the laſt moments of Lewis XI. (Memoires, l. vi. c. 12.), repreſents the inſolence of his phyſician, who, in five months, extorted 54,000 crowns, and a rich biſhopric, from the ſtern avaricious tyrant.

[31] Priſcus (p. 61.) extols the equity of the Roman laws, which protected the life of a ſlave. Occidere ſolent (ſays Tacitus of the Germans) non diſciplinâ et ſeveritate, ſed impetu et irâ, ut inimicum, niſi quòd impune. De Moribus Germ. c. 25. The Heruli, who were the ſubjects of Attila, claimed, and exerciſed, the power of life and death over their ſlaves. See a remarkable inſtance in the ſecond book of Agathias.

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appearance of a wealthy Scythian. In the ſiege of Viminiacum, he had loſt, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty: he became the ſlave of Onegeſius; but his faithful ſervices, againſt the Romans and the Acatzires, had gradually raiſed him to the rank of the native Huns; to whom he was attached by the domeſtic pledges of a new wife and ſeveral children. The ſpoils of war had reſtored and improved his private property; he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apoſtate Greek bleſſed the hour of his captivity, ſince it had been the introduction to an happy and independent ſtate; which he held by the honourable tenure of military ſervice. This reflection naturally produced a diſpute on the advantages, and defects, of the Roman government, which was ſeverely arraigned by the apoſtate, and defended by Priſcus in a prolix and feeble declamation. The freedman of Onegeſius expoſed, in true and lively colours, the vices of a declining empire, of which he had ſo long been the victim; the cruel abſurdity of the Roman princes, unable to protect their ſubjects againſt the public enemy, unwilling to truſt them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes, rendered ſtill more oppreſſive by the intricate or arbitrary modes of collection; the obſcurity of numerous and contradictory laws; the tedious and expenſive forms of judicial proceedings; the partial adminiſtration of juſtice; and the univerſal corruption, which increaſed the influence of the rich, and aggravated the misfortunes of the poor. A ſentiment of patriotic ſympathy was at length revived in the breaſt of the fortunate exile; and he lamented, with a flood of tears, the guilt or weakneſs of thoſe magiſtrates, who had perverted the wiſeſt and moſt ſalutary inſtitutions [32].

[32] See the whole converſation in Priſcus, p. 59–62.

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Treaty of peace between Attila and the Eastern empire, A. D. 446.

The timid, or ſelfiſh, policy of the weſtern Romans had abandoned the Eaſtern empire to the Huns [33]. The loſs of armies, and the want of diſcipline, or virtue, were not ſupplied by the perſonal character of the monarch. Theodoſius might ſtill affect the ſtyle, as well as the title, of *Invincible Auguſtus*; but he was reduced to ſolicit the clemency of Attila, who imperiouſly dictated theſe harſh and humiliating conditions of peace. I. The emperor of the Eaſt reſigned, by an expreſs or tacit convention, an extenſive and important territory, which ſtretched along the ſouthern banks of the Danube, from Singidunum or Belgrade, as far as Novæ, in the dioceſe of Thrace. The breadth was defined by the vague computation of fifteen days journey; but, from the propoſal of Attila, to remove the ſituation of the national market, it ſoon appeared, that he comprehended the ruined city of Naiſſus within the limits of his dominions. II. The king of the Huns required, and obtained, that his tribute or ſubſidy ſhould be augmented from ſeven hundred pounds of gold to the annual ſum of two thouſand one hundred; and he ſtipulated the immediate payment of ſix thouſand pounds of gold to defray the expences, or to expiate the guilt, of the war. One might imagine, that ſuch a demand, which ſcarcely equalled the meaſure of private wealth, would have been readily diſcharged by the opulent empire of the Eaſt; and the public diſtreſs affords a remarkable proof of the impoveriſhed, or at leaſt of the diſorderly, ſtate of the finances. A large proportion of the taxes, extorted from the people, was detained and intercepted in their paſſage, through the foulеſt channels, to the treaſury of Conſtantinople. The revenue was diſſipated by Theodoſius, and his favourites, in waſteful and profuſe luxury; which was

[33] Nova iterum Orienti aſſurgit ruina .... quum nulla ab Occidentalibus ferrentur auxilia. Proſper-Tyro compoſed his Chronicle in the Weſt; and his obſervation implies a cenſure.

diſguiſed

diſguiſed by the names of Imperial magnificence, or Chriſtian charity. The immediate ſupplies had been exhauſted by the unforeſeen neceſſity of military preparations. A perſonal contribution, rigorouſly, but capriciouſly, impoſed on the members of the ſenatorian order, was the only expedient that could diſarm, without loſs of time, the impatient avarice of Attila: and the poverty of the nobles compelled them to adopt the ſcandalous reſource of expoſing to public auction the jewels of their wives, and the hereditary ornaments of their palaces [34]. III. The king of the Huns appears to have eſtabliſhed, as a principle of national juriſprudence, that he could never loſe the property, which he had once acquired, in the perſons, who had yielded either a voluntary, or reluctant, ſubmiſſion to his authority. From this principle he concluded, and the concluſions of Attila were irrevocable laws, that the Huns, who had been taken priſoners in war, ſhould be releaſed without delay, and without ranſom; that every Roman captive, who had preſumed to eſcape, ſhould purchaſe his right to freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold; and that all the Barbarians, who had deſerted the ſtandard of Attila, ſhould be reſtored, without any promiſe, or ſtipulation, of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty, the Imperial officers were forced to maſſacre ſeveral loyal and noble deſerters, who refuſed to devote themſelves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reaſonable claims to the friendſhip of any Scythian people, by this public confeſſion, that they were deſtitute either of faith, or power, to protect the ſuppliants, who had embraced the throne of Theodoſius [35].

The

[34] According to the deſcription, or rather invective, of Chryſoſtom, an auction of Byzantine luxury muſt have been very productive. Every wealthy houſe poſſeſſed a ſemicircular table of maſſy ſilver, ſuch as two men could ſcarcely lift, a vaſe of ſolid gold of the weight of forty pounds, cups, diſhes of the ſame metal, &c.

[35] The articles of the treaty, expreſſed without much order or preciſion, may be found in Priſcus (p. 34, 35, 36, 37. 53, &c.). Count Marcellinus diſpenſes ſome comfort, by

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Spirit of the Azimuntines.

The firmneſs of a ſingle town, ſo obſcure, that, except on this occaſion, it has never been mentioned by any hiſtorian or geographer, expoſed the diſgrace of the emperor and empire. Azimus, or Azimuntium, a ſmall city of Thrace on the Illyrian borders [36], had been diſtinguiſhed by the martial ſpirit of its youth, the ſkill and reputation of the leaders whom they had choſen, and their daring exploits againſt the innumerable hoſt of the Barbarians. Inſtead of tamely expecting their approach, the Azimuntines attacked, in frequent and ſucceſsful ſallies, the troops of the Huns, who gradually declined the dangerous neighbourhood; reſcued from their hands the ſpoil and the captives, and recruited their domeſtic force by the voluntary aſſociation of fugitives and deſerters. After the concluſion of the treaty, Attila ſtill menaced the empire with implacable war, unleſs the Azimuntines were perſuaded, or compelled, to comply with the conditions which their ſovereign had accepted. The miniſters of Theodoſius confeſſed with ſhame, and with truth, that they no longer poſſeſſed any authority over a ſociety of men, who ſo bravely aſſerted their natural independence; and the king of the Huns condeſcended to negotiate an equal exchange with the citizens of Azimus. They demanded the reſtitution of ſome ſhepherds, who, with their cattle, had been accidentally ſurpriſed. A ſtrict, though fruitleſs, inquiry was allowed: but the Huns were obliged to ſwear, that they did not detain any priſoners belonging to the city, before they could recover two ſurviving countrymen, whom the Azimuntines had reſerved as pledges for the ſafety of their loſt companions.

by obſerving, 1ſt, *That* Attila himſelf ſolicited the peace and preſents, which he had formerly refuſed; and, 2dly, *That*, about the ſame time, the ambaſſadors of India preſented a fine large tame tyger to the emperor Theodoſius.

[36] Priſcus, p. 35, 36. Among the hundred and eighty-two forts, or caſtles, of Thrace, enumerated by Procopius (de Edificiis, l. iv. c. xi. tom. ii. p. 92. edit. Paris), there is one of the name of *Eſimontou*, whoſe poſition is doubtfully marked, in the neighbourhood of Anchialus, and the Euxine Sea. The name and walls of Azimuntium might ſubſiſt till the reign of Juſtinian; but the race of its brave defenders had been carefully extirpated by the jealouſy of the Roman princes.

Attila,

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Attila, on his ſide, was ſatisfied, and deceived, by their ſolemn aſſeveration, that the reſt of the captives had been put to the ſword; and that it was their conſtant practice, immediately to diſmiſs the Romans and the deſerters, who had obtained the ſecurity of the public faith. This prudent and officious diſſimulation may be condemned, or excuſed, by the caſuiſts, as they incline to the rigid decree of St. Auguſtin, or to the milder ſentiment of St. Jerom and St. Chryſoſtom: but every ſoldier, every ſtateſman, muſt acknowledge, that, if the race of the Azimuntines had been encouraged and multiplied, the Barbarians would have ceaſed to trample on the majeſty of the empire [37].

Embaſſies from Attila to Conſtantinople.

It would have been ſtrange, indeed, if Theodoſius had purchaſed, by the loſs of honour, a ſecure and ſolid tranquillity; or if his tameneſs had not invited the repetition of injuries. The Byzantine court was inſulted by five or ſix ſucceſſive embaſſies [38]; and the miniſters of Attila were uniformly inſtructed to preſs the tardy or imperfect execution of the laſt treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deſerters, who were ſtill protected by the empire; and to declare, with ſeeming moderation, that unleſs their ſovereign obtained complete and immediate ſatisfaction, it would be impoſſible for him, were it even his wiſh, to check the reſentment of his warlike tribes. Beſides the motives of pride and intereſt, which might prompt the king of the Huns to continue this train of negotiation, he was influenced by the leſs honourable view of enriching his favourites at the expence of his enemies. The Imperial treaſury was exhauſted,

[37] The peeviſh diſpute of St. Jerom and St. Auguſtin, who laboured, by different expedients, to reconcile the *ſeeming* quarrel of the two apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, depends on the ſolution of an important queſtion (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 5—10.), which has been frequently agitated by Catholic and Proteſtant divines, and even by lawyers and philoſophers of every age.

[38] Monteſquieu (Conſiderations ſur la Grandeur, &c. c. xix.) has delineated, with a bold and eaſy pencil, ſome of the moſt ſtriking circumſtances of the pride of Attila, and the diſgrace of the Romans. He deſerves the praiſe of having read the Fragments of Priſcus, which have been too much diſregarded.

to

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to procure the friendly offices of the ambaſſadors, and their principal attendants, whoſe favourable report might conduce to the maintenance of peace. The Barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal reception of his miniſters; he computed with pleaſure the value and ſplendour of their gifts, rigorouſly exacted the performance of every promiſe, which would contribute to their private emolument, and treated as an important buſineſs of ſtate, the marriage of his ſecretary Conſtantius [39]. That Gallic adventurer, who was recommended by Ætius to the king of the Huns, had engaged his ſervice to the miniſters of Conſtantinople, for the ſtipulated reward of a wealthy and noble wife; and the daughter of count Saturninus was choſen to diſcharge the obligations of her country. The reluctance of the victim, ſome domeſtic troubles, and the unjuſt confiſcation of her fortune, cooled the ardour of her intereſted lover; but he ſtill demanded, in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and, after many ambiguous delays and excuſes, the Byzantine court was compelled to ſacrifice to this inſolent ſtranger the widow of Armatius, whoſe birth, opulence, and beauty, placed her in the moſt illuſtrious rank of the Roman matrons. For theſe importunate and oppreſſive embaſſies, Attila claimed a ſuitable return: he weighed, with ſuſpicious pride, the character and ſtation of the Imperial envoys: but he condeſcended to promiſe, that he would advance as far as Sardica, to receive any miniſters who had been inveſted with the conſular dignity. The council of Theodoſius eluded this propoſal, by repreſenting the deſolate and ruined condition of Sardica; and even ventured to inſinuate, that every officer of the army or houſehold was qualified to treat with the moſt powerful princes of Scythia. Maximin [40], a reſpectable

[39] See Priſcus, p. 69. 71, 72, &c. I would fain believe, that this adventurer was afterwards crucified by the order of Attila, on a ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices: but Priſcus (p. 57.) has too plainly diſtinguiſhed *two* perſons of the name of Conſtantius, who, from the ſimilar events of their lives, might have been eaſily confounded.

[40] In the Perſian treaty concluded in the year 422, the wiſe and eloquent Maximin had

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reſpectable courtier, whoſe abilities had been long exerciſed in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance the troubleſome, and, perhaps, dangerous commiſſion, of reconciling the angry ſpirit of the king of the Huns. His friend, the hiſtorian Priſcus [41], embraced the opportunity of obſerving the Barbarian hero in the peaceful and domeſtic ſcenes of life: but the ſecret of the embaſſy, a fatal and guilty ſecret, was entruſted only to the interpreter Vigilius. The two laſt ambaſſadors of the Huns, Oreſtes, a noble ſubject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Scyrri, returned at the ſame time from Conſtantinople to the royal camp. Their obſcure names were afterwards illuſtrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contraſt of their ſons: the two ſervants of Attila became the fathers of the laſt Roman emperor of the Weſt, and of the firſt Barbarian king of Italy.

The embaſſy of Maximin to Attila, A. D. 448.

The ambaſſadors, who were followed by a numerous train of men and horſes, made their firſt halt at Sardica, at the diſtance of three hundred and fifty miles, or thirteen days journey, from Conſtantinople. As the remains of Sardica were ſtill included within the limits of the empire, it was incumbent on the Romans to exerciſe the duties of hoſpitality. They provided, with the aſſiſtance of the provincials, a ſufficient number of ſheep and oxen; and invited the Huns to a ſplendid, or at leaſt a plentiful, ſupper. But the harmony of the entertainment was ſoon diſturbed by mutual prejudice

had been the aſſeſſor of Ardaburius (Socrates, l. vii. c. 20.). When Marcian aſcended the throne, the office of Great Chamberlain was beſtowed on Maximin, who is ranked, in a public edict, among the four principal miniſters of ſtate (Novell. ad calc. Cod. Theod. p. 31.). He executed a civil and military commiſſion in the Eaſtern provinces; and his death was lamented by the ſavages of Æthiopia, whoſe incurſions he had repreſſed. See Priſcus, p. 40, 41.

[41] Priſcus was a native of Panium in Thrace, and deſerved, by his eloquence, an honourable place among the ſophiſts of the age. His Byzantine hiſtory, which related to his own times, was compriſed in ſeven books. See Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 235, 236. Notwithſtanding the charitable judgment of the critics, I ſuſpect that Priſcus was a Pagan.

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and indiſcretion. The greatneſs of the emperor and the empire was warmly maintained by their miniſters; the Huns, with equal ardour, aſſerted the ſuperiority of their victorious monarch: the diſpute was inflamed by the raſh and unſeaſonable flattery of Vigilius, who paſſionately rejected the compariſon of a mere mortal with the divine Theodoſius; and it was with extreme difficulty that Maximin and Priſcus were able to divert the converſation, or to ſoothe the angry minds of the Barbarians. When they roſe from table, the Imperial ambaſſador preſented Edecon and Oreſtes with rich gifts of ſilk robes and Indian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Oreſtes could not forbear inſinuating, that *he* had not always been treated with ſuch reſpect and liberality: and the offenſive diſtinction, which was implied, between his civil office and the hereditary rank of his colleague, ſeems to have made Edecon a doubtful friend, and Oreſtes an irreconcilable enemy. After this entertainment, they travelled about one hundred miles from Sardica to Naiſſus. That flouriſhing city, which had given birth to the great Conſtantine, was levelled with the ground: the inhabitants were deſtroyed, or diſperſed; and the appearance of ſome ſick perſons, who were ſtill permitted to exiſt among the ruins of the churches, ſerved only to increaſe the horror of the proſpect. The ſurface of the country was covered with the bones of the ſlain; and the ambaſſadors, who directed their courſe to the north-weſt, were obliged to paſs the hills of modern Servia, before they deſcended into the flat and marſhy grounds, which are terminated by the Danube. The Huns were maſters of the great river: their navigation was performed in large canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a ſingle tree; the miniſters of Theodoſius were ſafely landed on the oppoſite bank; and their Barbarian aſſociates immediately haſtened to the camp of Attila, which was equally prepared for the amuſements of hunting, or of war. No

ſooner had Maximin advanced about two miles from the Danube, than he began to experience the faſtidious inſolence of the conqueror. He was ſternly forbid to pitch his tents in a pleaſant valley, leſt he ſhould infringe the diſtant awe that was due to the royal manſion. The miniſters of Attila preſſed him to communicate the buſineſs, and the inſtructions, which he reſerved for the ear of their ſovereign. When Maximin temperately urged the contrary practice of nations, he was ſtill more confounded to find, that the reſolutions of the Sacred Conſiſtory, thoſe ſecrets (ſays Priſcus) which ſhould not be revealed to the Gods themſelves, had been treacherouſly diſcloſed to the public enemy. On his refuſal to comply with ſuch ignominious terms, the Imperial envoy was commanded inſtantly to depart: the order was recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns renewed their ineffectual attempts to ſubdue the patient firmneſs of Maximin. At length, by the interceſſion of Scotta, the brother of Onegeſius, whoſe friendſhip had been purchaſed by a liberal gift, he was admitted to the royal preſence; but, inſtead of obtaining a deciſive anſwer, he was compelled to undertake a remote journey towards the North, that Attila might enjoy the proud ſatisfaction of receiving, in the ſame camp, the ambaſſadors of the Eaſtern and Weſtern empires. His journey was regulated by the guides, who obliged him to halt, to haſten his march, or to deviate from the common road, as it beſt ſuited the convenience of the king. The Romans who traverſed the plains of Hungary, ſuppoſed that they paſſed *ſeveral* navigable rivers, either in canoes, or portable boats; but there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that the winding ſtream of the Teyſs, or Tibiſcus, might preſent itſelf in different places, under different names. From the contiguous villages they received a plentiful and regular ſupply of proviſions; mead inſtead of wine, millet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named *camus*, which, according to the report of Priſcus, was diſtil-

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led from barley [42]. Such fare might appear coarſe and indelicate to men who had taſted the luxury of Conſtantinople: but, in their accidental diſtreſs, they were relieved by the gentleneſs and hoſpitality of the ſame Barbarians, ſo terrible and ſo mercileſs in war. The ambaſſadors had encamped on the edge of a large moraſs. A violent tempeſt of wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents, immerſed their baggage and furniture in the water, and ſcattered their retinue, who wandered in the darkneſs of the night, uncertain of their road, and apprehenſive of ſome unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, the property of the widow of Bleda. A bright illumination, and, in a few moments, a comfortable fire of reeds, was kindled by their officious benevolence: the wants, and even the deſires, of the Romans were liberally ſatisfied; and they ſeem to have been embarraſſed by the ſingular politeneſs of Bleda's widow, who added to her other favour the gift, or at leaſt the loan, of a ſufficient number of beautiful and obſequious damſels. The ſunſhine of the ſucceeding day was dedicated to repoſe; to collect and dry the baggage, and to the refreſhment of the men and horſes: but, in the evening, before they purſued their journey, the ambaſſadors expreſſed their gratitude to the bounteous lady of the village, by a very acceptable preſent of ſilver cups, red fleeces, dried fruits, and Indian pepper. Soon after this adventure, they rejoined the march of Attila, from whom they had been ſeparated about ſix days; and ſlowly proceeded to the capital of an empire, which did not contain, in the ſpace of ſeveral thouſand miles, a ſingle city.

[42] The Huns themſelves ſtill continued to deſpiſe the labours of agriculture; they abuſed the privilege of a victorious nation; and the Goths, their induſtrious ſubjects who cultivated the earth, dreaded their neighbourhood, like that of ſo many ravenous wolves (Priſcus, p. 45.). In the ſame manner the Sarts and Tadgics provide for their own ſubſiſtence, and for that of the Uſbec Tartars, their lazy and rapacious ſovereigns. See Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars, p. 423-455, &c.

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The royal village and palace.

As far as we may aſcertain the vague and obſcure geography of Priſcus, this capital appears to have been ſeated between the Danube, the Teyſs, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of Upper Hungary, and moſt probably in the neighbourhood of Jazberin, Agria, or Tokay[43]. In its origin it could be no more than an accidental camp, which, by the long and frequent reſidence of Attila, had inſenſibly ſwelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops who followed his perſon, and of the various multitude of idle or induſtrious ſlaves and retainers[44]. The baths, conſtructed by Onegeſius, were the only edifice of ſtone; the materials had been tranſported from Pannonia; and ſince the adjacent country was deſtitute even of large timber, it may be preſumed, that the meaner habitations of the royal village conſiſted of ſtraw, of mud, or of canvas. The wooden houſes of the more illuſtrious Huns, were built and adorned with rude magnificence, according to the rank, the fortune, or the taſte of the proprietors. They ſeem to have been diſtributed with ſome degree of order and ſymmetry; and each ſpot became more honourable, as it approached the perſon of the ſovereign. The palace of Attila, which ſurpaſſed all other houſes in his dominions, was built entirely of wood, and covered an ample ſpace of ground. The outward encloſure was a lofty wall, or palliſade, of ſmooth ſquare timber, interſected with high towers, but intended rather for

[43] It is evident, that Priſcus paſſed the Danube and the Teyſs, and that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian hills. Agria, Tokay, and Jazberin, are ſituate in the plains circumſcribed by this definition. M. de Buat (Hiſtoire des Peuples, &c. tom. vii. p. 461.) has choſen Tokay; Otrokoſci (p. 180. apud Maſcou, ix. 23.), a learned Hungarian, has preferred Jazberin, a place about thirty-ſix miles weſtward of Buda and the Danube.

[44] The royal village of Attila may be compared to the city of Karacorum, the reſidence of the ſucceſſors of Zingis; which, though it appears to have been a more ſtable habitation, did not equal the ſize or ſplendour of the town and abbey of St. Denys, in the 13th century (ſee Rubruquis, in the Hiſtoire Generale des Voyages, tom. vii. p. 286.). The camp of Aurengzebe, as it is ſo agreeably deſcribed by Bernier (tom. ii. p. 217—235.), blended the manners of Scythia with the magnificence and luxury of Hindoſtan.

ornament

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ornament than defence. This wall, which ſeems to have encircled the declivity of a hill, comprehended a great variety of wooden edifices, adapted to the uſes of royalty. A ſeparate houſe was aſſigned to each of the numerous wives of Attila; and, inſtead of the rigid and illiberal confinement impoſed by Aſiatic jealouſy, they politely admitted the Roman ambaſſadors to their preſence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. When Maximin offered his preſents to Cerca, the principal queen, he admired the ſingular architecture of her manſion, the height of the round columns, the ſize and beauty of the wood, which was curiouſly ſhaped or turned, or poliſhed or carved; and his attentive eye was able to diſcover ſome taſte in the ornaments, and ſome regularity in the proportions. After paſſing through the guards, who watched before the gate, the ambaſſadors were introduced into the private apartment of Cerca. The wife of Attila received their viſit ſitting, or rather lying, on a ſoft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domeſtics formed a circle round the queen; and her damſels, ſeated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dreſs of the Barbaric warriors. The Huns were ambitious of diſplaying thoſe riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories: the trappings of their horſes, their ſwords, and even their ſhoes, were ſtudded with gold and precious ſtones; and their tables were profuſely ſpread with plates, and goblets, and vaſes of gold and ſilver, which had been faſhioned by the labour of Grecian artiſts. The monarch alone aſſumed the ſuperior pride of ſtill adhering to the ſimplicity of his Scythian anceſtors[45]. The dreſs of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his horſe, were plain, without ornament, and of a ſingle colour. The royal table was ſerved in wooden

[45] When the Moguls diſplayed the ſpoils of Aſia, in the diet of Toncat, the throne of Zingis was ſtill covered with the original black felt carpet, on which he had been ſeated, when he was raiſed to the command of his warlike countrymen. See Vie de Gengiſcan, l. iv. c. 9.

cups

cups and platters; fleſh was his only food; and the conqueror of the North never taſted the luxury of bread.

The behaviour of Attila to the Roman ambaſſadors.

When Attila firſt gave audience to the Roman ambaſſadors on the banks of the Danube, his tent was encompaſſed with a formidable guard. The monarch himſelf was ſeated in a wooden chair. His ſtern countenance, angry geſtures, and impatient tone, aſtoniſhed the firmneſs of Maximin; but Vigilius had more reaſon to tremble, ſince he diſtinctly underſtood the menace, that if Attila did not reſpect the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to a croſs, and leave his body to the vultures. The Barbarian condeſcended, by producing an accurate liſt, to expoſe the bold falſehood of Vigilius, who had affirmed that no more than ſeventeen deſerters could be found. But he arrogantly declared, that he apprehended only the diſgrace of contending with his fugitive ſlaves; ſince he deſpiſed their impotent efforts to defend the provinces which Theodoſius had entruſted to their arms: "For what fortreſs" (added Attila), "what city, in the wide extent of the Roman empire, can "hope to exiſt, ſecure and impregnable, if it is our pleaſure that it "ſhould be erazed from the earth?" He diſmiſſed, however, the interpreter, who returned to Conſtantinople with his peremptory demand of more complete reſtitution, and a more ſplendid embaſſy. His anger gradually ſubſided, and his domeſtic ſatisfaction, in a marriage which he celebrated on the road with the daughter of Eſlam, might perhaps contribute to mollify the native fierceneſs of his temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal village, was marked by a very ſingular ceremony. A numerous troop of women came out to meet their hero, and their king. They marched before him, diſtributed into long and regular files: the intervals between the files were filled by white veils of thin linen, which the women on either ſide bore aloft in their hands, and which formed a canopy for a chorus of young virgins, who chanted hymns and ſongs in the

Scythian

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Scythian language. The wife of his favourite Onegeſius, with a train of female attendants, ſaluted Attila at the door of her own houſe, on his way to the palace; and offered, according to the cuſtom of the country, her reſpectful homage, by intreating him to taſte the wine and meat, which ſhe had prepared for his reception. As ſoon as the monarch had graciouſly accepted her hoſpitable gift, his domeſtics lifted a ſmall ſilver table to a convenient height, as he ſat on horſeback; and Attila, when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again ſaluted the wife of Onegeſius, and continued his march. During his reſidence at the ſeat of empire, his hours were not waſted in the recluſe idleneſs of a ſeraglio; and the king of the Huns could maintain his ſuperior dignity, without concealing his perſon from the public view. He frequently aſſembled his council, and gave audience to the ambaſſadors of the nations; and his people might appeal to the ſupreme tribunal, which he held at ſtated times, and, according to the Eaſtern cuſtom, before the principal gate of his wooden palace. The Romans, both of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, were twice invited to the banquets, where Attila feaſted with the princes and nobles of Scythia. Maximin and his colleagues were ſtopped on the threſhold, till they had made a devout libation to the health and proſperity of the king of the Huns; and were conducted, after this ceremony, to their reſpective ſeats in a ſpacious hall. The royal table and couch, covered with carpets and fine linen, was raiſed by ſeveral ſteps in the midſt of the hall; and a ſon, an uncle, or perhaps a favourite king, were admitted to ſhare the ſimple and homely repaſt of Attila. Two lines of ſmall tables, each of which contained three or four gueſts, were ranged in order on either hand; the right was eſteemed the moſt honourable, but the Romans ingenuouſly confeſs, that they were placed on the left; and that Beric, an unknown chieftain, moſt probably of the Gothic race, preceded the repreſentatives of Theodoſius and Valentinian.

The royal feaſt.

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Valentinian. The Barbarian monarch received from his cup-bearer a goblet filled with wine, and courteouſly drank to the health of the moſt diſtinguiſhed gueſt; who roſe from his ſeat, and expreſſed, in the ſame manner, his loyal and reſpectful vows. This ceremony was ſucceſſively performed for all, or at leaſt for the illuſtrious perſons of the aſſembly; and a conſiderable time muſt have been conſumed, ſince it was thrice repeated, as each courſe or ſervice was placed on the table. But the wine ſtill remained after the meat had been removed; and the Huns continued to indulge their intemperance long after the ſober and decent ambaſſadors of the two empires had withdrawn themſelves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet before they retired, they enjoyed a ſingular opportunity of obſerving the manners of the nation in their convivial amuſements. Two Scythians ſtood before the couch of Attila, and recited the verſes which they had compoſed, to celebrate his valour and his victories. A profound ſilence prevailed in the hall; and the attention of the gueſts was captivated by the vocal harmony, which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits: a martial ardour flaſhed from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expreſſed their generous deſpair, that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field [46]. This entertainment, which might be conſidered as a ſchool of military virtue, was ſucceeded by a farce, that debaſed the dignity of human nature. A Mooriſh and a Scythian buffoon ſucceſſively excited the mirth of the rude ſpectators, by their deformed figure, ridiculous dreſs, antic geſtures, abſurd ſpeeches, and the ſtrange unintelligible confuſion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunnic languages; and the hall re-

[46] If we may believe Plutarch (in Demetrio, tom. v. p. 24.), it was the cuſtom of the Scythians, when they indulged in the pleaſures of the table, to awaken their languid courage by the martial harmony of twanging their bow-ſtrings.

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founded with loud and licentious peals of laughter. In the midſt of this intemperate riot, Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his ſtedfaſt and inflexible gravity; which was never relaxed, except on the entrance of Irnac, the youngeſt of his ſons: he embraced the boy with a ſmile of paternal tenderneſs, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was juſtified by the aſſurance of his prophets, that Irnac would be the future ſupport of his family and empire. Two days afterwards, the ambaſſadors received a ſecond invitation; and they had reaſon to praiſe the politeneſs, as well as the hoſpitality, of Attila. The king of the Huns held a long and familiar converſation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expreſſions, and haughty reproaches; and he was provoked, by a motive of intereſt, to ſupport, with unbecoming zeal, the private claims of his ſecretary Conſtantius. "The emperor" (ſaid Attila) "has long promiſed him a rich "wife: Conſtantius muſt not be diſappointed; nor ſhould a Roman "emperor deſerve the name of liar." On the third day, the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed: the freedom of ſeveral captives was granted, for a moderate ranſom, to their preſſing entreaties; and, beſides the royal preſents, they were permitted to accept from each of the Scythian nobles, the honourable and uſeful gift of a horſe. Maximin returned, by the ſame road, to Conſtantinople; and though he was involved in an accidental diſpute with Beric, the new ambaſſador of Attila, he flattered himſelf that he had contributed, by the laborious journey, to confirm the peace and alliance of the two nations [47].

[47] The curious narrative of this embaſſy, which required few obſervations, and was not ſuſceptible of any collateral evidence, may be found in Priſcus, p. 49—70. But I have not confined myſelf to the ſame order: and I had previouſly extracted the hiſtorical circumſtances, which were leſs intimately connected with the journey, and buſineſs, of the Roman ambaſſadors.

But

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Conſpiracy of the Romans againſt the life of Attila.

But the Roman ambaſſador was ignorant of the treacherous deſign, which had been concealed under the maſk of the public faith. The ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction of Edecon, when he contemplated the ſplendour of Conſtantinople, had encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him a ſecret interview with the eunuch Chryſaphius[48], who governed the emperor and the empire. After ſome previous converſation, and a mutual oath of ſecrecy, the eunuch, who had not, from his own feelings or experience, imbibed any exalted notions of miniſterial virtue, ventured to propoſe the death of Attila, as an important ſervice, by which Edecon might deſerve a liberal ſhare of the wealth and luxury which he admired. The ambaſſador of the Huns liſtened to the tempting offer; and profeſſed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as readineſs, to execute the bloody deed: the deſign was communicated to the maſter of the offices, and the devout Theodoſius conſented to the aſſaſſination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious conſpiracy was defeated by the diſſimulation, or the repentance, of Edecon; and though he might exaggerate his inward abhorrence for the treaſon, which he ſeemed to approve, he dexterouſly aſſumed the merit of an early and voluntary confeſſion. If we now review the embaſſy of Maximin, and the behaviour of Attila, we muſt applaud the Barbarian, who reſpected the laws of hoſpitality, and generouſly entertained and diſmiſſed the miniſter of a prince, who had conſpired againſt his life. But the raſhneſs of Vigilius will appear ſtill more extraordinary, ſince he returned, conſcious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp; accompanied by his ſon, and carrying with him a weighty purſe of gold, which the

[48] M. de Tillemont has very properly given the ſucceſſion of Chamberlains, who reigned in the name of Theodoſius. Chryſaphius was the laſt, and, according to the unanimous evidence of hiſtory, the worſt of theſe favourites (ſee Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 117—119. Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xv. p. 438.). His partiality for his godfather, the hereſiarch Eutyches, engaged him to perſecute the orthodox party.

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favourite eunuch had furniſhed, to ſatisfy the demands of Edecon, and to corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter was inſtantly ſeized, and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he aſſerted his innocence with ſpecious firmneſs, till the threat of inflicting inſtant death on his ſon, extorted from him a ſincere diſcovery of the criminal tranſaction. Under the name of ranſom, or confiſcation, the rapacious king of the Huns accepted two hundred pounds of gold for the life of a traitor, whom he diſdained to puniſh. He pointed his juſt indignation againſt a nobler object. His embaſſadors Eſlaw and Oreſtes were immediately diſpatched to Conſtantinople, with a peremptory inſtruction, which it was much ſafer for them to execute than to diſobey. They boldly entered the Imperial preſence, with the fatal purſe hanging down from the neck of Oreſtes; who interrogated the eunuch Chryſaphius, as he ſtood beſide the throne, whether he recognized the evidence of his guilt. But the office of reproof was reſerved for the ſuperior dignity of his colleague Eſlaw, who gravely addreſſed the emperor of the Eaſt in the following words: "Theodoſius is the ſon of an illuſtrious and reſpectable parent: Attila likewiſe is deſcended from a noble race; and *he* has ſupported, by his actions, the dignity which he inherited from his father Mundzuc. But Theodoſius has forfeited his paternal honours, and, by conſenting to pay tribute, has degraded himſelf to the condition of a ſlave. It is therefore juſt, that he ſhould reverence the man whom fortune and merit have placed above him; inſtead of attempting, like a wicked ſlave, clandeſtinely to conſpire againſt his maſter." The ſon of Arcadius, who was accuſtomed only to the voice of flattery, heard with aſtoniſhment the ſevere language of truth: he bluſhed and trembled; nor did he preſume directly to refuſe the head of Chryſaphius, which Eſlaw and Oreſtes were inſtructed to demand. A ſolemn embaſſy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was haſtily ſent to deprecate the wrath of Attila; and his pride

He reprimands and forgives the emperor.

was

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was gratified by the choice of Nomius and Anatolius, two miniſters of conſular or patrician rank, of whom the one was great treaſurer, and the other was maſter-general of the armies of the Eaſt. He condeſcended to meet theſe ambaſſadors on the banks of the river Drenco; and though he at firſt affected a ſtern and haughty demeanour, his anger was inſenſibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condeſcended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; bound himſelf by an oath to obſerve the conditions of peace; releaſed a great number of captives; abandoned the fugitives and deſerters to their fate; and reſigned a large territory to the ſouth of the Danube, which he had already exhauſted of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was purchaſed at an expence which might have ſupported a vigorous and ſucceſsful war; and the ſubjects of Theodoſius were compelled to redeem the ſafety of a worthleſs favourite by oppreſſive taxes, which they would more cheerfully have paid for his deſtruction [49].

Theodoſius the Younger dies, A. D. 450, July 28.

The emperor Theodoſius did not long ſurvive the moſt humiliating circumſtance of an inglorious life. As he was riding, or hunting, in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople, he was thrown from his horſe into the river Licus: the ſpine of the back was injured by the fall; and he expired ſome days afterwards, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign [50]. His ſiſter Pulcheria, whoſe authority had been controlled both in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs by the pernicious influence of the eunuchs, was unanimouſly pro-

[49] This ſecret conſpiracy, and its important conſequences, may be traced in the fragments of Priſcus, p. 37, 38, 39. 54. 70, 71, 72. The chronology of that hiſtorian is not fixed by any preciſe date; but the ſeries of negotiations between Attila and the Eaſtern empire, muſt be included within the three or four years, which are terminated, A. D. 450, by the death of Theodoſius.

[50] Theodorus the Reader (ſee Valeſ. Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. iii. p. 563.), and the Paſchal Chronicle, mention the fall, without ſpecifying the injury: but the conſequence was ſo likely to happen, and ſo unlikely to be invented, that we may ſafely give credit to Nicephorus Calliſtus, a Greek of the fourteenth century.

claimed

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claimed Empreſs of the Eaſt; and the Romans, for the firſt time, ſubmitted to a female reign. No ſooner had Pulcheria aſcended the throne, than ſhe indulged her own, and the public reſentment, by an act of popular juſtice. Without any legal trial, the eunuch Chryſaphius was executed before the gates of the city; and the immenſe riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favourite, ſerved only to haſten and to juſtify his puniſhment [51]. Amidſt the general acclamations of the clergy and people, the empreſs did not forget the prejudice and diſadvantage to which her ſex was expoſed; and ſhe wiſely reſolved to prevent their murmurs by the choice of a colleague, who would always reſpect the ſuperior rank and virgin chaſtity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marcian, a ſenator, about ſixty years of age, and the nominal huſband of Pulcheria was ſolemnly inveſted with the Imperial purple. The zeal which he diſplayed for the orthodox creed, as it was eſtabliſhed by the council of Chalcedon, would alone have inſpired the grateful eloquence of the Catholics. But the behaviour of Marcian in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may ſupport a more rational belief, that he was qualified to reſtore and invigorate an empire, which had been almoſt diſſolved by the ſucceſſive weakneſs of two hereditary monarchs. He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profeſſion of arms; but Marcian's youth had been ſeverely exerciſed by poverty and misfortune, ſince his only reſource, when he firſt arrived at Conſtantinople, conſiſted in two hundred pieces of gold, which he had borrowed of a friend. He paſſed nineteen years in the domeſtic and military ſervice of Aſpar, and his ſon Ardaburius; followed thoſe powerful generals to the Perſian and African wars; and obtained, by their influence, the honourable rank of tribune and ſenator. His

and is ſucceeded by Marcian, Auguſt 25.

[51] Pulcheriæ nutû (ſays Count Marcellinus) ſuâ cum avaritiâ interemptus eſt. She abandoned the eunuch to the pious revenge of a ſon, whoſe father had ſuffered at his inſtigation.

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mild diſpoſition, and uſeful talents, without alarming the jealouſy, recommended Marcian to the eſteem and favour, of his patrons; he had ſeen, perhaps he had felt, the abuſes of a venal and oppreſſive adminiſtration; and his own example gave weight and energy to the laws, which he promulgated for the reformation of manners [52].

[52] Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. Evagrius, l. ii. c. 1. Theophanes, p. 90, 91. Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 30. The praiſes which St. Leo and the Catholics have beſtowed on Marcian, are diligently tranſcribed by Baronius, as an encouragement for future princes.

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Invaſion of Gaul by Attila.—He is repulſed by Ætius and the Viſigoths.—Attila invades and evacuates Italy.—The Deaths of Attila, Ætius, and Valentinian the Third.

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Attila threatens both empires, and prepares to invade Gaul, A. D. 450.

IT was the opinion of Marcian, that war ſhould be avoided, as long as it is poſſible to preſerve a ſecure and honourable peace; but it was likewiſe his opinion, that peace cannot be honourable or ſecure, if the ſovereign betrays a puſillanimous averſion to war. This temperate courage dictated his reply to the demands of Attila, who inſolently preſſed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor ſignified to the Barbarians, that they muſt no longer inſult the majeſty of Rome, by the mention of a tribute; that he was diſpoſed to reward, with becoming liberality, the faithful friendſhip of his allies; but that, if they preſumed to violate the public peace, they ſhould feel that he poſſeſſed troops, and arms, and reſolution to repel their attacks. The ſame language, even in the camp of the Huns, was uſed by his ambaſſador Apollonius, whoſe bold refuſal to deliver the preſents, till he had been admitted to a perſonal interview, diſplayed a ſenſe of dignity, and a contempt of danger, which Attila was not prepared to expect from the degenerate Romans[1]. He threatened to chaſtiſe the raſh ſucceſſor of Theodoſius; but he heſitated, whether he ſhould firſt direct his invincible arms againſt the

[1] See Priſcus, p. 39. 72.

Eaſtern

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Eaſtern or the Weſtern empire. While mankind awaited his deciſion with awful ſuſpenſe, he ſent an equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Conſtantinople; and his miniſters ſaluted the two emperors with the ſame haughty declaration. "Attila, *my* lord, and "*thy* lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate "reception[2]." But as the Barbarian deſpiſed, or affected to deſpiſe, the Romans of the Eaſt, whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed, he ſoon declared his reſolution of ſuſpending the eaſy conqueſt, till he had atchieved a more glorious and important enterpriſe. In the memorable invaſions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of thoſe provinces; but the particular motives and provocations of Attila, can only be explained by the ſtate of the Weſtern empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to ſpeak more correctly, under the adminiſtration of Ætius[3].

Character and adminiſtration of Ætius, A. D. 433—454.

After the death of his rival Boniface, Ætius had prudently retired to the tents of the Huns; and he was indebted to their alliance for his ſafety and his reſtoration. Inſtead of the ſuppliant language of a guilty exile, he ſolicited his pardon at the head of ſixty thouſand Barbarians; and the empreſs Placidia confeſſed, by a feeble reſiſtance, that the condeſcenſion, which might have been aſcribed to clemency, was the effect of weakneſs or fear. She delivered herſelf, her ſon Valentinian, and the Weſtern empire, into the hands of an inſolent ſubject; nor could Placidia protect the ſon-in-law of Boniface, the virtuous and faithful Sebaſtian[4], from the implacable perſecution, which

[2] The Alexandrian or Paſchal Chronicle, which introduces this haughty meſſage, during the lifetime of Theodoſius, may have anticipated the date; but the dull annaliſt was incapable of inventing the original and genuine ſtyle of Attila.

[3] The ſecond book of the Hiſtoire Critique de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 189—424, throws great light on the ſtate of Gaul, when it was invaded by Attila; but the ingenious author, the Abbé Dubos, too often bewilders himſelf in ſyſtem and conjecture.

[4] Victor Vitenſis (de Perſecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 8. edit. Ruinart) calls him, acer conſilio et ſtrenuus in bello: but his courage, when

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which urged him from one kingdom to another, till he miſerably periſhed in the ſervice of the Vandals. The fortunate Ætius, who was immediately promoted to the rank of patrician, and thrice inveſted with the honours of the conſulſhip, aſſumed, with the title of maſter of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the ſtate; and he is ſometimes ſtyled, by contemporary writers, the Duke, or General, of the Romans of the Weſt. His prudence, rather than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grandſon of Theodoſius in the poſſeſſion of the purple; and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patriot, who ſupported near twenty years the ruins of the Weſtern empire. The Gothic hiſtorian ingenuouſly confeſſes, that Ætius was born for the ſalvation of the Roman republic[5]; and the following portrait, though it is drawn in the faireſt colours, muſt be allowed to contain a much larger proportion of truth than of flattery. "His mother was a wealthy "and noble Italian, and his father Gaudentius, who held a diſtin-"guiſhed rank in the province of Scythia, gradually roſe from the "ſtation of a military *domeſtic*, to the dignity of maſter of the cavalry. "Their ſon, who was enrolled almoſt in his infancy in the guards, "was given as a hoſtage, firſt to Alaric, and afterwards to the Huns; "and he ſucceſſively obtained the civil and military honours of the "palace, for which he was equally qualified by ſuperior merit. "The graceful figure of Ætius was not above the middle ſtature; "but his manly limbs were admirably formed for ſtrength, beauty,

when he became unfortunate, was cenſured as deſperate raſhneſs; and Sebaſtian deſerved, or obtained, the epithet of *præceps* (Sidon. Apollinar. Carmen ix. 181.). His adventures at Conſtantinople, in Sicily, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, are faintly marked in the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius. In his diſtreſs he was always followed by a numerous train; ſince he could ravage the Helleſpont and Propontis, and ſeize the city of Barcelona.

[5] Reipublicæ Romanæ ſingulariter natus, qui ſuperbiam Suevorum, Francorumque barbariem immenſis cædibus ſervire Imperio Romano coegiſſet. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. p. 660.

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" and agility; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing " a horse, drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could " patiently endure the want of food or of sleep; and his mind and " body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He pos- " sessed the genuine courage, that can despise not only dangers but " injuries; and it was impossible either to corrupt, or deceive, or " intimidate, the firm integrity of his soul [6]." The Barbarians, who had seated themselves in the Western provinces, were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the patrician Ætius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition. A seasonable treaty, which he concluded with Genseric, protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the Imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic.

His connection with the Huns and Alani.

From a principle of interest, as well as gratitude, Ætius assiduously cultivated the alliance of the Huns. While he resided in their tents as a hostage, or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpilio, the son of Ætius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude and voluntary attachment, the patrician might disguise his apprehensions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innu-

[6] This portrait is drawn by Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, a contemporary historian, known only by some extracts, which are preserved by Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 8. in tom. ii. p. 163.). It was probably the duty, or at least the interest, of Renatus, to magnify the virtues of Ætius; but he would have shewn more dexterity, if he had not insisted on his patient, *forgiving* disposition.

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merable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the ſpoils of a vanquiſhed city, ſome vaſes of gold, which had been fraudulently embezzled; the civil and military governors of Noricum were immediately diſpatched to ſatisfy his complaints [7]; and it is evident, from their converſation with Maximin and Priſcus, in the royal village, that the valour and prudence of Ætius had not ſaved the Weſtern Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy prolonged the advantages of a ſalutary peace; and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his perſon, was employed in the defence of Gaul. Two colonies of theſe Barbarians were judiciouſly fixed in the territories of Valence and Orleans [8]; and their active cavalry ſecured the important paſſages of the Rhône and of the Loire. Theſe ſavage allies were not indeed leſs formidable to the ſubjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original ſettlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conqueſt; and the province through which they marched was expoſed to all the calamities of an hoſtile invaſion [9]. Strangers to the emperor or the re-

[7] The embaſſy conſiſted of Count Romulus; of Promotus, preſident of Noricum; and of Romanus, the military duke. They were accompanied by Tatullus, an illuſtrious citizen of Petovio, in the ſame province, and father of Oreſtes, who had married the daughter of Count Romulus. See Priſcus, p. 57. 65. Caſſiodorius (Variar. i. 4.) mentions another embaſſy, which was executed by his father and Carpilio, the ſon of Ætius; and as Attila was no more, he could ſafely boaſt of their manly intrepid behaviour in his preſence.

[8] Deſerta Valentinæ urbis rura Alanis partienda traduntur. Proſper. Tyronis Chron. in Hiſtoriens de France, tom. i. p. 639. A few lines afterwards, Proſper obſerves, that lands in the *ulterior* Gaul were aſſigned to the Alani. Without admitting the correction of Dubos (tom. i. p. 300.); the reaſonable ſuppoſition of *two* colonies or garriſons of Alani will confirm his arguments, and remove his objections.

[9] See Proſper. Tyro, p. 639. Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 246.) complains, in the name of Auvergne, his native country,

Litorius Scythicos equites tunc forte ſubacto
Celſus Aremorico, Geticum rapiebat in agmen
Per terras, Averne, tuas, qui proxima quæque
Diſcurſu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis,
Delebant; pacis fallentes nomen inane.

Another poet, Paulinus of Perigord, confirms the complaint:

Nam ſocium vix ferre queas, qui durior hoſte.

See Dubos, tom. i. p. 330.

public,

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public, the Alani of Gaul were devoted to the ambition of Ætius; and though he might ſuſpect, that, in a conteſt with Attila himſelf, they would revolt to the ſtandard of their national king, the patrician laboured to reſtrain, rather than to excite, their zeal and reſentment againſt the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

The Viſigoths in Gaul under the reign of Theodoric, A. D. 419—451.

The kingdom eſtabliſhed by the Viſigoths in the ſouthern provinces of Gaul, had gradually acquired ſtrength and maturity; and the conduct of thoſe ambitious Barbarians, either in peace or war, engaged the perpetual vigilance of Ætius. After the death of Wallia, the Gothic ſceptre devolved to Theodoric, the ſon of the great Alaric[10]; and his proſperous reign, of more than thirty years, over a turbulent people, may be allowed to prove, that his prudence was ſupported by uncommon vigour, both of mind and body. Impatient of his narrow limits, Theodoric aſpired to the poſſeſſion of Arles, the wealthy ſeat of government and commerce; but the city was ſaved by the timely approach of Ætius; and the Gothic king, who had raiſed the ſiege with ſome loſs and diſgrace, was perſuaded, for an adequate ſubſidy, to divert the martial valour of his ſubjects in a Spaniſh war. Yet Theodoric ſtill watched, and eagerly ſeized, the favourable moment of renewing his hoſtile attempts. The Goths beſieged Narbonne, while the Belgic provinces were invaded by the Burgundians; and the public ſafety was threatened on every ſide by the apparent union of the enemies of Rome. On every ſide, the activity of Ætius, and his Scythian cavalry, oppoſed a firm and ſucceſsful reſiſtance. Twenty thouſand Burgundians were ſlain in battle; and the remains of the nation humbly accepted a dependent

A. D. 435—439.

[10] Theodoric II. the ſon of Theodoric I. declares to Avitus his reſolution of repairing, or expiating, the fault which his *grandfather* had committed.

Quæ *noſter* peccavit *avus*, quem fuſcat id unum,
Quod te, Roma, capit.——
Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. 505.

This character, applicable only to the great Alaric, eſtabliſhes the genealogy of the Gothic kings, which has hitherto been unnoticed.

ſeat

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ſeat in the mountains of Savoy[11]. The walls of Narbonne had been ſhaken by the battering engines, and the inhabitants had endured the laſt extremities of famine, when count Litorius, approaching in ſilence, and directing each horſeman to carry behind him two ſacks of flour, cut his way through the intrenchments of the beſiegers. The ſiege was immediately raiſed; and the more deciſive victory, which is aſcribed to the perſonal conduct of Ætius himſelf, was marked with the blood of eight thouſand Goths. But in the abſence of the Patrician, who was haſtily ſummoned to Italy by ſome public or private intereſt, count Litorius ſucceeded to the command; and his preſumption ſoon diſcovered, that far different talents are required to lead a wing of cavalry, or to direct the operations of an important war. At the head of an army of Huns, he raſhly advanced to the gates of Thouloufe, full of careleſs contempt for an enemy, whom his misfortunes had rendered prudent, and his ſituation made deſperate. The predictions of the Augurs had inſpired Litorius with the profane confidence, that he ſhould enter the Gothic capital in triumph: and the truſt which he repoſed in his Pagan allies, encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace, which were repeatedly propoſed by the biſhops in the name of Theodoric. The king of the Goths exhibited in his diſtreſs the edifying contraſt of Chriſtian piety and moderation; nor did he lay aſide his ſackcloth and aſhes till he was prepared to arm for the combat. His ſoldiers, animated with martial and religious enthuſiaſm, aſſaulted the camp of Litorius. The conflict was obſtinate; the ſlaughter was mutual. The Roman general, after a total defeat, which could be imputed only to his unſkilful raſhneſs, was actually led through the ſtreets of

[11] The name of *Sapaudia*, the origin of *Savoy*, is firſt mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus; and two military poſts are aſcertained, by the Notitia, within the limits of that province: a cohort was ſtationed at Grenoble in Dauphiné: and Ebredunum, or Iverdun, ſheltered a fleet of ſmall veſſels, which commanded the lake of Neufchâtel. See Valeſius, Notit. Galliarum, p. 503. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 284. 579.

Thouloufe,

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Thoulouſe, not in his own, but in a hoſtile triumph; and the miſery which he experienced, in a long and ignominious captivity, excited the compaſſion of the Barbarians themſelves [12]. Such a loſs, in a country whoſe ſpirit and finances were long ſince exhauſted, could not eaſily be repaired; and the Goths, aſſuming, in their turn, the ſentiments of ambition and revenge, would have planted their victorious ſtandards on the banks of the Rhône, if the preſence of Ætius had not reſtored ſtrength and diſcipline to the Romans [13]. The two armies expected the ſignal of a deciſive action; but the generals, who were conſcious of each other's force, and doubtful of their own ſuperiority, prudently ſheathed their ſwords in the field of battle; and their reconciliation was permanent and ſincere. Theodoric, king of the Viſigoths, appears to have deſerved the love of his ſubjects, the confidence of his allies, and the eſteem of mankind. His throne was ſurrounded by ſix valiant ſons, who were educated with equal care in the exerciſes of the Barbarian camp, and in thoſe of the Gallic ſchools: from the ſtudy of the Roman juriſprudence, they acquired the theory, at leaſt, of law and juſtice; and the harmonious ſenſe of Virgil contributed to ſoften the aſperity of their native manners [14]. The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldeſt ſons of the kings of the Suevi

[12] Salvian has attempted to explain the moral government of the Deity; a taſk which may be readily performed by ſuppoſing that the calamities of the wicked are *judgments*, and thoſe of the righteous *trials*.

[13] ——— Capto terrarum damna patebant
Litorio, in Rhodanum proprios producere fines,
Theudoridæ fixum; nec erat pugnare neceſſe,
Sed migrare Getis; rabidam trux aſperat iram
Victor; quòd ſenſit Scythicum ſub mœnibus hoſtem
Imputat, et nihil eſt gravius, ſi forſitan unquam
Vincere contingat, trepido. ———
Panegyr. Avit. 300, &c.

Sidonius then proceeds, according to the duty of a panegyriſt, to transfer the whole merit from Ætius, to his miniſter Avitus.

[14] Theodoric II. revered, in the perſon of Avitus, the character of his preceptor.
——— Mihi Romula dudum
Per te jura placent: parvumque ediſcere juſſit
Ad tua verba pater, docili quo priſca *Maronis*
Carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores.
Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. 495, &c.

and

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and of the Vandals, who reigned in Spain and Africa; but theſe illuſtrious alliances were pregnant with guilt and diſcord. The queen of the Suevi bewailed the death of an huſband, inhumanly maſſacred by her brother. The princeſs of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant, whom ſhe called her father. The cruel Genſeric ſuſpected that his ſon's wife had conſpired to poiſon him; the ſuppoſed crime was puniſhed by the amputation of her noſe and ears; and the unhappy daughter of Theodoric was ignominiouſly returned to the court of Thouloufe in that deformed and mutilated condition. This horrid act, which muſt ſeem incredible to a civilized age, drew tears from every ſpectator; but Theodoric was urged, by the feelings of a parent and a king, to revenge ſuch irreparable injuries. The Imperial miniſters, who always cheriſhed the diſcord of the Barbarians, would have ſupplied the Goths with arms, and ſhips, and treaſures, for the African war; and the cruelty of Genſeric might have been fatal to himſelf, if the artful Vandal had not armed, in his cauſe, the formidable power of the Huns. His rich gifts and preſſing ſolicitations inflamed the ambition of Attila; and the deſigns of Ætius and Theodoric were prevented by the invaſion of Gaul [15].

The Franks in Gaul, under the Merovingian kings, A. D. 420—451.

The Franks, whoſe monarchy was ſtill confined to the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine, had wiſely eſtabliſhed the right of hereditary ſucceſſion in the noble family of the Merovingians [16].

[15] Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric I. are, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. 36. and the Chronicles of Idatius, and the two Proſpers, inſerted in the Hiſtorians of France, tom. i. p. 612—640. To theſe we may add Salvian de Gubernatione Dei, l. vii. p. 243, 244, 245. and the Panegyric of Avitus, by Sidonius.

[16] Reges *Crinitos* ſe creaviſſe de primâ, et ut ita dicam nobiliori ſuorum familiâ (Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 9. p. 166. of the ſecond volume of the Hiſtorians of France). Gregory himſelf does not mention the *Merovingian* name, which may be traced, however, to the beginning of the ſeventh century, as the diſtinctive appellation of the royal family, and even of the French monarchy. An ingenious critic has deduced the Merovingians from the great Maroboduus; and he has clearly proved, that the prince, who gave his name to the firſt race, was more ancient than the father of Childeric. See Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xx. p. 52—90. tom. xxx. p. 557—587.

Theſe

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Theſe princes were elevated on a buckler, the ſymbol of military command [17]; and the royal faſhion of long hair was the enſign of their birth and dignity. Their flaxen locks, which they combed and dreſſed with ſingular care, hung down in flowing ringlets on their back and ſhoulders; while the reſt of their nation were obliged, either by law or cuſtom, to ſhave the hinder part of their head; to comb their hair over the forehead, and to content themſelves with the ornament of two ſmall whiſkers [18]. The lofty ſtature of the Franks, and their blue eyes, denoted a Germanic origin; their cloſe apparel accurately expreſſed the figure of their limbs; a weighty ſword was ſuſpended from a broad belt; their bodies were protected by a large ſhield: and theſe warlike Barbarians were trained, from their earlieſt youth, to run, to leap, to ſwim; to dart the javelin, or battle-axe, with unerring aim; to advance, without heſitation, againſt a ſuperior enemy; and to maintain, either in life or death, the invincible reputation of their anceſtors [19]. Clodion, the firſt of their long-haired kings, whoſe name and actions are mentioned in authentic hiſtory, held his reſidence at Diſpargum [20], a village, or fortreſs, whoſe place may be aſſigned between Louvain and Bruſſels. From the report of his ſpies, the king of the Franks was informed, that

[17] This German cuſtom, which may be traced from Tacitus to Gregory of Tours, was at length adopted by the emperors of Conſtantinople. From a MS. of the tenth century, Montfaucon has delineated the repreſentation of a ſimilar ceremony, which the ignorance of the age had applied to king David. See Monuments de la Monarchie Françoiſe, tom. i. Diſcours Preliminaire.

[18] Cæſaries prolixa . . . . crinium flagellis per terga dimiſſis, &c. See the Preface to the third volume of the Hiſtorians of France, and the Abbé Le Bœuf (Diſſertat. tom. iii. p. 47—79.). This peculiar faſhion of the Merovingians has been remarked by natives and ſtrangers; by Priſcus (tom. i. p. 608.), by Agathias (tom. ii. p. 49.), and by Gregory of Tours, l. iii. 18. vi. 24. viii. 10. tom. ii. p. 196. 278. 316.

[19] See an original picture of the figure, dreſs, arms, and temper of the ancient Franks, in Sidonius Apollinaris (Panegyr. Majorian. 238—254.); and ſuch pictures, though coarſely drawn, have a real and intrinſic value. Father Daniel (Hiſt. de la Milice Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 2—7.) has illuſtrated the deſcription.

[20] Dubos, Hiſt. Critique, &c. tom. i. p. 271, 272. Some geographers have placed Diſpargum on the German ſide of the Rhine. See a note of the Benedictine Editors to the Hiſtorians of France, tom. ii. p. 166.

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the defenceleſs ſtate of the ſecond Belgic muſt yield, on the ſlighteſt attack, to the valour of his ſubjects. He boldly penetrated through the thickets and moraſſes of the Carbonarian foreſt [21]; occupied Tournay and Cambray, the only cities which exiſted in the fifth century, and extended his conqueſts as far as the river Somme, over a deſolate country, whoſe cultivation and populouſneſs are the effects of more recent induſtry [22]. While Clodion lay encamped in the plains of Artois [23], and celebrated, with vain and oſtentatious ſecurity, the marriage, perhaps, of his ſon, the nuptial feaſt was interrupted by the unexpected and unwelcome preſence of Ætius, who had paſſed the Somme at the head of his light cavalry. The tables, which had been ſpread under the ſhelter of a hill, along the banks of a pleaſant ſtream, were rudely overturned; the Franks were oppreſſed before they could recover their arms, or their ranks; and their unavailing valour was fatal only to themſelves. The loaded waggons, which had followed their march, afforded a rich booty; and the virgin bride, with her female attendants, ſubmitted to the new lovers, who were impoſed on them by the chance of war. This advantage, which had been obtained by the ſkill and activity of Ætius, might reflect ſome diſgrace on the military prudence of Clodion; but the king of the Franks ſoon regained his ſtrength and reputation, and ſtill maintained the poſſeſſion of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme [24]. Under his reign, and moſt probably from the enterpriſing ſpirit

[21] The Carbonarian wood, was that part of the great foreſt of the Ardennes, which lay between the Eſcaut, or Scheld, and the Meuſe. Valeſ. Notit. Gall. p. 126.

[22] Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 166, 167. Fredegar. Epitom. c. 9. p. 395. Geſta Reg. Francor. c. 5. in tom. ii. p. 544. Vit. St. Remig. ab Hincmar, in tom. iii. p. 373.

[23] ——Francus quâ Cloio patentes
Atrebatum terras pervaſerat.——
Panegyr. Majorian. 212.
The preciſe ſpot was a town, or village, called Vicus *Helena*; and both the name and the place are diſcovered by modern geographers at Lens. See Valeſ. Notit. Gall. p. 246. Longuerue, Deſcript. de la France, tom. ii. p. 88.

[24] See a vague account of the action in Sidonius. Panegyr. Majorian. 212—230. The French critics, impatient to eſtabliſh their monarchy in Gaul, have drawn a ſtrong argument from the ſilence of Sidonius, who dares not inſinuate, that the vanquiſhed Franks

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ſpirit of his ſubjects, the three capitals, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, experienced the effects of hoſtile cruelty and avarice. The diſtreſs of Cologne was prolonged by the perpetual dominion of the ſame Barbarians, who evacuated the ruins of Treves; and Treves, which, in the ſpace of forty years, had been four times beſieged and pillaged, was diſpoſed to loſe the memory of her afflictions in the vain amuſements of the circus [25]. The death of Clodion, after a reign of twenty years, expoſed his kingdom to the diſcord and ambition of his two ſons. Meroveus, the younger [26], was perſuaded to implore the protection of Rome; he was received at the Imperial court, as the ally of Valentinian, and the adopted ſon of the patrician Ætius; and diſmiſſed to his native country, with ſplendid gifts, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of friendſhip and ſupport. During his abſence, his elder brother had ſolicited, with equal ardour, the formidable aid of Attila; and the king of the Huns embraced an alliance, which facilitated the paſſage of the Rhine, and juſtified, by a ſpecious and honourable pretence, the invaſion of Gaul [27].

The adventures of the princeſs Honoria.

When Attila declared his reſolution of ſupporting the cauſe of his allies, the Vandals and the Franks, at the ſame time, and almoſt in the ſpirit of romantic chivalry, the ſavage monarch profeſſed himſelf the lover and the champion of the princeſs Honoria. The ſiſter

Franks were compelled to repaſs the Rhine. Dubos, tom. i. p. 322.

[25] Salvian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. vi.) has expreſſed, in vague and declamatory language, the misfortunes of theſe three cities, which are diſtinctly aſcertained by the learned Maſcou, Hiſt. of the Ancient Germans, ix. 21.

[26] Priſcus, in relating the conteſt, does not name the two brothers; the ſecond of whom he had ſeen at Rome, a beardleſs youth, with long flowing hair (Hiſtorians of France, tom. i. p. 607, 608.). The Benedictine Editors are inclined to believe, that they were the ſons of ſome unknown king of the Franks, who reigned on the banks of the Necker: but the arguments of M. de Foncemagne (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. viii. p. 464.) ſeem to prove, that the ſucceſſion of Clodion was diſputed by his two ſons, and that the younger was Meroveus, the father of Childeric.

[27] Under the Merovingian race, the throne was hereditary; but all the ſons of the deceaſed monarch were equally intitled to their ſhare of his treaſures and territories. See the Diſſertations of M. de Foncemagne in the ſixth and eighth volumes of the Memoires de l'Academie.

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of Valentinian was educated in the palace of Ravenna; and as her marriage might be productive of ſome danger to the ſtate, ſhe was raiſed, by the title of *Auguſta*[28], above the hopes of the moſt preſumptuous ſubject. But the fair Honoria had no ſooner attained the ſixteenth year of her age, than ſhe deteſted the importunate greatneſs, which muſt for ever exclude her from the comforts of honourable love: in the midſt of vain and unſatisfactory pomp, Honoria ſighed, yielded to the impulſe of nature, and threw herſelf into the arms of her chamberlain Eugenius. Her guilt and ſhame (ſuch is the abſurd language of imperious man) were ſoon betrayed by the appearances of pregnancy: but the diſgrace of the royal family was publiſhed to the world by the imprudence of the empreſs Placidia; who diſmiſſed her daughter, after a ſtrict and ſhameful confinement, to a remote exile at Conſtantinople. The unhappy princeſs paſſed twelve or fourteen years in the irkſome ſociety of the ſiſters of Theodoſius, and their choſen virgins; to whoſe *crown* Honoria could no longer aſpire, and whoſe monaſtic aſſiduity of prayer, faſting, and vigils, ſhe reluctantly imitated. Her impatience of long and hopeleſs celibacy, urged her to embrace a ſtrange and deſperate reſolution. The name of Attila was familiar and formidable at Conſtantinople; and his frequent embaſſies entertained a perpetual intercourſe between his camp and the Imperial palace. In the purſuit of love, or rather of revenge, the daughter of Placidia ſacrificed every duty, and every prejudice; and offered to deliver her perſon into the arms of a Barbarian, of whoſe language ſhe was ignorant, whoſe figure was ſcarcely human, and whoſe religion and manners ſhe abhorred. By the miniſtry of a faithful eunuch, ſhe tranſmitted to Attila a ring, the pledge of her affection; and earneſtly conjured

[28] A medal is ſtill extant, which exhibits the pleaſing countenance of Honoria, with the title of Auguſta; and on the reverſe, the improper legend of *Salus Reipublicæ* round the monogram of Chriſt. See Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 67. 73.

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him to claim her as a lawful ſpouſe, to whom he had been ſecretly betrothed. Theſe indecent advances were received, however, with coldneſs and diſdain; and the king of the Huns continued to multiply the number of his wives, till his love was awakened by the more forcible paſſions of ambition and avarice. The invaſion of Gaul was preceded, and juſtified, by a formal demand of the princeſs Honoria, with a juſt and equal ſhare of the Imperial patrimony. His predeceſſors, the ancient Tanjous, had often addreſſed, in the ſame hoſtile and peremptory manner, the daughters of China; and the pretenſions of Attila were not leſs offenſive to the majeſty of Rome. A firm, but temperate, refuſal was communicated to his ambaſſadors. The right of female ſucceſſion, though it might derive a ſpecious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulcheria, was ſtrenuouſly denied; and the indiſſoluble engagements of Honoria were oppoſed to the claims of her Scythian lover[29]. On the diſcovery of her connection with the king of the Huns, the guilty princeſs had been ſent away, as an object of horror, from Conſtantinople to Italy: her life was ſpared; but the ceremony of her marriage was performed with ſome obſcure and nominal huſband, before ſhe was immured in a perpetual priſon, to bewail thoſe crimes and misfortunes, which Honoria might have eſcaped, had ſhe not been born the daughter of an emperor[30].

Attila invades Gaul, and beſieges Orleans,

A native of Gaul, and a contemporary, the learned and eloquent Sidonius, who was afterwards biſhop of Clermont, had made a promiſe to one of his friends, that he would compoſe a regular hiſtory of the war of Attila. If the modeſty of Sidonius had not diſcouraged

[29] See Priſcus, p. 39, 40. It might be fairly alleged, that if females could ſucceed to the throne, Valentinian himſelf, who had married the daughter and heireſs of the younger Theodoſius, would have aſſerted her right to the Eaſtern empire.

[30] The adventures of Honoria are imperfectly related by Jornandes, de Succeſſione Regn. c. 97. and de Reb. Get. c. 42. p. 674.; and in the Chronicles of Proſper and Marcellinus; but they cannot be made conſiſtent, or probable, unleſs we ſeparate, by an interval of time and place, her intrigue with Eugenius, and her invitation of Attila.

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him from the profecution of this intereſting work [31], the hiſtorian would have related, with the ſimplicity of truth, thoſe memorable events, to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has conciſely alluded [32]. The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike ſummons of Attila. From the royal village, in the plains of Hungary, his ſtandard moved towards the Weſt; and, after a march of ſeven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Necker; where he was joined by the Franks, who adhered to his ally, the elder of the ſons of Clodion. A troop of light Barbarians, who roamed in queſt of plunder, might chuſe the winter for the convenience of paſſing the river on the ice; but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required ſuch plenty of forage and proviſions, as could be procured only in a milder ſeaſon; the Hercynian foreſt ſupplied materials for a bridge of boats; and the hoſtile myriads were poured, with reſiſtleſs violence, into the Belgic provinces [33]. The conſternation of Gaul was univerſal; and the various fortunes of its cities

[31] Exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi, Attilæ bellum ſtylo me poſteris intimaturum .... cœperam ſcribere, ſed operis arrepti faſce perſpecto, tæduit inchoaſſe. Sidon. Apoll. l. viii. epiſt. 15. p. 246.

[32] ——— Subito cum rupta tumultu
Barbaries totas in te transfuderat Arctos,
Gallia. Pugnacem Regum comitante Gelono
Gepida trux ſequitur; Scyrum Burgundio cogit:
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Baſterna, *Toringus*
Bructerus, ulvoſâ vel quem Nicer abluit unda
Prorumpit Francus. Cecidit cito ſecta bipenni
Hercynia in lintres, et Rhenum texuit alno.
Et jam terrificis diffuderat Attila turmis
In campos ſe Belga tuos. ——
Panegyr. Avit. 319, &c.

[33] The moſt authentic and circumſtantial account of this war, is contained in Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 36—41. p. 662—672.), who has ſometimes abridged, and ſometimes tranſcribed, the larger hiſtory of Caſſiodorius. Jornandes, a quotation which it would be ſuperfluous to repeat, may be corrected and illuſtrated by Gregory of Tours, l. 2. c. 5, 6, 7. and the Chronicles of Idatius, Iſidore, and the two Proſpers. All the ancient teſtimonies are collected and inſerted in the Hiſtorians of France; but the reader ſhould be cautioned againſt a ſuppoſed extract from the Chronicle of Idatius (among the fragments of Fredegarius, tom. ii. p. 462.), which often contradicts the genuine text of the Gallician biſhop.

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have been adorned by tradition with martyrdoms and miracles[34]. Troyes was ſaved by the merits of St. Lupus; St. Servatius was removed from the world, that he might not behold the ruin of Tongres; and the prayers of St. Genevieve diverted the march of Attila from the neighbourhood of Paris. But as the greateſt part of the Gallic cities were alike deſtitute of ſaints and ſoldiers, they were beſieged and ſtormed by the Huns; who practiſed, in the example of Metz[35], their cuſtomary maxims of war. They involved, in a promiſcuous maſſacre, the prieſts who ſerved at the altar, and the infants, who, in the hour of danger, had been providently baptized by the biſhop; the flouriſhing city was delivered to the flames, and a ſolitary chapel of St. Stephen marked the place where it formerly ſtood. From the Rhine and the Moſelle, Attila advanced into the heart of Gaul; croſſed the Seine at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. He was deſirous of ſecuring his conqueſts by the poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, which commanded the paſſage of the Loire; and he depended on the ſecret invitation of Sangiban, king of the Alani, who had promiſed to betray the city, and to revolt from the ſervice of the empire. But this treacherous conſpiracy was detected and diſappointed: Orleans had been ſtrengthened with recent fortifications; and the aſſaults of the Huns were vigorouſly repelled by the faithful valour of the ſoldiers, or citizens, who defended the place. The paſtoral diligence of Ani-

[34] The *ancient* legendaries deſerve ſome regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real hiſtory of their own times. See the lives of St. Lupus, St. Anianus, the biſhops of Metz, Ste. Genevieve, &c. in the Hiſtorians of France, tom. i. p. 644, 645. 649. tom. iii. p. 369.

[35] The ſcepticiſm of the Count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples, tom. vii. p. 539, 540.) cannot be reconciled with any principles of reaſon or criticiſm. Is not Gregory of Tours preciſe and poſitive in his account of the deſtruction of Metz? At the diſtance of no more than an hundred years, could he be ignorant, could the people be ignorant, of the fate of a city, the actual reſidence of his ſovereigns, the kings of Auſtraſia? The learned count, who ſeems to have undertaken the apology of Attila, and the Barbarians, appeals to the falſe Idatius, *parcens* civitatibus Germaniæ et Galliæ, and forgets, that the true Idatius had explicitly affirmed, plurimæ civitates *effractæ*, among which he enumerates Metz.

anus,

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anus, a biſhop of primitive ſanctity and conſummate prudence, exhauſted every art of religious policy to ſupport their courage, till the arrival of the expected ſuccours. After an obſtinate ſiege, the walls were ſhaken by the battering-rams; the Huns had already occupied the ſuburbs; and the people, who were incapable of bearing arms, lay proſtrate in prayer. Anianus, who anxiouſly counted the days and hours, diſpatched a truſty meſſenger, to obſerve, from the rampart, the face of the diſtant country. He returned twice, without any intelligence, that could inſpire hope or comfort; but in his third report, he mentioned a ſmall cloud, which he had faintly deſcried at the extremity of the horizon. "It is the aid of God," exclaimed the biſhop, in a tone of pious confidence; and the whole multitude repeated after him, "It is the aid of God." The remote object, on which every eye was fixed, became each moment larger, and more diſtinct; the Roman and Gothic banners were gradually perceived; and a favourable wind blowing aſide the duſt, diſcovered, in deep array, the impatient ſquadrons of Ætius and Theodoric, who preſſed forwards to the relief of Orleans.

Alliance of the Romans and Viſigoths.

The facility with which Attila had penetrated into the heart of Gaul, may be aſcribed to his inſidious policy, as well as to the terror of his arms. His public declarations were ſkilfully mitigated by his private aſſurances; he alternately ſoothed and threatened the Romans and the Goths; and the courts of Ravenna and Thouloufe, mutually ſuſpicious of each other's intentions, beheld, with ſupine indifference, the approach of their common enemy. Ætius was the ſole guardian of the public ſafety; but his wiſeſt meaſures were embarraſſed by a faction, which, ſince the death of Placidia, infeſted the Imperial palace: the youth of Italy trembled at the ſound of the trumpet; and the Barbarians, who, from fear or affection, were inclined to the cauſe of Attila, awaited, with doubtful and venal faith, the event of the war. The patrician paſſed the Alps at the head of ſome troops, whoſe

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whoſe ſtrength and numbers ſcarcely deſerved the name of an army[36]. But on his arrival at Arles, or Lyons, he was confounded by the intelligence, that the Viſigoths, refuſing to embrace the defence of Gaul, had determined to expect, within their own territories, the formidable invader, whom they profeſſed to deſpiſe. The ſenator Avitus, who, after the honourable exerciſe of the prætorian Præfecture, had retired to his eſtate in Auvergne, was perſuaded to accept the important embaſſy, which he executed with ability and ſucceſs. He repreſented to Theodoric, that an ambitious conqueror, who aſpired to the dominion of the earth, could be reſiſted only by the firm and unanimous alliance of the powers whom he laboured to oppreſs. The lively eloquence of Avitus inflamed the Gothic warriors, by the deſcription of the injuries which their anceſtors had ſuffered from the Huns; whoſe implacable fury ſtill purſued them from the Danube to the foot of the Pyrenees. He ſtrenuouſly urged that it was the duty of every Chriſtian to ſave, from ſacrilegious violation, the churches of God, and the relics of the ſaints: that it was the intereſt of every Barbarian, who had acquired a ſettlement in Gaul, to defend the fields and vineyards, which were cultivated for his uſe, againſt the deſolation of the Scythian ſhepherds. Theodoric yielded to the evidence of truth; adopted the meaſure at once the moſt prudent and the moſt honourable; and declared, that, as the faithful ally of Ætius and the Romans, he was ready to expoſe his life and kingdom for the common ſafety of Gaul[37]. The Viſigoths, who, at

[36] ——Vix liquerat Alpes
Aetius, tenue, et rarum ſine milite ducens
Robur, in auxiliis Geticum male credulus agmen
Incaſſum propriis præſumens adfore caſtris.
Panegyr. Avit. 328, &c.

[37] The policy of Attila, of Ætius, and of the Viſigoths, is imperfectly deſcribed in the Panegyric of Avitus, and the thirty-ſixth chapter of Jornandes. The poet and the hiſtorian were both biaſſed by perſonal or national prejudices. The former exalts the merit and importance of Avitus; orbis, Avite, ſalus, &c.! The latter is anxious to ſhew the Goths in the moſt favourable light. Yet their agreement, when they are fairly interpreted, is a proof of their veracity.

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that time, were in the mature vigour of their fame and power, obeyed with alacrity the ſignal of war; prepared their arms and horſes, and aſſembled under the ſtandard of their aged king, who was reſolved, with his two eldeſt ſons, Toriſmond and Theodoric, to command in perſon his numerous and valiant people. The example of the Goths determined ſeveral tribes or nations, that ſeemed to fluctuate between the Huns and the Romans. The indefatigable diligence of the patrician gradually collected the troops of Gaul and Germany, who had formerly acknowledged themſelves the ſubjects, or ſoldiers, of the republic, but who now claimed the rewards of voluntary ſervice, and the rank of independent allies; the Læti, the Armoricans, the Breones, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Sarmatians, or Alani, the Ripuarians, and the Franks who followed Meroveus as their lawful prince. Such was the various army, which, under the conduct of Ætius and Theodoric, advanced, by rapid marches, to relieve Orleans, and to give battle to the innumerable hoſt of Attila [38].

Attila retires to the plains of Champagne.

On their approach, the king of the Huns immediately raiſed the ſiege, and ſounded a retreat to recal the foremoſt of his troops from the pillage of a city which they had already entered [39]. The valour of Attila was always guided by his prudence; and as he foreſaw the fatal conſequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he repaſſed the Seine, and expected the enemy in the plains of Châlons, whoſe

[38] The review of the army of Ætius is made by Jornandes, c. 36. p. 664. edit. Grot. tom. ii. p. 23. of the Hiſtorians of France, with the notes of the Benedictine Editor. The *Læti* were a promiſcuous race of Barbarians, born or naturalized in Gaul; and the Riparii, or *Ripuarii*, derived their name from their poſts on the three rivers, the Rhine, the Meuſe, and the Moſelle; the *Armoricans* poſſeſſed the independent cities between the Seine and the Loire. A colony of *Saxons* had been planted in the dioceſe of Bayeux; the *Burgundians* were ſettled in Savoy; and the *Breones* were a warlike tribe of Rhætians, to the eaſt of the lake of Conſtance.

[39] Aurelianenſis urbis obſidio, oppugnatio, irruptio, nec direptio, l. v. Sidon. Apollin. l. viii. epiſt. 15. p. 246. The preſervation of Orleans might eaſily be turned into a miracle, obtained, and foretold, by the holy biſhop.

ſmooth

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ſmooth and level ſurface was adapted to the operations of his Scythian cavalry. But in this tumultuary retreat, the vanguard of the Romans, and their allies, continually preſſed, and ſometimes engaged, the troops whom Attila had poſted in the rear; the hoſtile columns, in the darkneſs of the night, and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without deſign; and the bloody conflict of the Franks and Gepidæ, in which fifteen thouſand[40] Barbarians were ſlain, was a prelude to a more general and deciſive action. The Catalaunian fields[41] ſpread themſelves round Châlons, and extend, according to the vague meaſurement of Jornandes, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred, miles, over the whole province, which is entitled to the appellation of a *champaign* country[42]. This ſpacious plain was diſtinguiſhed, however, by ſome inequalities of ground; and the importance of an height, which commanded the camp of Attila, was underſtood, and diſputed, by the two generals. The young and valiant Toriſmond firſt occupied the ſummit; the Goths ruſhed with irreſiſtible weight on the Huns, who laboured to aſcend from the oppoſite ſide: and the poſſeſſion of this advantageous poſt inſpired both the troops and their leaders with a fair aſſurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to conſult his prieſts and haruſpices. It was reported, that, after ſcrutinizing the entrails of victims, and ſcraping their bones, they revealed, in myſterious language, his own defeat, with the death of his principal adverſary; and that the Barbarian, by accepting the equivalent, expreſſed his involuntary eſteem for the ſuperior merit

[40] The common editions read XCM; but there is ſome authority of manuſcripts (and almoſt any authority is ſufficient) for the more reaſonable number of XVM.

[41] Châlons, or Duro-Catalaunum, afterwards *Catalauni*, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rheims, from whence it is diſtant only twenty-ſeven miles. See Valeſ. Notit. Gall. p. 136. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 212. 279.

[42] The name of Campania, or Champagne, is frequently mentioned by Gregory of Tours; and that great province, of which Rheims was the capital, obeyed the command of a duke. Valeſ. Notit. p. 120—123.

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of Ætius. But the unuſual deſpondency, which ſeemed to prevail among the Huns, engaged Attila to uſe the expedient, ſo familiar to the generals of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his languge was that of a king, who had often fought and conquered at their head [43]. He preſſed them to conſider their paſt glory, their actual danger, and their future hopes. The ſame fortune, which opened the deſerts and moraſſes of Scythia to their unarmed valour, which had laid ſo many warlike nations proſtrate at their feet, had reſerved the *joys* of this memorable field for the conſummation of their victories. The cautious ſteps of their enemies, their ſtrict alliance, and their advantageous poſts, he artfully repreſented as the effects, not of prudence, but of fear. The Viſigoths alone were the ſtrength and nerves of the oppoſite army; and the Huns might ſecurely trample on the degenerate Romans, whoſe cloſe and compact order betrayed their apprehenſions, and who were equally incapable of ſupporting the dangers, or the fatigues, of a day of battle. The doctrine of predeſtination, ſo favourable to martial virtue, was carefully inculcated by the king of the Huns; who aſſured his ſubjects, that the warriors, protected by Heaven, were ſafe and invulnerable amidſt the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring Fates would ſtrike their victims in the boſom of inglorious peace. "I myſelf," continued Attila, "will throw the firſt javelin, and "the wretch who refuſes to imitate the example of his ſovereign, is "devoted to inevitable death." The ſpirit of the Barbarians was rekindled by the preſence, the voice, and the example, of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful

[43] I am ſenſible that theſe military orations are uſually compoſed by the hiſtorian; yet the old Oſtrogoths, who had ſerved under Attila, might repeat his diſcourſe to Caſſiodorius; the ideas, and even the expreſſions, have an original Scythian caſt; and I doubt, whether an Italian of the ſixth century would have thought of the, hujus certaminis *gaudia*.

Huns,

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Huns, he occupied, in perſon, the centre of the line. The nations, ſubject to his empire, the Rugians, the Heruli, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Burgundians, were extended, on either hand, over the ample ſpace of the Catalaunian fields; the right wing was commanded by Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ; and the three valiant brothers, who reigned over the Oſtrogoths, were poſted on the left to oppoſe the kindred tribes of the Viſigoths. The diſpoſition of the allies was regulated by a different principle. Sangiban, the faithleſs king of the Alani, was placed in the centre: where his motions might be ſtrictly watched, and his treachery might be inſtantly puniſhed. Ætius aſſumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right, wing; while Toriſmond ſtill continued to occupy the heights which appear to have ſtretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Scythian army. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were aſſembled on the plain of Châlons; but many of theſe nations had been divided by faction, or conqueſt, or emigration; and the appearance of ſimilar arms and enſigns, which threatened each other, preſented the image of a civil war.

Battle of Châlons.

The diſcipline and tactics of the Greeks and Romans form an intereſting part of their national manners. The attentive ſtudy of the military operations of Xenophon, or Cæſar, or Frederic, when they are deſcribed by the ſame genius which conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if ſuch improvement can be wiſhed) the art of deſtroying the human ſpecies. But the battle of Châlons can only excite our curioſity, by the magnitude of the object; ſince it was decided by the blind impetuoſity of Barbarians, and has been related by partial writers, whoſe civil or eccleſiaſtical profeſſion ſecluded them from the knowledge of military affairs. Caſſiodorius, however, had familiarly converſed with many Gothic warriors, who ſerved in that memorable engagement; "a conflict," as they informed him, "fierce, various, obſtinate, and bloody; ſuch as could

"not

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"not be paralleled, either in the preſent, or in paſt ages:" The number of the ſlain amounted to one hundred and ſixty-two thouſand, or, according to another account, three hundred thouſand perſons [44]; and theſe incredible exaggerations ſuppoſe a real and effective loſs, ſufficient to juſtify the hiſtorian's remark, that whole generations may be ſwept away, by the madneſs of kings, in the ſpace of a ſingle hour. After the mutual and repeated diſcharge of miſſile weapons, in which the archers of Scythia might ſignalize their ſuperior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armies were furiouſly mingled in cloſer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the allies, ſeparated their wings from each other, and wheeling, with a rapid effort, to the left, directed their whole force againſt the Viſigoths. As Theodoric rode along the ranks, to animate his troops, he received a mortal ſtroke from the javelin of Andages, a noble Oſtrogoth, and immediately fell from his horſe. The wounded king was oppreſſed in the general diſorder, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death ſerved to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the haruſpices. Attila already exulted in the confidence of victory, when the valiant Toriſmond deſcended from the hills, and verified the remainder of the prediction. The Viſigoths, who had been thrown into confuſion by the flight, or defection, of the Alani, gradually reſtored their order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanquiſhed, ſince Attila was compelled to retreat. He had expoſed his perſon with the raſhneſs of a private ſoldier; but the intrepid troops of the centre had puſhed forwards beyond the reſt of the line: their attack was faintly ſup-

[44] The expreſſions of Jornandes, or rather of Caſſiodorius, are extremely ſtrong. Bellum atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax, cui ſimili nulla uſquam narrat antiquitas: ubi talia geſta referuntur, ut nihil eſſet quod in vitâ ſuâ conſpicere potuiſſet egregius, qui hujus miraculi privaretur aſpectû. Dubos (Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 392, 393.) attempts to reconcile the 162,000 of Jornandes, with the 300,000 of Idatius and Iſidore; by ſuppoſing, that the larger number included the total deſtruction of the war, the effects of diſeaſe, the ſlaughter of the unarmed people, &c.

ported;

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ported; their flanks were unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany were ſaved by the approach of the night from a total defeat. They retired within the circle of waggons that fortified their camp; and the diſmounted ſquadrons prepared themſelves for a defence, to which neither their arms, nor their temper, were adapted. The event was doubtful: but Attila had ſecured a laſt and honourable reſource. The ſaddles and rich furniture of the cavalry were collected, by his order, into a funeral pile; and the magnanimous Barbarian had reſolved, if his intrenchments ſhould be forced, to ruſh headlong into the flames, and to deprive his enemies of the glory which they might have acquired by the death or captivity of Attila [45].

Retreat of Attila.

But his enemies had paſſed the night in equal diſorder and anxiety. The inconſiderate courage of Toriſmond was tempted to urge the purſuit, till he unexpectedly found himſelf, with a few followers, in the midſt of the Scythian waggons. In the confuſion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horſe; and the Gothic prince muſt have periſhed like his father, if his youthful ſtrength, and the intrepid zeal of his companions, had not reſcued him from this dangerous ſituation. In the ſame manner, but on the left of the line, Ætius himſelf, ſeparated from his allies, ignorant of their victory, and anxious for their fate, encountered and eſcaped the hoſtile troops, that were ſcattered over the plains of Châlons; and at length reached the camp of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a ſlight rampart of ſhields, till the dawn of day. The Imperial general was ſoon ſatisfied of the defeat of Attila, who ſtill remained inactive within his intrenchments; and when he contemplated the bloody ſcene, he obſerved, with ſecret ſatisfaction, that the loſs had princi-

[45] The count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples, &c. tom. vii. p. 554—573.), ſtill depending on the *falſe*, and again rejecting the *true* Idatius, has divided the defeat of Attila into two great battles; the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne; in the one, Theodoric was ſlain; in the other, he was revenged.

pally

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pally fallen on the Barbarians. The body of Theodoric, pierced with honourable wounds, was diſcovered under a heap of the ſlain: his ſubjects bewailed the death of their king and father; but their tears were mingled with ſongs and acclamations, and his funeral rites were performed in the face of a vanquiſhed enemy. The Goths, claſhing their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldeſt ſon Toriſmond, to whom they juſtly aſcribed the glory of their ſucceſs; and the new king accepted the obligation of revenge as a ſacred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themſelves were aſtoniſhed by the fierce and undaunted aſpect of their formidable antagoniſt; and their hiſtorian has compared Attila to a lion encompaſſed in his den, and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations, who might have deſerted his ſtandard in the hour of diſtreſs, were made ſenſible, that the diſpleaſure of their monarch was the moſt imminent and inevitable danger. All his inſtruments of martial muſic inceſſantly ſounded a loud and animating ſtrain of defiance; and the foremoſt troops who advanced to the aſſault, were checked, or deſtroyed, by ſhowers of arrows from every ſide of the intrenchments. It was determined in a general council of war, to beſige the king of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his proviſions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a diſgraceful treaty, or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the Barbarians ſoon diſdained theſe cautious and dilatory meaſures; and the mature policy of Ætius was apprehenſive, that, after the extirpation of the Huns, the republic would be oppreſſed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the ſuperior aſcendant of authority and reaſon to calm the paſſions, which the ſon of Theodoric conſidered as a duty; repreſented, with ſeeming affection, and real truth, the dangers of abſence and delay; and perſuaded Toriſmond to diſappoint, by his ſpeedy return, the ambitious deſigns of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treaſures of Thouloufe.

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louſe [46]. After the departure of the Goths, and the ſeparation of the allied army, Attila was ſurpriſed at the vaſt ſilence that reigned over the plains of Châlons: the ſuſpicion of ſome hoſtile ſtratagem detained him ſeveral days within the circle of his waggons; and his retreat beyond the Rhine confeſſed the laſt victory which was atchieved in the name of the Weſtern empire. Meroveus and his Franks, obſerving a prudent diſtance, and magnifying the opinion of their ſtrength, by the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns, till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians ſerved in the army of Attila: they traverſed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exerciſed the cruelties, which, about fourſcore years afterwards, were revenged by the ſon of Clovis. They maſſacred their hoſtages, as well as their captives: two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquiſite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn aſunder by wild horſes, or their bones were cruſhed under the weight of rolling waggons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads, as a prey to dogs and vultures. Such were thoſe ſavage anceſtors, whoſe imaginary virtues have ſometimes excited the praiſe and envy of civilized ages [47]!

Neither the ſpirit, nor the forces, nor the reputation of Attila, were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. In the en-

Invaſion of Italy by Attila, A. D. 452.

[46] Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 41. p. 671. The policy of Ætius, and the behaviour of Toriſmond, are extremely natural; and the patrician, according to Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 7. p. 163.), diſmiſſed the prince of the Franks, by ſuggeſting to him a ſimilar apprehenſion. The falſe Idatius ridiculouſly pretends, that Ætius paid a clandeſtine nocturnal viſit to the kings of the Huns and of the Viſigoths; from each of whom he obtained a bribe of ten thouſand pieces of gold, as the price of an undiſturbed retreat.

[47] Theſe cruelties, which are paſſionately deplored by Theodoric the ſon of Clovis (Gregory of Tours, l. iii. c. 10. p. 190.), ſuit the time and circumſtances of the invaſion of Attila. His reſidence in Thuringia was long atteſted by popular tradition; and he is ſuppoſed to have aſſembled a *couroultai*, or diet, in the territory of Eiſenach. See Maſcou, ix. 30. who ſettles with nice accuracy the extent of ancient Thuringia, and derives its name from the Gothic tribe of the Thervingi.

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ſuing ſpring, he repeated his demand, of the princeſs Honoria, and her patrimonial treaſures. The demand was again rejected, or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, paſſed the Alps, invaded Italy, and beſieged Aquileia with an innumerable hoſt of Barbarians. Thoſe Barbarians were unſkilled in the methods of conducting a regular ſiege, which, even among the ancients, required ſome knowledge, or at leaſt ſome practice, of the mechanic arts. But the labour of many thouſand provincials and captives, whoſe lives were ſacrificed without pity, might execute the moſt painful and dangerous work. The ſkill of the Roman artiſts might be corrupted to the deſtruction of their country. The walls of Aquileia were aſſaulted by a formidable train of battering rams, moveable turrets, and engines, that threw ſtones, darts, and fire[42]; and the monarch of the Huns employed the forcible impulſe of hope, fear, emulation, and intereſt, to ſubvert the only barrier which delayed the conqueſt of Italy. Aquileia was at that period one of the richeſt, the moſt populous, and the ſtrongeſt of the maritime cities of the Hadriatic coaſt. The Gothic auxiliaries, who appear to have ſerved under their native princes Alaric and Antala, communicated their intrepid ſpirit; and the citizens ſtill remembered the glorious and ſucceſsful reſiſtance, which their anceſtors had oppoſed to a fierce, inexorable Barbarian, who diſgraced the majeſty of the Roman purple. Three months were conſumed without effect in the ſiege of Aquileia; till the want of proviſions, and the clamours of his army, compelled Attila to relinquiſh the enterpriſe; and reluctantly to iſſue his orders, that the troops ſhould ſtrike their tents

[42] Machinis conſtructis, omnibuſque tormentorum generibus adhibitis. Jornandes, c. 42. p. 673. In the thirteenth century, the Moguls battered the cities of China with large engines, conſtructed by the Mahometans or Chriſtians in their ſervice, which threw ſtones from 150 to 300 pounds weight. In the defence of their country, the Chineſe uſed gunpowder, and even bombs, above an hundred years before they were known in Europe; yet even thoſe celeſtial, or infernal, arms were inſufficient to protect a puſillanimous nation. See Gaubil, Hiſt. des Mongous, p. 70, 71. 155. 157, &c.

the next morning, and begin their retreat. But as he rode round the walls, penſive, angry, and diſappointed, he obſerved a ſtork, preparing to leave her neſt, in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family towards the country. He ſeized, with the ready penetration of a ſtateſman, this trifling incident, which chance had offered to ſuperſtition; and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that ſuch a domeſtic bird, ſo conſtantly attached to human ſociety, would never have abandoned her ancient ſeats, unleſs thoſe towers had been devoted to impending ruin and ſolitude [49]. The favourable omen inſpired an aſſurance of victory; the ſiege was renewed, and proſecuted with freſh vigour; a large breach was made in the part of the wall from whence the ſtork had taken her flight; the Huns mounted to the aſſault with irreſiſtible fury; and the ſucceeding generation could ſcarcely diſcover the ruins of Aquileia [50]. After this dreadful chaſtiſement, Attila purſued his march; and, as he paſſed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced into heaps of ſtones and aſhes. The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were expoſed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to the loſs of their wealth; and applauded the unuſual clemency, which preſerved from the flames the public, as well as private, buildings, and ſpared the lives of the captive multitude. The popular traditions of Comum, Turin, or Modena, may juſtly be ſuſpected, yet they concur with more authentic evidence to prove, that Attila ſpread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy; which are divided by

[49] The ſame ſtory is told by Jornandes, and by Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 187, 188.): nor is it eaſy to decide, which is the original. But the Greek hiſtorian is guilty of an inexcuſable miſtake, in placing the ſiege of Aquileia *after* the death of Ætius.

[50] Jornandes, about an hundred years afterwards, affirms, that Aquileia was ſo completely ruined, ita ut vix ejus veſtigia, ut appareant, reliquerint. See Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 42. p. 673. Paul Diacon. l. ii. c. 14. p. 785. Liutprand Hiſt. l. iii. c. 2. The name of Aquileia was ſometimes applied to Forum Julii (Cividad del Friuli), the more recent capital of the Venetian province.

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the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Apennine [51]. When he took poſſeſſion of the royal palace of Milan, he was ſurpriſed, and offended, at the ſight of a picture, which repreſented the Cæſars ſeated on their throne, and the princes of Scythia proſtrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila inflicted on this monument of Roman vanity, was harmleſs and ingenious. He commanded a painter to reverſe the figures, and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the ſame canvaſs, approaching in a ſuppliant poſture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch [52]. The ſpectators muſt have confeſſed the truth and propriety of the alteration; and were perhaps tempted to apply, on this ſingular occaſion, the well-known fable of the diſpute between the lion and the man [53].

Foundation of the republic of Venice.

It is a ſaying worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the graſs never grew on the ſpot where his horſe had trod. Yet the ſavage deſtroyer undeſignedly laid the foundations of a republic, which revived, in the feudal ſtate of Europe, the art and ſpirit of commercial induſtry. The celebrated name of Venice, or Venetia [54], was formerly diffuſed over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the

[51] In deſcribing this war of Attila, a war ſo famous, but ſo imperfectly known, I have taken for my guides two learned Italians, who conſidered the ſubject with ſome peculiar advantages; Sigonius, de Imperio Occidentali, l. xiii. in his works tom. i. p. 495—502.; and Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 229—236, 8vo edition.

[52] This anecdote may be found under two different articles (μεδιολανον and κορυκος) of the miſcellaneous compilation of Suidas.

[53] Leo reſpondit, humanâ hoc pictum manû:
Videres hominem dejectum, ſi pingere Leones ſcirent.
Appendix ad Phædrum, Fab. xxv. The lion in Phædrus very fooliſhly appeals from pictures to the amphitheatre: and I am glad to obſerve, that the native taſte of La Fontaine (l. iii. fable x.) has omitted this moſt lame and impotent concluſion.

[54] Paul the Deacon (de Geſtis Langobard. l. ii. c. 14. p. 784.) deſcribes the provinces of Italy about the end of the eighth century. *Venetia* non ſolum in paucis inſulis quas nunc Venetias dicimus, conſtat; ſed ejus terminus a Pannoniæ finibus uſque Adduam fluvium protelatur. The hiſtory of that province till the age of Charlemagne forms the firſt and moſt intereſting part of the Verona illuſtrata (p. 1—388.), in which the marquis Scipio Maffei has ſhewn himſelf equally capable of enlarged views and minute diſquiſitions.

confines

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confines of Pannonia to the river Addua, and from the Po to the Rhætian and Julian Alps. Before the irruption of the Barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flouriſhed in peace and proſperity: Aquileia was placed in the moſt conſpicuous ſtation: but the ancient dignity of Padua was ſupported by agriculture and manufactures; and the property of five hundred citizens, who were entitled to the equeſtrian rank, muſt have amounted, at the ſtricteſt computation, to one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the ſword of the Huns, found a ſafe, though obſcure, refuge in the neighbouring iſlands [55]. At the extremity of the Gulf, where the Hadriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near an hundred ſmall iſlands are ſeparated by ſhallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by ſeveral long ſlips of land, which admit the entrance of veſſels through ſome ſecret and narrow channels [56]. Till the middle of the fifth century, theſe remote and ſequeſtered ſpots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almoſt without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new ſituation; and one of the epiſtles of Caſſiodorius [57], which deſcribes their condition about ſeventy years afterwards, may be conſidered as the primitive monument of the republic. The miniſter of Theodoric compares them,

[55] This emigration is not atteſted by any contemporary evidence; but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumſtances might be preſerved by tradition. The citizens of Aquileia retired to the Iſle of Gradus, thoſe of Padua to Rivus Altus, or Rialto, where the city of Venice was afterwards built, &c.

[56] The topography and antiquities of the Venetian iſlands, from Gradus to Clodia, or Chioggia, are accurately ſtated in the Diſſertatio Chorographica de Italiâ Medii Ævi, p. 151—155.

[57] Caſſiodor. Variar. l. xii. epiſt. 24. Maffei (Verona Illuſtrata, part i. p. 240—254.) has tranſlated and explained this curious letter, in the ſpirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful ſubject, who conſidered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epiſtle, and conſequently the præfecture of Caſſiodorius, A. D. 523; and the marquis's authority has the more weight, as he had prepared an edition of his works, and actually publiſhed a Diſſertation on the true orthography of his name. See Oſſervazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 290—339.

in

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in his quaint declamatory ſtyle, to water-fowl, who had fixed their neſts on the boſom of the waves; and though he allows, that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he inſinuates, that they were now reduced by misfortune to the ſame level of humble poverty. Fiſh was the common, and almoſt the univerſal, food of every rank: their only treaſure conſiſted in the plenty of ſalt, which they extracted from the ſea: and the exchange of that commodity, ſo eſſential to human life, was ſubſtituted in the neighbouring markets to the currency of gold and ſilver. A people, whoſe habitations might be doubtfully aſſigned to the earth or water, ſoon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avarice ſucceeded to thoſe of neceſſity. The iſlanders, who, from Grado to Chiozza, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, by the ſecure, though laborious, navigation of the rivers and inland canals. Their veſſels, which were continually increaſing in ſize and number, viſited all the harbours of the Gulf; and the marriage, which Venice annually celebrates with the Hadriatic, was contracted in her early infancy. The epiſtle of Caſſiodorius, the Prætorian præfect, is addreſſed to the maritime tribunes: and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate the zeal of their countrymen for the public ſervice, which required their aſſiſtance to tranſport the magazines of wine and oil from the province of Iſtria to the royal city of Ravenna. The ambiguous office of theſe magiſtrates is explained by the tradition, that, in the twelve principal iſlands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election. The exiſtence of the Venetian republic under the Gothic kingdom of Italy, is atteſted by the ſame authentic record, which annihilates their lofty claim of original and perpetual independence[58].

The

[58] See, in the ſecond volume of Amelot de la Houſſai Hiſtoire du Gouvernement de Veniſe, a tranſlation of the famous *Squittinio*. This book, which has been exalted far above its

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Attila gives peace to the Romans.

The Italians, who had long ſince renounced the exerciſe of arms, were ſurpriſed, after forty years peace, by the approach of a formidable Barbarian, whom they abhorred, as the enemy of their religion, as well as of their republic. Amidſt the general conſternation, Ætius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impoſſible that he ſhould atchieve, alone, and unaſſiſted, any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The Barbarians who had defended Gaul, refuſed to march to the relief of Italy; and the ſuccours promiſed by the Eaſtern emperor were diſtant and doubtful. Since Ætius, at the head of his domeſtic troops, ſtill maintained the field, and haraſſed or retarded the march of Attila, he never ſhewed himſelf more truly great, than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people [59]. If the mind of Valentinian had been ſuſceptible of any generous ſentiments, he would have choſen ſuch a general for his example and his guide. But the timid grandſon of Theodoſius, inſtead of ſharing the dangers, eſcaped from the ſound of war; and his haſty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortreſs to an open capital, betrayed his ſecret intention of abandoning Italy, as ſoon as the danger ſhould approach his Imperial perſon. This ſhameful abdication was ſuſpended, however, by the ſpirit of doubt and delay, which commonly adheres to puſillanimous counſels, and ſometimes corrects their pernicious tendency. The Weſtern emperor, with the ſenate and people of Rome, embraced the more ſalutary reſolution of deprecating, by a ſolemn and ſuppliant embaſſy, the wrath of Attila. This important commiſſion

its merits, is ſtained, in every line, with the diſingenuous malevolence of party: but the principal evidence, genuine and apocryphal, is brought together, and the reader will eaſily chuſe the fair medium.

[59] Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 19.) has publiſhed a curious paſſage from the Chronicle of Proſper. Attila redintegratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiſerat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit: nihil duce noſtro Ætio ſecundum prioris belli opera proſpiciente, &c. He reproaches Ætius with neglecting to guard the Alps, and with a deſign to abandon Italy: but this raſh cenſure may at leaſt be counterbalanced by the favourable teſtimonies of Idatius and Iſidore.

was

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was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and riches, his conſular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his perſonal abilities, held the firſt rank in the Roman ſenate. The ſpecious and artful character of Avienus[60], was admirably qualified to conduct a negotiation, either of public or private intereſt: his colleague Trigetius had exerciſed the Prætorian præfecture of Italy; and Leo, biſhop of Rome, conſented to expoſe his life for the ſafety of his flock. The genius of Leo[61] was exerciſed and diſplayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deſerved the appellation of *Great*, by the ſucceſsful zeal, with which he laboured to eſtabliſh his opinions and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith, and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. The Roman ambaſſadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at the place where the ſlow-winding Mincius is loſt in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus[62], and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil[63]. The Barbarian monarch liſtened with favourable, and even reſpectful, attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchaſed by the immenſe ranſom, or dowry, of the princeſs Honoria. The ſtate of his army might facilitate the treaty,

[60] See the original portraits of Avienus, and his rival Baſilius, delineated and contraſted in the epiſtles (i. 9. p. 22.) of Sidonius. He had ſtudied the characters of the two chiefs of the ſenate; but he attached himſelf to Baſilius, as the more ſolid and diſintereſted friend.

[61] The character and principles of Leo, may be traced in one hundred and forty-one original epiſtles, which illuſtrate the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of his long and buſy pontificate, from A. D. 440, to 461. See Dupin, Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique, tom. iii. part ii. p. 120—165.

[62] —— tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat *Mincius*, et tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas
- - - - - - - -
Anne lacus tantos, te Lari maxime, teque Fluctibus, et fremitu aſſurgens *Benace* marino.

[63] The Marquis Maffei (Verona Illuſtrata, part i. p. 95. 129. 221. part ii. p. 2. 6.) has illuſtrated with taſte and learning this intereſting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolica, or Ardelica, now Peſchiera, at the conflux of the lake and river; aſcertains the villa of Catullus, in the delightful peninſula of Sarmio, and diſcovers the Andes of Virgil, in the village of Bandes, preciſely ſituate, quâ ſe ſubducere colles incipiunt, where the Veroneſe hills imperceptibly ſlope down into the plain of Mantua.

and

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and haſten his retreat. Their martial ſpirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm climate. The ſhepherds of the North, whoſe ordinary food conſiſted of milk and raw fleſh, indulged themſelves too freely in the uſe of bread, of wine, and of meat, prepared and ſeaſoned by the arts of cookery; and the progreſs of diſeaſe revenged in ſome meaſure the injuries of the Italians [64]. When Attila declared his reſolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admoniſhed by his friends, as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long ſurvived the conqueſt of the eternal city. His mind, ſuperior to real danger, was aſſaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could he eſcape the influence of ſuperſtition, which had ſo often been ſubſervient to his deſigns [65]. The preſſing eloquence of Leo, his majeſtic aſpect, and ſacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the ſpiritual father of the Chriſtians. The apparition of the two apoſtles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the Barbarian with inſtant death, if he rejected the prayer of their ſucceſſor, is one of the nobleſt legends of eccleſiaſtical tradition. The ſafety of Rome might deſerve the interpoſition of celeſtial beings; and ſome indulgence is due to a fable, which has been repreſented by the pencil of Raphael, and the chiſſel of Algardi [66].

Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, he threatened to return more dreadful, and more implacable, if his bride, the princeſs

The death of Attila, A. D. 453.

[64] Si ſtatim infeſto agmine urbem petiiſſent, grande diſcrimen eſſet: ſed in Venetiâ quo fere tractu Italia molliſſima eſt, ipſâ ſoli cœlique clementiâ robur elanguit. Adhoc panis uſû carniſque coctæ, et dulcedine vini mitigatos, &c. This paſſage of Florus (iii. 3.) is ſtill more applicable to the Huns than to the Cimbri, and it may ſerve as a commentary on the *celeſtial* plague, with which Idatius and Iſidore have afflicted the troops of Attila.

[65] The hiſtorian Priſcus had poſitively mentioned the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. Jornandes, c. 42. p. 673.

[66] The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the baſſo (or perhaps the alto) relievo of Algardi, on one of the altars of St. Peter's (ſee Dubos, Reflexions ſur la Poeſie et ſur la Peinture, tom. i. p. 519, 520.). Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 452. N° 57, 58.) bravely ſuſtains the truth of the apparition: which is rejected, however, by the moſt learned and pious Catholics.

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Honoria, were not delivered to his ambaſſadors within the term ſtipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the mean while, Attila relieved his tender anxiety, by adding a beautiful maid, whoſe name was Ildico, to the liſt of his innumerable wives [67]. Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and feſtivity, at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch, oppreſſed with wine and ſleep, retired, at a late hour, from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to reſpect his pleaſures, or his repoſe, the greateſt part of the enſuing day, till the unuſual ſilence alarmed their fears and ſuſpicions; and after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride ſitting by the bedſide, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night [68]. An artery had ſuddenly burſt; and as Attila lay in a ſupine poſture, he was ſuffocated by a torrent of blood, which, inſtead of finding a paſſage through the noſtrils, regurgitated into the lungs and ſtomach. His body was ſolemnly expoſed in the midſt of the plain, under a ſilken pavilion; and the choſen ſquadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in meaſured evolutions, chaunted a funeral ſong to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of

[67] Attila, ut Priſcus hiſtoricus refert, extinctionis ſuæ tempore, puellam Ildico nomine, decoram valde, ſibi matrimonium poſt innumerabiles uxores . . . ſocians. Jornandes, c. 49. p. 683, 684. He afterwards adds (c. 50. p. 686.), Filii Attilæ, quorum per licentiam libidinis pœne populus fuit. Polygamy has been eſtabliſhed among the Tartars of every age. The rank of plebeian wives is regulated only by their perſonal charms; and the faded matron prepares, without a murmur, the bed which is deſtined for her blooming rival. But in royal families, the daughters of Khans communicate to their ſons a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical Hiſtory, p. 406, 407, 408.

[68] The report of her *guilt* reached Conſtantinople, where it obtained a very different name; and Marcellinus obſerves, that the tyrant of Europe was ſlain in the night by the hand, and the knife, of a woman. Corneille, who has adapted the genuine account to his tragedy, deſcribes the irruption of blood in forty bombaſt lines, and Attila exclaims, with ridiculous fury,

——— S'il ne veut s'arreter *(his blood)*,
(Dit-il) on me payera ce qui m'en va couter.

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his people, the ſcourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national cuſtom, the Barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gaſhed their faces with unſeemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deſerved, not with the tears of women, but with the blood of warriors. The remains of Attila were incloſed within three coffins, of gold, of ſilver, and of iron, and privately buried in the night: the ſpoils of nations were thrown into his grave; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly maſſacred; and the ſame Huns, who had indulged ſuch exceſſive grief, feaſted, with diſſolute and intemperate mirth, about the recent ſepulchre of their king. It was reported at Conſtantinople, that on the fortunate night on which he expired, Marcian beheld in a dream the bow of Attila broken aſunder: and the report may be allowed to prove, how ſeldom the image of that formidable Barbarian was abſent from the mind of a Roman emperor [69].

Deſtruction of his empire.

The revolution which ſubverted the empire of the Huns, eſtabliſhed the fame of Attila, whoſe genius alone had ſuſtained the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death, the boldeſt chieftains aſpired to the rank of kings; the moſt powerful kings refuſed to acknowledge a ſuperior; and the numerous ſons, whom ſo many various mothers bore to the deceaſed monarch, divided and diſputed, like a private inheritance, the ſovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia. The bold Ardaric felt and repreſented the diſgrace of this ſervile partition; and his ſubjects, the warlike Gepidæ, with the Oſtrogoths, under the conduct of three valiant brothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freedom and royalty. In a bloody and deciſive conflict on the banks of the river Netad, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepidæ, the ſword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevic infantry, the light arms

[69] The curious circumſtances of the death and funeral of Attila, are related by Jornandes (c. 49. p. 683, 684, 685.), and were probably tranſcribed from Priſcus.

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of the Heruli, and the heavy weapons of the Alani, encountered or ſupported each other; and the victory of Ardaric was accompanied with the ſlaughter of thirty thouſand of his enemies. Ellac, the eldeſt ſon of Attila, loſt his life and crown in the memorable battle of Netad: his early valour had raiſed him to the throne of the Acatzires, a Scythian people, whom he ſubdued; and his father, who loved the ſuperior merit, would have envied the death, of Ellac [70]. His brother Dengiſich, with an army of Huns, ſtill formidable in their flight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the ſeat of a new power, which was erected by Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ. The Pannonian conqueſts, from Vienna to Sirmium, were occupied by the Oſtrogoths; and the ſettlements of the tribes, who had ſo bravely aſſerted their native freedom, were irregularly diſtributed, according to the meaſure of their reſpective ſtrength. Surrounded and oppreſſed by the multitude of his father's ſlaves, the kingdom of Dengiſich was confined to the circle of his waggons; his deſperate courage urged him to invade the Eaſtern empire; he fell in battle; and his head, ignominiouſly expoſed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful ſpectacle to the people of Conſtantinople. Attila had fondly or ſuperſtitiouſly believed that Irnac, the youngeſt of his ſons, was deſtined to perpetuate the glories of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the raſhneſs of his brother Dengiſich, was more ſuitable to the declining condition of the Huns; and Irnac, with his ſubject hords, retired

[70] See Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 50. p. 685, 686, 687, 688. His diſtinction of the national arms is curious and important. Nam ibi admirandum reor fuiſſe ſpectaculum, ubi cernere erat cunctis, pugnantem Gothum enſe furentem, Gepidam in vulnere ſuorum cuncta tela frangentem, Suevum pede, Hunnum ſagittâ præſumere, Alanum gravi, Herulum levi, armaturâ, aciem inſtruere. I am not preciſely informed of the ſituation of the river Netad.

into

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into the heart of the Leſſer Scythia. They were ſoon overwhelmed by a torrent of new Barbarians, who followed the ſame road which their own anceſtors had formerly diſcovered. The *Geougen*, or Avares, whoſe reſidence is aſſigned by the Greek writers to the ſhores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Igours of the North, iſſuing from the cold Siberian regions, which produce the moſt valuable furs, ſpread themſelves over the deſert, as far as the Boriſthenes and the Caſpian gates; and finally extinguiſhed the empire of the Huns [71].

Such an event might contribute to the ſafety of the Eaſtern empire, under the reign of a prince, who conciliated the friendſhip, without forfeiting the eſteem, of the Barbarians. But the emperor of the Weſt, the feeble and diſſolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year, without attaining the age of reaſon or courage, abuſed this apparent ſecurity, to undermine the foundations of his own throne, by the murder of the patrician Ætius. From the inſtinct of a baſe and jealous mind, he hated the man, who was univerſally celebrated as the terror of the Barbarians and the ſupport of the republic; and his new favourite, the eunuch Heraclius, awakened the emperor from the ſupine lethargy, which might be diſguiſed, during the life of Placidia [72], by the excuſe of filial piety. The fame of Ætius, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of Barbarian followers, his powerful dependents, who filled the civil offices of the ſtate, and the hopes of his ſon Gaudentius, who

Valentinian murders the patrician Ætius, A. D. 454.

[71] Two modern hiſtorians have thrown much new light on the ruin and diviſion of the empire of Attila. M. de Buat, by his laborious and minute diligence (tom. viii. p. 3—31. 68—94.); and M. de Guignes, by his extraordinary knowledge of the Chineſe language and writers. See Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 315—319.

[72] Placidia died at Rome, November 27, A. D. 450. She was buried at Ravenna, where her ſepulchre, and even her corpſe, ſeated in a chair of cypreſs wood, were preſerved for ages. The empreſs received many compliments from the orthodox clergy; and St. Peter Chryſologus aſſured her, that her zeal for the Trinity had been recompenſed by an auguſt trinity of children. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 249.

was

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was already contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raiſed him above the rank of a ſubject. The ambitious deſigns, of which he was ſecretly accuſed, excited the fears, as well as the reſentment, of Valentinian. Ætius himſelf, ſupported by the conſciouſneſs of his merit, his ſervices, and perhaps his innocence, ſeems to have maintained a haughty and indiſcreet behaviour. The patrician offended his ſovereign by an hoſtile declaration; he aggravated the offence, by compelling him to ratify, with a ſolemn oath, a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his ſuſpicions; he neglected his ſafety; and from a vain confidence that the enemy, whom he deſpiſed, was incapable even of a manly crime, he raſhly ventured his perſon in the palace of Rome. Whilſt he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his ſon; Valentinian, drawing his ſword, the firſt ſword he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breaſt of a general who had ſaved his empire: his courtiers and eunuchs ambitiouſly ſtruggled to imitate their maſter; and Ætius, pierced with an hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal preſence. Boethius, the Prætorian præfect, was killed at the ſame moment; and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the patrician were ſummoned to the palace, and ſeparately murdered. The horrid deed, palliated by the ſpecious names of juſtice and neceſſity, was immediately communicated by the emperor to his ſoldiers, his ſubjects, and his allies. The nations who were ſtrangers or enemies to Ætius, generouſly deplored the unworthy fate of a hero: the Barbarians, who had been attached to his ſervice, diſſembled their grief and reſentment: and the public contempt, which had been ſo long entertained for Valentinian, was at once converted into deep and univerſal abhorrence. Such ſentiments ſeldom pervade the walls of a palace; yet the emperor was confounded by the honeſt reply of a Roman, whoſe approbation he had not diſdained to ſolicit. "I am ignorant, Sir, of your motives or pro-

"vocations;

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" vocations; I only know, that you have acted like a man who " cuts off his right hand with his left [73]."

and raviſhes the wife of Maximus.

The luxury of Rome ſeems to have attracted the long and frequent viſits of Valentinian; who was conſequently more deſpiſed at Rome than in any other part of his dominions. A republican ſpirit was inſenſibly revived in the ſenate, as their authority, and even their ſupplies, became neceſſary for the ſupport of his feeble government. The ſtately demeanour of an hereditary monarch offended their pride; and the pleaſures of Valentinian were injurious to the peace and honour of noble families. The birth of the empreſs Eudoxia was equal to his own, and her charms and tender affection deſerved thoſe teſtimonies of love, which her inconſtant huſband diſſipated in vague and unlawful amours. Petronius Maximus, a wealthy ſenator of the Anician family, who had been twice conſul, was poſſeſſed of a chaſte and beautiful wife: her obſtinate reſiſtance ſerved only to irritate the deſires of Valentinian; and he reſolved to accompliſh them either by ſtratagem or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the court: the emperor, who by chance or contrivance, had gained from Maximus a conſiderable ſum, uncourteouſly exacted his ring as a ſecurity for the debt; and ſent it by a truſty meſſenger to his wife, with an order, in her huſband's name, that ſhe ſhould immediately attend the empreſs Eudoxia. The unſuſpecting wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the Imperial palace; the emiſſaries of her impatient lover conducted her to a remote and ſilent bed-chamber; and Valentinian violated, without remorſe, the laws of hoſpitality. Her tears, when ſhe returned home; her deep affliction; and her bitter reproaches againſt a huſband, whom ſhe conſidered as the accomplice of his

[73] Aetium Placidus mactavit ſemivir amens, is the expreſſion of Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 359). The poet knew the world, and was not inclined to flatter a miniſter who had injured or diſgraced Avitus and Majorian, the ſucceſſive heroes of his ſong.

own

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own ſhame, excited Maximus to a juſt revenge; the deſire of revenge was ſtimulated by ambition; and he might reaſonably aſpire, by the free ſuffrage of the Roman ſenate, to the throne of a deteſted and deſpicable rival. Valentinian, who ſuppoſed that every human breaſt was devoid, like his own, of friendſhip and gratitude, had imprudently admitted among his guards ſeveral domeſtics and followers of Ætius. Two of theſe, of Barbarian race, were perſuaded to execute a ſacred and honourable duty, by puniſhing with death the aſſaſſin of their patron; and their intrepid courage did not long expect a favourable moment. Whilſt Valentinian amuſed himſelf in the field of Mars with the ſpectacle of ſome military ſports, they ſuddenly ruſhed upon him with drawn weapons, diſpatched the guilty Heraclius, and ſtabbed the emperor to the heart, without the leaſt oppoſition from his numerous train, who ſeemed to rejoice in the tyrant's death. Such was the fate of Valentinian the Third [74], the laſt Roman emperor of the family of Theodoſius. He faithfully imitated the hereditary weakneſs of his couſin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleneſs, the purity, the innocence, which alleviate in their characters the want of ſpirit and ability. Valentinian was leſs excuſable, ſince he had paſſions, without virtues: even his religion was queſtionable; and though he never deviated into the paths of hereſy, he ſcandalized the pious Chriſtians by his attachment to the profane arts of magic and divination.

Death of Valentinian, A. D. 455, March 16.

Symptoms of decay and ruin.

As early as the time of Cicero and Varro, it was the opinion of the Roman augurs, that the *twelve vultures*, which Romulus had

[74] With regard to the cauſe and circumſtances of the deaths of Ætius and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 186, 187, 188.) is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own memory. His narrative muſt therefore be ſupplied and corrected by five or ſix Chronicles, none of which were compoſed in Rome or Italy; and which can only expreſs, in broken ſentences, the popular rumours, as they were conveyed to Gaul, Spain, Africa, Conſtantinople, or Alexandria.

ſeen,

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ſeen, repreſented the *twelve centuries*, aſſigned for the fatal period of his city[75]. This prophecy, diſregarded perhaps in the ſeaſon of health and proſperity, inſpired the people with gloomy apprehenſions, when the twelfth century, clouded with diſgrace and misfortune, was almoſt elapſed[76]; and even poſterity muſt acknowledge with ſome ſurpriſe, that the arbitrary interpretation of an accidental or fabulous circumſtance, has been ſeriouſly verified in the downfall of the Weſtern empire. But its fall was announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures: the Roman government appeared every day leſs formidable to its enemies, more odious and oppreſſive to its ſubjects[77]. The taxes were multiplied with the public diſtreſs; œconomy was neglected in proportion as it became neceſſary; and the injuſtice of the rich ſhifted the unequal burden from themſelves to the people, whom they defrauded of the *indulgencies* that might ſometimes have alleviated their miſery. The ſevere inquiſition, which confiſcated their goods, and tortured their perſons, compelled the ſubjects of Valentinian to prefer the more ſimple tyranny of the Barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary ſervants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited

[75] This interpretation of Vettius, a celebrated augur, was quoted by Varro, in the xviiith book of his Antiquities. Cenſorinus, de Die Natali, c. 17. p. 90, 91. edit. Havercamp.

[76] According to Varro, the twelfth century would expire A. D. 447, but the uncertainty of the true æra of Rome might allow ſome latitude of anticipation or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 265.) and Sidonius (in Panegyr. Avit. 357.), may be admitted as fair witneſſes of the popular opinion.

Jam reputant annos, interceptoque volatû
Vulturis, incidunt properatis ſæcula metis.
- - - - - - -
Jam prope fata tui biſſenas Vulturis alas
Implebant; ſcis namque tuos, ſcis, Roma, labores.

See Dubos, Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 340—346.

[77] The fifth book of Salvian is filled with pathetic lamentations, and vehement invectives. His immoderate freedom ſerves to prove the weakneſs, as well as the corruption, of the Roman government. His book was publiſhed after the loſs of Africa (A. D. 439.), and before Attila's war (A. D. 451.).

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the ambition of mankind. The Armorican provinces of Gaul, and the greateſt part of Spain, were thrown into a ſtate of diſorderly independence, by the confederations of the Bagaudæ; and the Imperial miniſters purſued with proſcriptive laws, and ineffectual arms, the rebels whom they had made [78]. If all the Barbarian conquerors had been annihilated in the ſame hour, their total deſtruction would not have reſtored the empire of the Weſt: and if Rome ſtill ſurvived, ſhe ſurvived the loſs of freedom, of virtue, and of honour.

[78] The Bagaudæ of Spain, who fought pitched battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle of Idatius. Salvian has deſcribed their diſtreſs and rebellion in very forcible language. Itaque nomen civium Romanorum . . . nunc ultro repudiatur ac fugitur, nec vile tamen ſed etiam abominabile pœne habetur . . . . . Et hinc eſt ut etiam hi qui ad Barbaros non confugiunt, Barbari tamen eſſe coguntur, ſcilicet ut eſt pars magna Hiſpanorum, et non minima Gallorum . . . . . De Bagaudis nunc mihi ſermo eſt, qui per malos judices et cruentos ſpoliati, afflicti, necati poſtquam jus Romanæ libertatis amiſerant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt. . . . . Vocamus rebelles, vocamus perditos quos eſſe compulimus criminoſos. De Gubernat. Dei, l. v. p. 158, 159.

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Sack of Rome by Genſeric, King of the Vandals.—His naval Depredations.—Succeſſion of the laſt Emperors of the Weſt, Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Auguſtulus.—Total Extinction of the Weſtern Empire.—Reign of Odoacer, the firſt Barbarian King of Italy.

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Naval power of the Vandals, A. D. 435—455.

THE loſs or deſolation of the provinces, from the ocean to the Alps, impaired the glory and greatneſs of Rome: her internal proſperity was irretrievably deſtroyed by the ſeparation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiſcated the patrimonial eſtates of the ſenators, and intercepted the regular ſubſidies, which relieved the poverty, and encouraged the idleneſs, of the plebeians. The diſtreſs of the Romans was ſoon aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province, ſo long cultivated for their uſe by induſtrious and obedient ſubjects, was armed againſt them by an ambitious Barbarian. The Vandals and Alani, who followed the ſucceſsful ſtandard of Genſeric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which ſtretched along the coaſt above ninety days journey from Tangier to Tripoli; but their narrow limits were preſſed and confined, on either ſide, by the ſandy deſert and the Mediterranean. The diſcovery and conqueſt of the Black nations, that might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not tempt the rational ambition of Genſeric: but he

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caſt his eyes towards the ſea; he reſolved to create a naval power, and his bold reſolution was executed with ſteady and active perſeverance. The woods of mount Atlas afforded an inexhauſtible nurſery of timber; his new ſubjects were ſkilled in the arts of navigation and ſhip-building; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country acceſſible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and, after an interval of ſix centuries, the fleets that iſſued from the port of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The ſucceſs of the Vandals, the conqueſt of Sicily, the ſack of Palermo, and the frequent deſcents on the coaſt of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian, and the ſiſter of Theodoſius. Alliances were formed; and armaments, expenſive and ineffectual, were prepared, for the deſtruction of the common enemy; who reſerved his courage to encounter thoſe dangers which his policy could not prevent or elude. The deſigns of the Roman government were repeatedly baffled by his artful delays, ambiguous promiſes, and apparent conceſſions; and the interpoſition of his formidable confederate, the king of the Huns, recalled the emperors from the conqueſt of Africa to the care of their domeſtic ſafety. The revolutions of the palace, which left the Weſtern empire without a defender, and without a lawful prince, diſpelled the apprehenſions, and ſtimulated the avarice, of Genſeric. He immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandals and Moors, and caſt anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, about three months after the death of Valentinian, and the elevation of Maximus to the Imperial throne.

The character and reign of the emperor Maximus, A. D. 455, March 17.

The private life of the ſenator Petronius Maximus[1], was often alleged as a rare example of human felicity. His birth was noble and

[1] Sidonius Apollinaris compoſed the thirteenth epiſtle of the ſecond book, to refute the paradox of his friend Serranus, who entertained a ſingular, though generous, enthuſiaſm

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and illuſtrious, ſince he deſcended from the Anician family; his dignity was ſupported by an adequate patrimony in land and money; and theſe advantages of fortune were accompanied with liberal arts, and decent manners, which adorn or imitate the ineſtimable gifts of genius and virtue. The luxury of his palace and table was hoſpitable and elegant. Whenever Maximus appeared in public, he was ſurrounded by a train of grateful and obſequious clients [2]; and it is poſſible that among theſe clients, he might deſerve and poſſeſs ſome real friends. His merit was rewarded by the favour of the prince and ſenate: he thrice exerciſed the office of Prætorian præfect of Italy; he was twice inveſted with the conſulſhip, and he obtained the rank of patrician. Theſe civil honours were not incompatible with the enjoyment of leiſure and tranquillity; his hours, according to the demands of pleaſure or reaſon, were accurately diſtributed by a water-clock; and this avarice of time may be allowed to prove the ſenſe which Maximus entertained of his own happineſs. The injury which he received from the emperor Valentinian, appears to excuſe the moſt bloody revenge. Yet a philoſopher might have reflected, that, if the reſiſtance of his wife had been ſincere, her chaſtity was ſtill inviolate, and that it could never be reſtored if ſhe had conſented to the will of the adulterer. A patriot would have heſitated, before he plunged himſelf and his country into thoſe inevitable calamities, which muſt follow the extinction of the royal houſe of Theodoſius. The imprudent Maximus diſregarded theſe ſalutary conſiderations: he gratified his reſentment and ambition; he ſaw the bleeding corpſe of Valentinian at his feet; and he heard himſelf ſaluted emperor by the unanimous voice of the ſenate and

thuſiaſm for the deceaſed emperor. This epiſtle, with ſome indulgence, may claim the praiſe of an elegant compoſition; and it throws much light on the character of Maximus.

[2] Clientum, prævia, pediſequa, circumfuſa, populoſitas, is the train which Sidonius himſelf (l. i. epiſt. 9.) aſſigns to another ſenator of conſular rank.

people.

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people. But the day of his inauguration was the laſt day of his happineſs. He was impriſoned (ſuch is the lively expreſſion of Sidonius) in the palace; and after paſſing a ſleepleſs night he ſighed that he had attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, and aſpired only to deſcend from the dangerous elevation. Oppreſſed by the weight of the diadem, he communicated his anxious thoughts to his friend and quæſtor Fulgentius; and when he looked back with unavailing regret on the ſecure pleaſures of his former life, the emperor exclaimed, "O fortunate Damocles [3], thy reign began and ended with "the ſame dinner:" a well-known alluſion, which Fulgentius afterwards repeated as an inſtructive leſſon for princes and ſubjects.

His death, A. D. 455, June 12.

The reign of Maximus continued about three months. His hours, of which he had loſt the command, were diſturbed by remorſe, or guilt, or terror, and his throne was ſhaken by the ſeditions of the ſoldiers, the people, and the confederate Barbarians. The marriage of his ſon Palladius with the eldeſt daughter of the late emperor, might tend to eſtabliſh the hereditary ſucceſſion of his family; but the violence which he offered to the empreſs Eudoxia, could proceed only from the blind impulſe of luſt or revenge. His own wife, the cauſe of theſe tragic events, had been ſeaſonably removed by death; and the widow of Valentinian was compelled to violate her decent mourning, perhaps her real grief, and to ſubmit to the embraces of a preſumptuous uſurper, whom ſhe ſuſpected as the aſſaſſin of her deceaſed huſband. Theſe ſuſpicions were ſoon juſtified by the indiſcreet confeſſion of Maximus himſelf; and he wantonly pro-

[3] Diſtrictus enſis cui ſuper impiâ
Cervice pendet, non *Siculæ dapes*
Dulcem elaborabunt ſaporem:
Non avium Citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent.
Horat. Carm. iii. 1.
Sidonius concludes his letter with the ſtory of Damocles, which Cicero (Tuſculan. v. 20, 21.) had ſo inimitably told.

voked

voked the hatred of his reluctant bride, who was ſtill conſcious that ſhe deſcended from a line of emperors. From the Eaſt, however, Eudoxia could not hope to obtain any effectual aſſiſtance: her father and her aunt Pulcheria were dead; her mother languiſhed at Jeruſalem in diſgrace and exile; and the ſceptre of Conſtantinople was in the hands of a ſtranger. She directed her eyes towards Carthage; ſecretly implored the aid of the king of the Vandals; and perſuaded Genſeric to improve the fair opportunity of diſguiſing his rapacious deſigns by the ſpecious names of honour, juſtice, and compaſſion [4]. Whatever abilities Maximus might have ſhewn in a ſubordinate ſtation, he was found incapable of adminiſtering an empire; and though he might eaſily have been informed of the naval preparations which were made on the oppoſite ſhores of Africa, he expected with ſupine indifference the approach of the enemy, without adopting any meaſures of defence, of negotiation, or of a timely retreat. When the Vandals diſembarked at the mouth of the Tyber, the emperor was ſuddenly rouſed from his lethargy by the clamours of a trembling and exaſperated multitude. The only hope which preſented itſelf to his aſtoniſhed mind was that of a precipitate flight, and he exhorted the ſenators to imitate the example of their prince. But no ſooner did Maximus appear in the ſtreets, than he was aſſaulted by a ſhower of ſtones: a Roman, or a Burgundian, ſoldier claimed the honour of the firſt wound; his mangled body was ignominiouſly caſt into the Tyber; the Roman people rejoiced in the puniſhment which they had inflicted on the author of the public calamities;

[4] Notwithſtanding the evidence of Procopius, Evagrius, Idatius, Marcellinus, &c. the learned Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 249.) doubts the reality of this invitation, and obſerves, with great truth, "Non "ſi può dir quanto ſia facile il popolo a "ſognare e ſpacciar voci falſe." But his argument, from the interval of time and place, is extremely feeble. The figs which grew near Carthage were produced to the ſenate of Rome on the third day.

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calamities; and the domeſtics of Eudoxia ſignalized their zeal in the ſervice of their miſtreſs[5].

Sack of Rome by the Vandals, A. D. 455, June 15—29.

On the third day after the tumult, Genſeric boldly advanced from the port of Oſtia to the gates of the defenceleſs city. Inſtead of a ſally of the Roman youth, there iſſued from the gates an unarmed and venerable proceſſion of the biſhop at the head of his clergy[6]. The fearleſs ſpirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, *again* mitigated the fierceneſs of a Barbarian conqueror; the king of the Vandals promiſed to ſpare the unreſiſting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture; and although ſuch orders were neither ſeriouſly given, nor ſtrictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himſelf, and in ſome degree beneficial to his country. But Rome, and its inhabitants, were delivered to the licentiouſneſs of the Vandals and Moors, whoſe blind paſſions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage laſted fourteen days and nights; and all that yet remained of public or private wealth, of ſacred or profane treaſure, was diligently tranſported to the veſſels of Genſeric. Among the ſpoils, the ſplendid relics of two temples, or rather of two religions, exhibited a memorable example of the viciſſitude of human and divine things. Since the abolition of Paganiſm, the Capitol had been violated and abandoned; yet the ſtatues of the gods and heroes were ſtill reſpected, and the curious roof of gilt bronze was reſerved for the rapacious hands of Genſeric[7]. The holy inſtruments of the Jewiſh worſhip,

[5] - - - Infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu
Extorquet trepidas mactandi principis iras.
Sidon. in Panegyr. Avit. 442.

A remarkable line, which inſinuates that Rome and Maximus were betrayed by their Burgundian mercenaries.

[6] The apparent ſucceſs of pope Leo may be juſtified by Proſper, and the *Hiſtoria Miſcellan.*; but the improbable notion of Baronius (A. D. 455. N° 13), that Genſeric ſpared the three apoſtolical churches, is not countenanced even by the doubtful teſtimony of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

[7] The profuſion of Catulus, the firſt who gilt the roof of the Capitol, was not univerſally approved (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 18.); but

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worſhip[s], the gold table, and the gold candleſtick with ſeven branches, originally framed according to the particular inſtructions of God himſelf, and which were placed in the ſanctuary of his temple, had been oſtentatiouſly diſplayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards depoſited in the temple of Peace; and at the end of four hundred years, the ſpoils of Jeruſalem were transferred from Rome to Carthage, by a Barbarian who derived his origin from the ſhores of the Baltic. Theſe ancient monuments might attract the notice of curioſity, as well as of avarice. But the Chriſtian churches, enriched and adorned by the prevailing ſuperſtition of the times, afforded more plentiful materials for ſacrilege; and the pious liberality of pope Leo, who melted ſix ſilver vaſes, the gift of Conſtantine, each of an hundred pounds weight, is an evidence of the damage which he attempted to repair. In the forty-five years, that had elapſed ſince the Gothic invaſion, the pomp and luxury of Rome were in ſome meaſure reſtored; and it was difficult either to eſcape, or to ſatisfy, the avarice of a conqueror, who poſſeſſed leiſure to collect, and ſhips to tranſport, the wealth of the capital. The Imperial ornaments of the palace, the magnificent furniture and wardrobe, the ſideboards of maſſy plate, were accumulated with diſorderly rapine: the gold and ſilver amounted to ſeveral thouſand talents; yet even the braſs and copper were laboriouſly removed. Eudoxia herſelf, who advanced to meet her friend and deliverer, ſoon bewailed the imprudence of her own conduct.

but it was far exceeded by the emperor's, and the external gilding of the temple coſt Domitian 12,000 talents (2,400,000l.). The expreſſions of Claudian and Rutilius *(luce metalli æmula . . . faſtigia aſtris*, and *confunduntque vagos delubra micantia viſus)* manifeſtly prove, that this ſplendid covering was not removed either by the Chriſtians or the Goths (See Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. ii. c. 6. p. 125.). It ſhould ſeem, that the roof of the Capitol was decorated with gilt ſtatues, and chariots drawn by four horſes.

[s] The curious reader may conſult the learned and accurate treatiſe of Hadrian Reland, de Spoliis Templi Hieroſolymitani in Arcû Titiano Romæ conſpicuis, in 12mo, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1716.

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She was rudely ſtripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empreſs, with her two daughters, the only ſurviving remains of the great Theodoſius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandal; who immediately hoiſted ſail, and returned with a proſperous navigation to the port of Carthage [9]. Many thouſand Romans of both ſexes, choſen for ſome uſeful or agreeable qualifications, reluctantly embarked on board the fleet of Genſeric; and their diſtreſs was aggravated by the unfeeling Barbarians, who, in the diviſion of the booty, ſeparated the wives from their huſbands, and the children from their parents. The charity of Deogratias, biſhop of Carthage [10], was their only conſolation and ſupport. He generouſly ſold the gold and ſilver plate of the church to purchaſe the freedom of ſome, to alleviate the ſlavery of others, and to aſſiſt the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whoſe health was impaired by the hardſhips which they had ſuffered in the paſſage from Italy to Africa. By his order, two ſpacious churches were converted into hoſpitals: the ſick were diſtributed in convenient beds, and liberally ſupplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his viſits both in the day and night, with an aſſiduity that ſurpaſſed his ſtrength, and a tender ſympathy which enhanced the value of his ſervices. Compare this ſcene with the field of Cannæ; and judge between Hannibal and the ſucceſſor of St. Cyprian [11].

[9] The veſſel which tranſported the relics of the Capitol, was the only one of the whole fleet that ſuffered ſhipwreck. If a bigotted ſophiſt, a Pagan bigot, had mentioned the accident, he might have rejoiced, that this cargo of ſacrilege was loſt in the ſea.

[10] See Victor Vitenſis, de Perſecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 11, 12. edit. Ruinart. Deogratias governed the church of Carthage only three years. If he had not been privately buried, his corpſe would have been torn piecemeal by the mad devotion of the people.

[11] The general evidence for the death of Maximus, and the ſack of Rome by the Vandals, is compriſed in Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 441—450.), Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4, 5. p. 188, 189. and l. ii. c. 9. p. 255.), Evagrius (l. ii. c. 7.), Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 45. p. 677.), and the Chronicles of Idatius, Proſper, Marcellinus, and Theophanes, under the proper year.

The

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The emperor Avitus, A. D. 455, July 10th.

The deaths of Ætius and Valentinian had relaxed the ties which held the Barbarians of Gaul in peace and ſubordination. The ſea-coaſt was infeſted by the Saxons; the Alemanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Seine; and the ambition of the Goths ſeemed to meditate more extenſive and permanent conqueſts. The emperor Maximus relieved himſelf, by a judicious choice, from the weight of theſe diſtant cares; he ſilenced the ſolicitations of his friends, liſtened to the voice of fame, and promoted a ſtranger to the general command of the forces in Gaul. Avitus [12], the ſtranger, whoſe merit was ſo nobly rewarded, deſcended from a wealthy and honourable family in the dioceſe of Auvergne. The convulſions of the times urged him to embrace, with the ſame ardour, the civil and military profeſſions; and the indefatigable youth blended the ſtudies of literature and juriſprudence with the exerciſe of arms and hunting. Thirty years of his life were laudably ſpent in the public ſervice; he alternately diſplayed his talents in war and negotiation; and the ſoldier of Ætius, after executing the moſt important embaſſies, was raiſed to the ſtation of Prætorian præfect of Gaul. Either the merit of Avitus excited envy, or his moderation was deſirous of repoſe, ſince he calmly retired to an eſtate, which he poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of Clermont. A copious ſtream, iſſuing from the mountain, and falling headlong in many a loud and foaming caſcade, diſcharged its waters into a lake about two miles in length, and the villa was pleaſantly ſeated on the margin of the lake. The baths, the porticoes, the ſummer and winter apartments, were adapted to the purpoſes of luxury and uſe; and the adjacent country afforded the various proſpects of woods, paſ-

[12] The private life and elevation of Avitus muſt be deduced, with becoming ſuſpicion, from the panegyric pronounced by Sidonius Apollinaris, his ſubject, and his ſon-in-law.

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tures, and meadows[13]. In this retreat, where Avitus amuſed his leiſure with books, rural ſports, the practice of huſbandry, and the ſociety of his friends[14], he received the Imperial diploma, which conſtituted him maſter-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul. He aſſumed the military command; the Barbarians ſuſpended their fury; and whatever means he might employ, whatever conceſſions he might be forced to make, the people enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. But the fate of Gaul depended on the Viſigoths; and the Roman general, leſs attentive to his dignity than to the public intereſt, did not diſdain to viſit Thouloufe in the character of an ambaſſador. He was received with courteous hoſpitality by Theodoric, the king of the Goths; but while Avitus laid the foundations of a ſolid alliance with that powerful nation, he was aſtoniſhed by the intelligence, that the emperor Maximus was ſlain, and that Rome had been pillaged by the Vandals. A vacant throne, which he might aſcend without guilt or danger, tempted his ambition[15]; and the Viſigoths were eaſily perſuaded to ſupport his claim by their irreſiſtible ſuffrage. They loved the perſon of Avitus; they reſpected his virtues; and they were not inſenſible of the advantage, as well as honour, of giving an emperor to the Weſt. The ſeaſon was now approaching, in which the annual aſſembly of the ſeven provinces

A. D. 455, Aug. 15.

[13] After the example of the younger Pliny, Sidonius (l. ii. c. 2.) has laboured the florid, prolix, and obſcure deſcription of his villa, which bore the name (*Avitacum*), and had been the property, of Avitus. The preciſe ſituation is not aſcertained. Conſult however the notes of Savaron and Sirmond.

[14] Sidonius (l. ii. epiſt. 9.) has deſcribed the country life of the Gallic nobles, in a viſit which he made to his friends, whoſe eſtates were in the neighbourhood of Niſmes. The morning-hours were ſpent in the *ſphæriſterium*, or tennis-court; or in the library, which was furniſhed with *Latin* authors, profane and religious; the former for the men, the latter for the ladies. The table was twice ſerved, at dinner and ſupper, with hot meat (boiled and roaſt) and wine. During the intermediate time, the company ſlept, took the air on horſeback, and uſed the warm bath.

[15] Seventy lines of panegyric (505—575.), which deſcribe the importunity of Theodoric and of Gaul, ſtruggling to overcome the modeſt reluctance of Avitus, are blown away by three words of an honeſt hiſtorian. Romanum *ambiſſet* Imperium (Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 11. in tom. ii. p. 168.).

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was held at Arles; their deliberations might perhaps be influenced by the preſence of Theodoric, and his martial brothers; but their choice would naturally incline to the moſt illuſtrious of their countrymen. Avitus, after a decent reſiſtance, accepted the Imperial diadem from the repreſentatives of Gaul; and his election was ratified by the acclamations of the Barbarians and provincials. The formal conſent of Marcian, emperor of the Eaſt, was ſolicited and obtained: but the ſenate, Rome, and Italy, though humbled by their recent calamities, ſubmitted with a ſecret murmur to the preſumption of the Gallic uſurper.

Character of Theodoric, king of the Viſigoths, A. D. 453—466.

Theodoric, to whom Avitus was indebted for the purple, had acquired the Gothic ſceptre by the murder of his elder brother Toriſmond; and he juſtified this atrocious deed by the deſign which his predeceſſor had formed of violating his alliance with the empire [16]. Such a crime might not be incompatible with the virtues of a Barbarian; but the manners of Theodoric were gentle and humane; and poſterity may contemplate without terror the original picture of a Gothic king, whom Sidonius had intimately obſerved, in the hours of peace and of ſocial intercourſe. In an epiſtle, dated from the court of Thouloufe, the orator ſatisfies the curioſity of one of his friends, in the following deſcription [17]: "By the majeſty of his "appearance, Theodoric would command the reſpect of thoſe who "are ignorant of his merit; and although he is born a prince, "his merit would dignify a private ſtation. He is of a middle "ſtature, his body appears rather plump than fat, and in his well-

[16] Iſidore, archbiſhop of Seville, who was himſelf of the blood royal of the Goths, acknowledges, and almoſt juſtifies (Hiſt. Goth. p. 718.), the crime which their ſlave Jornandes had baſely diſſembled (c. 43. p. 673.).

[17] This elaborate deſcription (l. i. ep. ii. p. 2—7.) was dictated by ſome political motive. It was deſigned for the public eye, and had been ſhewn by the friends of Sidonius, before it was inſerted in the collection of his epiſtles. The firſt book was publiſhed ſeparately. See Tillemont, Memoires Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 264.

"propor-

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" proportioned limbs agility is united with muſcular ſtrength [11]. " If you examine his countenance, you will diſtinguiſh a high " forehead, large ſhaggy eyebrows, an aquiline noſe, thin lips, a " regular ſet of white teeth, and a fair complexion, that bluſhes " more frequently from modeſty than from anger. The ordinary " diſtribution of his time, as far as it is expoſed to the public view, " may be conciſely repreſented. Before day-break, he repairs, with " a ſmall train, to his domeſtic chapel, where the ſervice is per- " formed by the Arian clergy; but thoſe who preſume to interpret " his ſecret ſentiments, conſider this aſſiduous devotion as the effect " of habit and policy. The reſt of the morning is employed in the " adminiſtration of his kingdom. His chair is ſurrounded by ſome " military officers of decent aſpect and behaviour: the noiſy crowd " of his Barbarian guards occupies the hall of audience; but they " are not permitted to ſtand within the veils or curtains, that con- " ceal the council-chamber from vulgar eyes. The ambaſſadors of " the nations are ſucceſſively introduced: Theodoric liſtens with " attention, anſwers them with diſcreet brevity, and either an- " nounces or delays, according to the nature of their buſineſs, his " final reſolution. About eight (the ſecond hour) he riſes from his " throne, and viſits, either his treaſury, or his ſtables. If he chuſes " to hunt, or at leaſt to exerciſe himſelf on horſeback, his bow is " carried by a favourite youth; but when the game is marked, he " bends it with his own hand, and ſeldom miſſes the object of his " aim: as a king, he diſdains to bear arms in ſuch ignoble war- " fare; but as a ſoldier, he would bluſh to accept any military ſervice " which he could perform himſelf. On common days, his dinner

[11] I have ſuppreſſed, in this portrait of Theodoric, ſeveral minute circumſtances, and technical phraſes, which could be tolerable, or indeed intelligible, to thoſe only who, like the contemporaries of Sidonius, had frequented the markets where naked ſlaves were expoſed to ſale (Dubos, Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 404.).

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" is not different from the repaſt of a private citizen; but every " Saturday many honourable gueſts are invited to the royal table, " which, on theſe occaſions, is ſerved with the elegance of Greece, " the plenty of Gaul, and the order and diligence of Italy [19]. The " gold or ſilver plate is leſs remarkable for its weight, than for the " brightneſs and curious workmanſhip: the taſte is gratified without " the help of foreign and coſtly luxury; the ſize and number of the " cups of wine are regulated with a ſtrict regard to the laws of " temperance; and the reſpectful ſilence that prevails, is interrupted " only by grave and inſtructive converſation. After dinner, Theo- " doric ſometimes indulges himſelf in a ſhort ſlumber; and as ſoon " as he wakes, he calls for the dice and tables, encourages his friends " to forget the royal majeſty, and is delighted when they freely ex- " preſs the paſſions, which are excited by the incidents of play. " At this game, which he loves as the image of war, he alternately " diſplays his eagerneſs, his ſkill, his patience, and his cheerful " temper. If he loſes, he laughs; he is modeſt and ſilent if he " wins. Yet, notwithſtanding this ſeeming indifference, his courtiers " chuſe to ſolicit any favour in the moments of victory; and I my- " ſelf, in my applications to the king, have derived ſome benefit " from my loſſes [20]. About the ninth hour (three o'clock) the tide " of buſineſs again returns, and flows inceſſantly till after ſun-ſet, " when the ſignal of the royal ſupper diſmiſſes the weary crowd of " ſuppliants and pleaders. At the ſupper, a more familiar repaſt, " buffoons and pantomimes are ſometimes introduced, to divert, not " to offend, the company, by their ridiculous wit: but female ſingers, " and the ſoft effeminate modes of muſic, are ſeverely baniſhed;

[19] Videas ibi elegantiam Græcam, abundantiam Gallicanam; celeritatem Italam; publicam pompam, privatam diligentiam, regiam diſciplinam.

[20] Tunc etiam ego aliquid obſecraturus feliciter vincor, et mihi tabulâ perit ut cauſa ſalvetur. Sidonius of Auvergne was not a ſubject of Theodoric; but he might be compelled to ſolicit either juſtice or favour at the court of Thouloufe.

" and

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" and ſuch martial tunes as animate the ſoul to deeds of valour are " alone grateful to the ear of Theodoric. He retires from table; " and the nocturnal guards are immediately poſted at the entrance " of the treaſury, the palace, and the private apartments."

His expedition into Spain, A. D. 456.

When the king of the Viſigoths encouraged Avitus to aſſume the purple, he offered his perſon and his forces, as a faithful ſoldier of the republic [21]. The exploits of Theodoric ſoon convinced the world, that he had not degenerated from the warlike virtues of his anceſtors. After the eſtabliſhment of the Goths in Aquitain, and the paſſage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Gallicia, aſpired to the conqueſt of Spain, and threatened to extinguiſh the feeble remains of the Roman dominion. The provincials of Carthagena and Tarragona, afflicted by an hoſtile invaſion, repreſented their injuries and their apprehenſions. Count Fronto was diſpatched, in the name of the emperor Avitus, with advantageous offers of peace and alliance; and Theodoric interpoſed his weighty mediation, to declare, that, unleſs his brother-in-law, the king of the Suevi, immediately retired, he ſhould be obliged to arm in the cauſe of juſtice and of Rome. " Tell him," replied the haughty Rechiarius, " that I deſpiſe his friendſhip and his arms; " but that I ſhall ſoon try, whether he will dare to expect my arrival " under the walls of Thouloufe." Such a challenge urged Theodoric to prevent the bold deſigns of his enemy: he paſſed the Pyrenees at the head of the Viſigoths: the Franks and Burgundians ſerved under his ſtandard; and though he profeſſed himſelf the dutiful ſervant of Avitus, he privately ſtipulated, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, the abſolute poſſeſſion of his Spaniſh conqueſts. The two armies, or rather the two nations, encountered each other on the

[21] Theodoric himſelf had given a ſolemn and voluntary promiſe of fidelity, which was underſtood both in Gaul and Spain.

——— Romæ ſum, te duce, Amicus,
Principe te, MILES.
Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. 511.

banks

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banks of the river Urbicus, about twelve miles from Aſtorga; and the deciſive victory of the Goths appeared for a while to have extirpated the name and kingdom of the Suevi. From the field of battle Theodoric advanced to Braga, their metropolis, which ſtill retained the ſplendid veſtiges of its ancient commerce and dignity[22]. His entrance was not polluted with blood, and the Goths reſpected the chaſtity of their female captives, more eſpecially of the conſecrated virgins: but the greateſt part of the clergy and people were made ſlaves, and even the churches and altars were confounded in the univerſal pillage. The unfortunate king of the Suevi had eſcaped to one of the ports of the ocean; but the obſtinacy of the winds oppoſed his flight; he was delivered to his implacable rival; and Rechiarius, who neither deſired nor expected mercy, received, with manly conſtancy, the death which he would probably have inflicted. After this bloody ſacrifice to policy or reſentment, Theodoric carried his victorious arms as far as Merida, the principal town of Luſitania, without meeting any reſiſtance, except from the miraculous powers of St. Eulalia; but he was ſtopped in the full career of ſucceſs, and recalled from Spain, before he could provide for the ſecurity of his conqueſts. In his retreat towards the Pyrenees, he revenged his diſappointment on the country through which he paſſed, and in the ſack of Pollentia and Aſtorga, he ſhewed himſelf a faithleſs ally, as well as a cruel enemy. Whilſt the king of the Viſigoths fought and vanquiſhed in the name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired; and both the honour and the intereſt of Theodoric were

[22] Quæque ſinû pelagi jactat ſe Bracara dives.

Auſon. de Claris Urbibus, p. 245. From the deſign of the king of the Suevi, it is evident that the navigation from the ports of Gallicia to the Mediterranean was known and practiſed. The ſhips of Bracara, or Braga, cautiouſly ſteered along the coaſt, without daring to loſe themſelves in the Atlantic.

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deeply wounded by the disgrace of a friend, whom he had seated on the throne of the Western empire [23].

Avitus is deposed, A. D. 456, October 16.

The pressing solicitations of the senate and people, persuaded the emperor Avitus to fix his residence at Rome, and to accept the consulship for the ensuing year. On the first day of January, his son-in-law, Sidonius Apollinaris, celebrated his praises in a panegyric of six hundred verses; but this composition, though it was rewarded with a brass statue [24], seems to contain a very moderate proportion, either of genius or of truth. The poet, if we may degrade that sacred name, exaggerates the merit of a sovereign and a father; and his prophecy of a long and glorious reign was soon contradicted by the event. Avitus, at a time when the Imperial dignity was reduced to a pre-eminence of toil and danger, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italian luxury: age had not extinguished his amorous inclinations; and he is accused of insulting, with indiscreet and ungenerous raillery, the husbands whose wives he had seduced or violated [25]. But the Romans were not inclined, either to excuse his faults, or to acknowledge his virtues. The several parts of the empire became every day more alienated from each other; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt. The senate asserted their legitimate claim in the election of an emperor; and their authority, which had been originally derived from the old constitution, was again fortified by the actual weakness of a declining monarchy. Yet even such a monarchy might have

[23] This Suevic war is the most authentic part of the Chronicle of Idatius, who, as bishop of Iria Flavia, was himself a spectator and a sufferer. Jornandes (c. 44. p. 675, 676, 677.) has expatiated, with pleasure, on the Gothic victory.

[24] In one of the porticoes or galleries belonging to Trajan's library; among the statues of famous writers and orators. Sidon. Apoll. l. ix. epist. 16. p. 284. Carm. viii. p. 350.

[25] Luxuriose agere volens a senatoribus projectus est, is the concise expression of Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. xi. in tom. ii. p. 168.). An old Chronicle (in tom. ii. p. 649.) mentions an indecent jest of Avitus, which seems more applicable to Rome than to Treves.

resisted

reſiſted the votes of an unarmed ſenate, if their diſcontent had not been ſupported, or perhaps inflamed, by count Ricimer, one of the principal commanders of the Barbarian troops who formed the military defence of Italy. The daughter of Wallia, king of the Viſigoths, was the mother of Ricimer; but he was deſcended, on the father's ſide, from the nation of the Suevi [26]: his pride, or patriotiſm, might be exaſperated by the misfortunes of his countrymen; and he obeyed, with reluctance, an emperor, in whoſe elevation he had not been conſulted. His faithful and important ſervices againſt the common enemy, rendered him ſtill more formidable [27]; and, after deſtroying, on the coaſt of Corſica, a fleet of Vandals, which conſiſted of ſixty gallies, Ricimer returned in triumph with the appellation of the Deliverer of Italy. He choſe that moment to ſignify to Avitus, that his reign was at an end; and the feeble emperor, at a diſtance from his Gothic allies, was compelled, after a ſhort and unavailing ſtruggle, to abdicate the purple. By the clemency, however, or the contempt, of Ricimer [28], he was permitted to deſcend from the throne, to the more deſirable ſtation of biſhop of Placentia: but the reſentment of the ſenate was ſtill unſatisfied; and their inflexible ſeverity pronounced the ſentence of his death. He fled towards the Alps, with the humble hope, not of arming the Viſigoths in his cauſe, but of ſecuring his perſon and treaſures in the ſanctuary of Julian, one of the tutelar ſaints of Auvergne [29]. Diſeaſe, or the hand of the executioner,

[26] Sidonius (Panegyr. Anthem. 302, &c.) praiſes the royal birth of Ricimer, the lawful heir, as he chuſes to inſinuate, both of the Gothic and Suevic kingdoms.

[27] See the Chronicle of Idatius. Jornandes (c. 44. p. 676.) ſtyles him, with ſome truth, virum egregium, et pene tunc in Italiâ ad exercitum ſingularem.

[28] Parcens innocentiæ Aviti, is the compaſſionate, but contemptuous, language of Victor Tunnunenſis (in Chron. apud Scaliger Euſeb.). In another place, he calls him, vir totius ſimplicitatis. This commendation is more humble, but it is more ſolid and ſincere, than the praiſes of Sidonius.

[29] He ſuffered, as it is ſuppoſed, in the perſecution

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tioner, arrested him on the road; yet his remains were decently transported to Brivas, or Brioude, in his native province, and he reposed at the feet of his holy patron [30]. Avitus left only one daughter, the wife of Sidonius Apollinaris, who inherited the patrimony of his father-in-law; lamenting, at the same time, the disappointment of his public and private expectations. His resentment prompted him to join, or at least to countenance, the measures of a rebellious faction in Gaul; and the poet had contracted some guilt, which it was incumbent on him to expiate, by a new tribute of flattery to the succeeding emperor [31].

Character and elevation of Majorian, A. D. 457.

The successor of Avitus presents the welcome discovery of a great and heroic character, such as sometimes arise in a degenerate age, to vindicate the honour of the human species. The emperor Majorian has deserved the praises of his contemporaries, and of posterity; and these praises may be strongly expressed in the words of a judicious and disinterested historian: "That he was gentle to his subjects; "that he was terrible to his enemies; and that he excelled in *every* "virtue, *all* his predecessors who had reigned over the Romans [32]." Such a testimony may justify at least the panegyric of Sidonius; and we may acquiesce in the assurance, that, although the obsequious orator would

persecution of Diocletian (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. v. p. 279. 696.). Gregory of Tours, his peculiar votary, has dedicated, to the glory of Julian the Martyr, an entire book (de Gloriâ Martyrum, l. ii. in Max. Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xi. p. 861—871.), in which he relates about fifty foolish miracles performed by his relics.

[30] Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. xi. p. 168.) is concise, but correct, in the reign of his countryman. The words of Idatius, "caret imperio, caret et vitâ," seem to imply, that the death of Avitus was violent; but it must have been secret, since Evagrius (l. ii. c. 7.) could suppose that he died of the plague.

[31] After a modest appeal to the examples of his brethren, Virgil and Horace, Sidonius honestly confesses the debt, and promises payment.

Sic mihi diverso nuper sub Marte cadenti
Jussisti placido Victor ut essem animo.
Serviat ergo tibi servati lingua poetæ,
Atque meæ vitæ laus tua sit pretium.
Sidon. Apoll. carm. iv. p. 308.

See Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 448, &c.

[32] The words of Procopius deserve to be transcribed; ουτος γαρ ο Μαιορινος ξυμπαντας τους παποτε Ρωμαιων βιβασιλευκοτας υπερεβαινεν αρετη παση; and afterwards, ανηρ τα μεν εις τους υπηκους μετριος γεγονως, φοβερος δε τα ες τους πολεμιους (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.); a concise but comprehensive definition of royal virtue.

have flattered, with equal zeal, the moſt worthleſs of princes, the extraordinary merit of his object confined him, on this occaſion, within the bounds of truth [33]. Majorian derived his name from his maternal grandfather, who, in the reign of the great Theodoſius, had commanded the troops of the Illyrian frontier. He gave his daughter in marriage to the father of Majorian, a reſpectable officer, who adminiſtered the revenues of Gaul with ſkill and integrity; and generouſly preferred the friendſhip of Ætius, to the tempting offers of an inſidious court. His ſon, the future emperor, who was educated in the profeſſion of arms, diſplayed, from his early youth, intrepid courage, premature wiſdom, and unbounded liberality in a ſcanty fortune. He followed the ſtandard of Ætius, contributed to his ſucceſs, ſhared, and ſometimes eclipſed, his glory, and at laſt excited the jealouſy of the patrician, or rather of his wife, who forced him to retire from the ſervice [34]. Majorian, after the death of Ætius, was recalled, and promoted; and his intimate connection with count Ricimer, was the immediate ſtep by which he aſcended the throne of the Weſtern empire. During the vacancy that ſucceeded the abdication of Avitus, the ambitious Barbarian, whoſe birth excluded him from the Imperial dignity, governed Italy, with the title of Patrician; reſigned, to his friend, the conſpicuous ſtation of maſter-general of the cavalry and infantry; and, after an interval of ſome months, conſented to the unanimous wiſh of the Romans, whoſe favour Ma-

[33] The Panegyric was pronounced at Lyons before the end of the year 458, while the emperor was ſtill conſul. It has more art than genius, and more labour than art. The ornaments are falſe or trivial; the expreſſion is feeble and prolix: and Sidonius wants the ſkill to exhibit the principal figure in a ſtrong and diſtinct light. The private life of Majorian occupies about two hundred lines, 107—305.

[34] She preſſed his immediate death, and was ſcarcely ſatisfied with his diſgrace. It ſhould ſeem, that Ætius, like Beliſarius and Marlborough, was governed by his wife; whoſe fervent piety, though it might work miracles (Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 7. p. 162.), was not incompatible with baſe and ſanguinary counſels.

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jorian had ſolicited by a recent victory over the Alemanni[35]. He was inveſted with the purple at Ravenna; and the epiſtle which he addreſſed to the ſenate, will beſt deſcribe his ſituation and his ſentiments. "Your election, Conſcript Fathers! and the ordinance of "the moſt valiant army, have made me your emperor[36]. May "the propitious Deity direct and proſper the counſels and events of "my adminiſtration, to your advantage, and to the public welfare. "For my own part, I did not aſpire, I have ſubmitted, to reign; "nor ſhould I have diſcharged the obligations of a citizen, if I had "refuſed, with baſe and ſelfiſh ingratitude, to ſupport the weight of "thoſe labours, which were impoſed by the republic. Aſſiſt, there- "fore, the prince whom you have made; partake the duties which "you have enjoined; and may our common endeavours promote "the happineſs of an empire, which I have accepted from your "hands. Be aſſured, that, in our times, juſtice ſhall reſume her "ancient vigour, and that virtue ſhall become not only innocent, "but meritorious. Let none, except the authors themſelves, be ap- "prehenſive of *delations*[37], which, as a ſubject, I have always con- "demned, and, as a prince, will ſeverely puniſh. Our own vigilance, "and that of our father, the patrician Ricimer, ſhall regulate all military "affairs, and provide for the ſafety of the Roman world, which we

[35] The Alemanni had paſſed the Rhætian Alps, and were defeated in the *Campi Canini*, or Valley of Bellinzone, through which the Teſin flows, in its deſcent from mount Adula, to the Lago Maggiore (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i. p. 100, 101.). This boaſted victory over *nine hundred* Barbarians (Panegyr. Majorian. 373, &c.) betrays the extreme weakneſs of Italy.

[36] Imperatorem me factum, P. C. electionis veſtræ arbitrio, et fortiſſimi exercitûs ordinatione agnoſcite (Novell. Majorian. tit. iii. p. 34. ad calcem Cod. Theodoſ.). Sidonius proclaims the unanimous voice of the empire:

——Poſtquam ordine vobis
Ordo omnis regnum dederat; *plebs, curia, miles,*
Et *collega* ſimul.—— 386.

This language is ancient and conſtitutional; and we may obſerve, that the *clergy* were not yet conſidered as a diſtinct order of the ſtate.

[37] Either dilationes, or delationes, would afford a tolerable reading; but there is much more ſenſe and ſpirit in the latter, to which I have therefore given the preference.

"have

" have ſaved from foreign and domeſtic enemies [38]. You now un-
" derſtand the maxims of my government: you may confide in the
" faithful love and ſincere aſſurances of a prince, who has formerly
" been the companion of your life and dangers; who ſtill glories in
" the name of ſenator, and who is anxious, that you ſhould never
" repent of the judgment which you have pronounced in his favour."
The emperor, who, amidſt the ruins of the Roman world, revived the ancient language of law and liberty, which Trajan would not have diſclaimed, muſt have derived thoſe generous ſentiments from his own heart; ſince they were not ſuggeſted to his imitation by the cuſtoms of his age, or the example of his predeceſſors [39].

His ſalutary laws, A. D. 457—461.

The private and public actions of Majorian are very imperfectly known: but his laws, remarkable for an original caſt of thought and expreſſion, faithfully repreſent the character of a ſovereign, who loved his people, who ſympathized in their diſtreſs, who had ſtudied the cauſes of the decline of the empire, and who was capable of applying (as far as ſuch reformation was practicable) judicious and effectual remedies to the public diſorders [40]. His regulations concerning the finances manifeſtly tended to remove, or at leaſt to mitigate, the moſt intolerable grievances. I. From the firſt hour of his reign, he was ſolicitous (I tranſlate his own words) to relieve the *weary* fortunes of the provincials, oppreſſed by the accumulated weight of indictions and ſuperindictions [41]. With this view, he granted

[38] Ab externo hoſte et a domeſticâ clade liberavimus: by the latter, Majorian muſt underſtand the tyranny of Avitus; whoſe death he conſequently avowed as a meritorious act. On this occaſion, Sidonius is fearful and obſcure; he deſcribes the twelve Cæſars, the nations of Africa, &c. that he may eſcape the dangerous name of Avitus (305—369.).

[39] See the whole edict or epiſtle of Majorian to the ſenate (Novell. tit. iv. p. 34.). Yet the expreſſion, *regnum noſtrum*, bears ſome taint of the age, and does not mix kindly with the word *reſpublica*, which he frequently repeats.

[40] See the laws of Majorian (they are only nine in number, but very long and various), at the end of the Theodoſian Code, Novell. l. iv. p. 32—37. Godefroy has not given any commentary on theſe additional pieces.

[41] Feſſas provincialium variâ atque multiplici

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granted an univerſal amneſty, a final and abſolute diſcharge of all arrears of tribute, of all debts, which, under any pretence, the fiſcal officers might demand from the people. This wiſe dereliction of obſolete, vexatious, and unprofitable claims, improved and purified the ſources of the public revenue; and the ſubject, who could now look back without deſpair, might labour with hope and gratitude for himſelf and for his country. II. In the aſſeſſment and collection of taxes, Majorian reſtored the ordinary juriſdiction of the provincial magiſtrates; and ſuppreſſed the extraordinary commiſſions which had been introduced, in the name of the emperor himſelf, or of the Prætorian præfects. The favourite ſervants, who obtained ſuch irregular powers, were inſolent in their behaviour, and arbitrary in their demands: they affected to deſpiſe the ſubordinate tribunals, and they were diſcontented, if their fees and profits did not twice exceed the ſum, which they condeſcended to pay into the treaſury. One inſtance of their extortion would appear incredible, were it not authenticated by the legiſlator himſelf. They exacted the whole payment in gold: but they refuſed the current coin of the empire, and would accept only ſuch ancient pieces as were ſtamped with the names of Fauſtina or the Antonines. The ſubject, who was unprovided with theſe curious medals, had recourſe to the expedient of compounding with their rapacious demands; or, if he ſucceeded in the reſearch, his impoſition was doubled, according to the weight and value of the money of former times[42]. III. "The municipal cor-" porations (ſays the emperor), the leſſer ſenates (ſo antiquity has " juſtly ſtyled them), deſerve to be conſidered as the heart of the

plici tributorum exactione fortunas, et extraordinariis fiſcalium ſolutionum oneribus attritas, &c. Novell. Majorian. tit. iv. p. 34.

[42] The learned Greaves (vol. i. p. 329, 330, 331.) has found, by a diligent inquiry, that *aurei* of the Antonines weighed one hundred and eighteen, and thoſe of the fifth century only ſixty-eight, Engliſh grains. Majorian gives currency to all gold coin, excepting only the *Gallic ſolidus*, from its deficiency, not in the weight, but in the ſtandard.

" cities,

" cities, and the ſinews of the republic. And yet ſo low are they " now reduced, by the injuſtice of magiſtrates, and the venality of " collectors, that many of their members, renouncing their dignity " and their country, have taken refuge in diſtant and obſcure exile." He urges, and even compels, their return to their reſpective cities; but he removes the grievance which had forced them to deſert the exerciſe of their municipal functions. They are directed, under the authority of the provincial magiſtrates, to reſume their office of levying the tribute; but, inſtead of being made reſponſible for the whole ſum aſſeſſed on their diſtrict, they are only required to produce a regular account of the payments which they have actually received, and of the defaulters who are ſtill indebted to the public. IV. But Majorian was not ignorant, that theſe corporate bodies were too much inclined to retaliate the injuſtice and oppreſſion which they had ſuffered; and he therefore revives the uſeful office of the *defenders of cities*. He exhorts the people to elect, in a full and free aſſembly, ſome man of diſcretion and integrity, who would dare to aſſert their privileges, to repreſent their grievances, to protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich, and to inform the emperor of the abuſes that were committed under the ſanction of his name and authority.

The edifices of Rome.

The ſpectator, who caſts a mournful view over the ruins of ancient Rome, is tempted to accuſe the memory of the Goths and Vandals, for the miſchief which they had neither leiſure, nor power, nor perhaps inclination, to perpetrate. The tempeſt of war might ſtrike ſome lofty turrets to the ground; but the deſtruction which undermined the foundations of thoſe maſſy fabrics, was proſecuted, ſlowly and ſilently, during a period of ten centuries; and the motives of intereſt, that afterwards operated without ſhame or control, were ſeverely checked by the taſte and ſpirit of the emperor Majorian. The decay of the city had gradually impaired the value of the public

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works. The circus and theatres might ſtill excite, but they ſeldom gratified, the deſires of the people: the temples, which had eſcaped the zeal of the Chriſtians, were no longer inhabited either by gods or men; the diminiſhed crowds of the Romans were loſt in the immenſe ſpace of their baths and porticoes; and the ſtately libraries and halls of juſtice became uſeleſs to an indolent generation, whoſe repoſe was ſeldom diſturbed, either by ſtudy, or buſineſs. The monuments of conſular, or Imperial, greatneſs were no longer revered, as the immortal glory of the capital; they were only eſteemed as an inexhauſtible mine of materials, cheaper, and more convenient, than the diſtant quarry. Specious petitions were continually addreſſed to the eaſy magiſtrates of Rome, which ſtated the want of ſtones or bricks for ſome neceſſary ſervice: the faireſt forms of architecture were rudely defaced for the ſake of ſome paltry, or pretended, repairs; and the degenerate Romans, who converted the ſpoil to their own emolument, demoliſhed, with ſacrilegious hands, the labours of their anceſtors. Majorian, who had often ſighed over the deſolation of the city, applied a ſevere remedy to the growing evil[43]. He reſerved to the prince and ſenate the ſole cogniſance of the extreme caſes which might juſtify the deſtruction of an ancient edifice; impoſed a fine of fifty pounds of gold (two thouſand pounds ſterling) on every magiſtrate, who ſhould preſume to grant ſuch illegal and ſcandalous licence; and threatened to chaſtiſe the criminal obedience of their ſubordinate officers, by a ſevere whipping, and the amputation of both their hands. In the laſt inſtance, the legiſlator might

[43] The whole edict (Novell. Majorian. tit. vi. p. 35.) is curious. "Antiquarum ædium "diſſipatur ſpecioſa conſtructio; et ut aliquid "reparetur, magna diruuntur. Hinc jam "occaſio naſcitur, ut etiam unuſquiſque pri-"vatum ædificium conſtruens, per gratiam "judicum . . . præſumere de publicis locis "neceſſaria, et transferre non dubitet," &c. With equal zeal, but with leſs power, Petrarch, in the fourteenth century, repeated the ſame complaints (Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 326, 327.). If I proſecute this Hiſtory, I ſhall not be unmindful of the decline and fall of the *city* of Rome; an intereſting object, to which my plan was originally confined.

ſeem

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ſeem to forget the proportion of guilt and puniſhment; but his zeal aroſe from a generous principle, and Majorian was anxious to protect the monuments of thoſe ages, in which he would have deſired and deſerved to live. The emperor conceived, that it was his intereſt to increaſe the number of his ſubjects; that it was his duty to guard the purity of the marriage-bed; but the means which he employed to accompliſh theſe ſalutary purpoſes, are of an ambiguous, and perhaps exceptionable, kind. The pious maids, who conſecrated their virginity to Chriſt, were reſtrained from taking the veil, till they had reached their fortieth year. Widows under that age were compelled to form a ſecond alliance within the term of five years, by the forfeiture of half their wealth to their neareſt relations, or to the ſtate. Unequal marriages were condemned or annulled. The puniſhment of confiſcation and exile was deemed ſo inadequate to the guilt of adultery, that, if the criminal returned to Italy, he might, by the expreſs declaration of Majorian, be ſlain with impunity [44].

Majorian prepares to invade Africa, A. D. 457.

While the emperor Majorian aſſiduouſly laboured to reſtore the happineſs and virtue of the Romans, he encountered the arms of Genſeric, from his character and ſituation, their moſt formidable enemy. A fleet of Vandals and Moors landed at the mouth of the Liris, or Garigliano; but the Imperial troops ſurpriſed and attacked the diſorderly Barbarians, who were encumbered with the ſpoils of Campania; they were chaſed with ſlaughter to their ſhips, and their leader, the king's brother-in law, was found in the number of the ſlain [45]. Such vigilance might announce the character of the new reign; but the ſtricteſt vigilance, and the moſt numerous forces, were in-

[44] The emperor chides the lenity of Rogatian, conſular of Tuſcany, in a ſtyle of acrimonious reproof, which ſounds almoſt like perſonal reſentment (Novell. tit. ix. p. 37.). The law of Majorian, which puniſhed obſtinate widows, was ſoon afterwards repealed by his ſucceſſor Severus (Novell. Sever. tit. i. p. 37.).

[45] Sidon. Panegyr. Majorian. 385—440.

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ſufficient to protect the long-extended coaſt of Italy, from the depredations of a naval war. The public opinion had impoſed a nobler and more arduous taſk on the genius of Majorian. Rome expected from him alone the reſtitution of Africa; and the deſign, which he formed, of attacking the Vandals in their new ſettlements, was the reſult of bold and judicious policy. If the intrepid emperor could have infuſed his own ſpirit into the youth of Italy; if he could have revived, in the field of Mars, the manly exerciſes in which he had always ſurpaſſed his equals; he might have marched againſt Genſeric, at the head of a *Roman* army. Such a reformation of national manners might be embraced by the riſing generation; but it is the misfortune of thoſe princes who laboriouſly ſuſtain a declining monarchy, that, to obtain ſome immediate advantage, or to avert ſome impending danger, they are forced to countenance, and even to multiply, the moſt pernicious abuſes. Majorian, like the weakeſt of his predeceſſors, was reduced to the diſgraceful expedient of ſubſtituting Barbarian auxiliaries in the place of his unwarlike ſubjects: and his ſuperior abilities could only be diſplayed in the vigour and dexterity with which he wielded a dangerous inſtrument, ſo apt to recoil on the hand that uſed it. Beſides the confederates, who were already engaged in the ſervice of the empire, the fame of his liberality and valour attracted the nations of the Danube, the Boryſthenes, and perhaps of the Tanais. Many thouſands of the braveſt ſubjects of Attila, the Gepidæ, the Oſtrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Alani, aſſembled in the plains of Liguria; and their formidable ſtrength was balanced by their mutual animoſities[46]. They paſſed the Alps in a ſevere winter. The emperor led the way, on foot, and in complete armour;

[46] The review of the army, and paſſage of the Alps, contain the moſt tolerable paſſages of the Panegyric (470—552.). M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples, &c. tom. viii. p. 49—55.) is a more ſatisfactory commentator, than either Savaron or Sirmond.

founding,

ſounding, with his long ſtaff, the depth of the ice, or ſnow, and encouraging the Scythians, who complained of the extreme cold, by the cheerful aſſurance, that they ſhould be ſatisfied with the heat of Africa. The citizens of Lyons had preſumed to ſhut their gates: they ſoon implored, and experienced, the clemency of Majorian. He vanquiſhed Theodoric in the field; and admitted to his friendſhip and alliance, a king whom he had found not unworthy of his arms. The beneficial, though precarious, re-union of the greateſt part of Gaul and Spain, was the effect of perſuaſion, as well as of force [47]; and the independent Bagaudæ, who had eſcaped, or reſiſted, the oppreſſion of former reigns, were diſpoſed to confide in the virtues of Majorian. His camp was filled with Barbarian allies; his throne was ſupported by the zeal of an affectionate people; but the emperor had foreſeen, that it was impoſſible, without a maritime power, to atchieve the conqueſt of Africa. In the firſt Punic war, the republic had exerted ſuch incredible diligence, that, within ſixty days after the firſt ſtroke of the axe had been given in the foreſt, a fleet of one hundred and ſixty gallies proudly rode at anchor in the ſea [48]. Under circumſtances much leſs favourable, Majorian equalled the ſpirit and perſeverance of the ancient Romans. The woods of the Apennine were felled; the arſenals and manufactures of Ravenna and Miſenum were reſtored; Italy and Gaul vied with each other in liberal contributions to the publick ſervice; and the Imperial navy of three hundred large gallies, with an adequate proportion of tranſports and ſmaller veſſels, was collected in the ſecure and capacious

[47] Τα μεν οπλοις, τα δε λογοις, is the juſt and forcible diſtinction of Priſcus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 42.) in a ſhort fragment, which throws much light on the hiſtory of Majorian. Jornandes has ſuppreſſed the defeat and alliance of the Viſigoths, which were ſolemnly proclaimed in Galicia; and are marked in the Chronicle of Idatius.

[48] Florus, l. ii. c. 2. He amuſes himſelf with the poetical fancy, that the trees had been transformed into ſhips: and indeed the whole tranſaction, as it is related in the firſt book of Polybius, deviates too much from the probable courſe of human events.

harbour

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harbour of Carthagena in Spain[49]. The intrepid countenance of Majorian animated his troops with a confidence of victory; and if we might credit the hiſtorian Procopius, his courage ſometimes hurried him beyond the bounds of prudence. Anxious to explore, with his own eyes, the ſtate of the Vandals, he ventured, after diſguiſing the colour of his hair, to viſit Carthage, in the character of his own ambaſſador: and Genſeric was afterwards mortified by the diſcovery, that he had entertained and diſmiſſed the emperor of the Romans. Such an anecdote may be rejected as an improbable fiction; but it is a fiction which would not have been imagined, unleſs in the life of a hero[50].

The loſs of his fleet.

Without the help of a perſonal interview, Genſeric was ſufficiently acquainted with the genius and deſigns of his adverſary. He practiſed his cuſtomary arts of fraud and delay, but he practiſed them without ſucceſs. His applications for peace became each hour more ſubmiſſive, and perhaps more ſincere; but the inflexible Majorian had adopted the ancient maxim, that Rome could not be ſafe, as long as Carthage exiſted in a hoſtile ſtate. The king of the Vandals diſtruſted the valour of his native ſubjects, who were enervated by the luxury of the South[51]; he ſuſpected the fidelity of the vanquiſhed people, who abhorred him as an Arian tyrant; and the deſperate meaſure, which he executed, of reducing Mauritania into a deſert[52], could

[49] Interea duplici texis dum littore claſſem
Inferno ſuperoque mari, cedit omnis in æquor
Sylva tibi, &c.———
Sidon. Panegyr. Majorian. 441—461.
The number of ſhips, which Priſcus fixes at 300, is magnified by an indefinite compariſon with the fleets of Agamemnon, Xerxes, and Auguſtus.

[50] Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 194. When Genſeric conducted his unknown gueſt into the arſenal of Carthage, the arms claſhed of their own accord. Majorian had tinged his yellow locks with a black colour.

[51] ——— Spoliiſque potitus
Immenſis, robur luxû jam perdidit omne,
Quo valuit dum pauper erat.
Panegyr. Majorian. 330.
He afterwards applies to Genſeric, unjuſtly as it ſhould ſeem, the vices of his ſubjects.

[52] He burnt the villages, and poiſoned the ſprings (Priſcus, p. 42.). Dubos (Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 475.) obſerves, that the magazines

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could not defeat the operations of the Roman emperor, who was at liberty to land his troops on any part of the African coaſt. But Genſeric was ſaved from impending and inevitable ruin, by the treachery of ſome powerful ſubjects; envious, or apprehenſive, of their maſter's ſucceſs. Guided by their ſecret intelligence, he ſurpriſed the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthagena: many of the ſhips were ſunk, or taken, or burnt; and the preparations of three years were deſtroyed in a ſingle day [53]. After this event, the behaviour of the two antagoniſts ſhewed them ſuperior to their fortune. The Vandal, inſtead of being elated by this accidental victory, immediately renewed his ſolicitations for peace. The emperor of the Weſt, who was capable of forming great deſigns, and of ſupporting heavy diſappointments, conſented to a treaty, or rather to a ſuſpenſion of arms; in the full aſſurance that, before he could reſtore his navy, he ſhould be ſupplied with provocations to juſtify a ſecond war. Majorian returned to Italy, to proſecute his labours for the public happineſs; and as he was conſcious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conſpiracy which threatened his throne and his life. The recent misfortune of Carthagena ſullied the glory, which had dazzled the eyes of the multitude: almoſt every deſcription of civil and military officers were exaſperated againſt the Reformer, ſince they all derived ſome advantage from the abuſes which he endeavoured to ſuppreſs; and the patrician Ricimer impelled the inconſtant paſſions of the Barbarians againſt a prince whom he eſteemed and hated. The virtues of Majorian could not protect him from the impetuous ſedition, which broke out in the camp near

magazines which the Moors buried in the earth, might eſcape his deſtructive ſearch. Two or three hundred pits are ſometimes dug in the ſame place; and each pit contains at leaſt four hundred buſhels of corn. Shaw's Travels, p. 139.

[53] Idatius, who was ſafe in Gallicia from the power of Ricimer, boldly and honeſtly declares, Vandali per proditores admoniti, &c. he diſſembles, however, the name of the traitor.

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Tortona, at the foot of the Alps. He was compelled to abdicate the Imperial purple: five days after his abdication it was reported that he died of a dyſentery [54]; and the humble tomb, which covered his remains, was conſecrated by the reſpect and gratitude of ſucceeding generations [55]. The private character of Majorian inſpired love and reſpect. Malicious calumny and ſatire excited his indignation, or, if he himſelf were the object, his contempt: but he protected the freedom of wit, and in the hours which the emperor gave to the familiar ſociety of his friends, he could indulge his taſte for pleaſantry, without degrading the majeſty of his rank [56].

His death, A. D. 461. Auguſt 7.

Ricimer reigns under the name of Severus, A. D. 461—467.

It was not perhaps without ſome regret, that Ricimer ſacrificed his friend to the intereſt of his ambition: but he reſolved, in a ſecond choice, to avoid the imprudent preference of ſuperior virtue and merit. At his command, the obſequious ſenate of Rome beſtowed the Imperial title on Libius Severus, who aſcended the throne of the Weſt without emerging from the obſcurity of a private condition. Hiſtory has ſcarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death. Severus expired, as ſoon as his life became inconvenient to his patron [57]; and it would be uſeleſs to diſ-

[54] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 194. The teſtimony of Idatius is fair and impartial: "Majorianum de Gallis Romam "redeuntem, et Romano imperio vel nomi-"ni res neceſſarias ordinantem; Richimer "livore percitus, et *invidorum* conſilio ful-"tus, fraude interficit circumventum." Some read *Suevorum*, and I am unwilling to efface either of the words, as they expreſs the different accomplices who united in the conſpiracy againſt Majorian.

[55] See the Epigrams of Ennodius, N° cxxxv. inter Sirmond Opera, tom. i. p. 1903. It is flat and obſcure; but Ennodius was made biſhop of Pavia fifty years after the death of Majorian, and his praiſe deſerves credit and regard.

[56] Sidonius gives a tedious account l. i. epiſt. xi. p. 25—31.) of a ſupper at Arles, to which he was invited by Majorian, a ſhort time before his death. He had no intention of praiſing a deceaſed emperor; but a caſual diſintereſted remark, "Subriſit Auguſtus; ut "erat, auctoritate ſervatâ, cum ſe commu-"nioni dediſſet, joci plenus," outweighs the ſix hundred lines of his venal panegyric.

[57] Sidonius (Panegyr. Anthem. 317.) diſmiſſes him to heaven,

Auxerat Auguſtus naturæ lege Severus
Divorum numerum.———

And an old liſt of the emperors, compoſed about the time of Juſtinian, praiſes his piety, and fixes his reſidence at Rome (Sirmond Not. ad Sidon. p. 111, 112.).

criminate

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criminate his nominal reign in the vacant interval of ſix years, between the death of Majorian, and the elevation of Anthemius. During that period the government was in the hands of Ricimer alone; and although the modeſt Barbarian diſclaimed the name of king, he accumulated treaſures, formed a ſeparate army, negotiated private alliances, and ruled Italy with the ſame independent and deſpotic authority, which was afterwards exerciſed by Odoacer and Theodoric. But his dominions were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting, with diſdain, the phantom which he ſtyled an emperor. Marcellinus ſtill adhered to the old religion; and the devout Pagans, who ſecretly diſobeyed the laws of the church and ſtate, applauded his profound ſkill in the ſcience of divination. But he poſſeſſed the more valuable qualifications of learning, virtue, and courage[58]; the ſtudy of the Latin literature had improved his taſte; and his military talents had recommended him to the eſteem and confidence of the great Ætius, in whoſe ruin he was involved. By a timely flight, Marcellinus eſcaped the rage of Valentinian, and boldly aſſerted his liberty amidſt the convulſions of the Weſtern empire. His voluntary, or reluctant, ſubmiſſion to the authority of Majorian, was rewarded by the government of Sicily, and the command of an army ſtationed in that iſland to oppoſe, or to attack, the Vandals; but his Barbarian mercenaries, after the emperor's death, were tempted to revolt by the artful liberality of Ricimer. At the head of a band of faithful followers, the intrepid Marcellinus occupied the province of Dalmatia, aſſumed the title of patrician of the Weſt, ſecured the love of his ſubjects by a mild and equitable reign, built a fleet, which claimed the dominion of the Hadriatic, and alternately alarmed the coaſts of

Revolt of Marcellinus in Dalmatia,

[58] Tillemont, who is always ſcandalized by the virtues of Infidels, attributes this advantageous portrait of Marcellinus (which Suidas has preſerved), to the partial zeal of ſome Pagan hiſtorian (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 330.).

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and of Ægidius in Gaul.

Italy and of Africa[59]. Ægidius, the master-general of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who imitated, the heroes of ancient Rome[60], proclaimed his immortal resentment against the assassins of his beloved master. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard; and, though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Ægidius respectable both in peace and war. The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince. The authority of Ægidius ended only with his life; and the suspicions of poison and secret violence, which derived some countenance from the character of Ricimer, were eagerly entertained by the passionate credulity of the Gauls[61].

Naval war of the Vandals, A. D. 361—467.

The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the Western empire was gradually reduced, was afflicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the incessant depredations of the Vandal pirates[62]. In the spring of each

[59] Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. In various circumstances of the life of Marcellinus, it is not easy to reconcile the Greek historian with the Latin Chronicles of the times.

[60] I must apply to Ægidius, the praises which Sidonius (Panegyr. Majorian. 553.) bestows on a nameless master-general, who commanded the rear-guard of Majorian. Idatius, from public report, commends his Christian piety; and Priscus mentions (p. 42.) his military virtues.

[61] Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 168. The Pere Daniel, whose ideas were superficial and modern, has started some objections against the story of Childeric (Hist. de France, tom. i. Preface Historique, p. lxxviii. &c.): but they have been fairly satisfied by Dubos (Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 460—510.), and by two authors who disputed the prize of the Academy of Soissons (p. 131—177. 310—339.). With regard to the term of Childeric's exile, it is necessary either to prolong the life of Ægidius beyond the date assigned by the Chronicle of Idatius; or to correct the text of Gregory, by reading *quarto* anno, instead of *octavo*.

[62] The naval war of Genseric is described by Priscus (Excerpta Legation. p. 42.), Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 189, 190.

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each year, they equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage; and Genſeric himſelf, though in a very advanced age, ſtill commanded in perſon the moſt important expeditions. His deſigns were concealed with impenetrable ſecrecy, till the moment that he hoiſted ſail. When he was aſked by his pilot, what courſe he ſhould ſteer; "Leave the determination to the winds (replied the Barbarian, with "pious arrogance); *they* will tranſport us to the guilty coaſt, whoſe "inhabitants have provoked the divine juſtice:" but if Genſeric himſelf deigned to iſſue more preciſe orders, he judged the moſt wealthy to be the moſt criminal. The Vandals repeatedly viſited the coaſts of Spain, Liguria, Tuſcany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily: they were tempted to ſubdue the iſland of Sardinia, ſo advantageouſly placed in the centre of the Mediterranean; and their arms ſpread deſolation, or terror, from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. As they were more ambitious of ſpoil than of glory, they ſeldom attacked any fortified cities, or engaged any regular troops in the open field. But the celerity of their motions enabled them, almoſt at the ſame time, to threaten and to attack the moſt diſtant objects, which attracted their deſires; and as they always embarked a ſufficient number of horſes, they had no ſooner landed, than they ſwept the diſmayed country with a body of light cavalry. Yet, notwithſtanding the example of their king, the native Vandals and Alani inſenſibly declined this toilſome and perilous warfare; the hardy generation of the firſt conquerors was almoſt

190. and c. 22. p. 228.), Victor Vitenſis (de Perſecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 17., and Ruinart, p. 467—481.), and in the three panegyrics of Sidonius, whoſe chronological order is abſurdly tranſpoſed in the editions both of Savaron and Sirmond. (Avit. Carm. vii. 441—451. Majorian. Carm. v. 327—350. 385—440. Anthem. Carm. ii. 348—386.) In one paſſage the poet ſeems inſpired by his ſubject, and expreſſes a ſtrong idea, by a lively image:

——Hinc Vandalus hoſtis
Urget; et in noſtrum numeroſâ claſſe quotannis
Militat excidium; converſoque ordine Fati
Torrida Caucaſeos inſert mihi Byrſa furores.

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extinguiſhed, and their ſons, who were born in Africa, enjoyed the delicious baths and gardens which had been acquired by the valour of their fathers. Their place was readily ſupplied by a various multitude of Moors and Romans, of captives and outlaws; and thoſe deſperate wretches, who had already violated the laws of their country, were the moſt eager to promote the atrocious acts which diſgrace the victories of Genſeric. In the treatment of his unhappy priſoners, he ſometimes conſulted his avarice, and ſometimes indulged his cruelty; and the maſſacre of five hundred noble citizens of Zant or Zacynthus, whoſe mangled bodies he caſt into the Ionian ſea, was imputed, by the public indignation, to his lateſt poſterity.

Negotiations with the Eaſtern empire, A. D. 462, &c.

Such crimes could not be excuſed by any provocations; but the war which the king of the Vandals proſecuted againſt the Roman empire was juſtified by a ſpecious and reaſonable motive. The widow of Valentinian, Eudoxia, whom he had led captive from Rome to Carthage, was the ſole heireſs of the Theodoſian houſe; her eldeſt daughter, Eudocia, became the reluctant wife of Hunneric, his eldeſt ſon; and the ſtern father, aſſerting a legal claim, which could not eaſily be refuted or ſatisfied, demanded a juſt proportion of the Imperial patrimony. An adequate, or at leaſt a valuable, compenſation was offered by the Eaſtern emperor, to purchaſe aneceſſary peace. Eudoxia and her younger daughter, Placidia, were honourably reſtored, and the fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the Weſtern empire. The Italians, deſtitute of a naval force, which alone was capable of protecting their coaſts, implored the aid of the more fortunate nations of the Eaſt; who had formerly acknowledged, in peace and war, the ſupremacy of Rome. But the perpetual diviſion of the two empires had alienated their intereſt and their inclinations; the faith of a recent treaty was alleged; and the Weſtern Romans, inſtead of arms and ſhips, could only obtain the

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the assistance of a cold and ineffectual mediation. The haughty Ricimer, who had long struggled with the difficulties of his situation, was at length reduced to address the throne of Constantinople in the humble language of a subject; and Italy submitted, as the price and security of the alliance, to accept a master from the choice of the emperor of the East [63]. It is not the purpose of the present chapter, or even of the present volume, to continue the distinct series of the Byzantine history; but a concise view of the reign and character of the emperor Leo, may explain the last efforts that were attempted to save the falling empire of the West [64].

Leo, emperor of the East, A. D. 457—474.

Since the death of the younger Theodosius, the domestic repose of Constantinople had never been interrupted by war or faction. Pulcheria had bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on the modest virtue of Marcian: he gratefully reverenced her august rank and virgin chastity; and, after her death, he gave his people the example of the religious worship, that was due to the memory of the Imperial saint [65]. Attentive to the prosperity of his own dominions, Marcian seemed to behold with indifference the misfortunes of Rome; and the obstinate refusal of a brave and active prince, to draw his sword against the Vandals, was ascribed to a secret promise, which had formerly been exacted from him when he was a

[63] The poet himself is compelled to acknowledge the distress of Ricimer:

Præterea invictus Ricimer quem publica fata
Respiciunt, *proprio* solus vix *Marte* repellit
Piratam per rura vagum ———

Italy addresses her complaint to the Tyber, and Rome, at the solicitation of the river-god, transports herself to Constantinople, renounces her ancient claims, and implores the friendship of Aurora, the goddess of the East. This fabulous machinery, which the genius of Claudian had used and abused, is the constant and miserable resource of the muse of Sidonius.

[64] The original authors of the reigns of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno, are reduced to some imperfect fragments, whose deficiencies must be supplied from the more recent compilations of Theophanes, Zonaras, and Cedrenus.

[65] St. Pulcheria died A. D. 453, four years before her nominal husband; and her festival is celebrated on the 10th of September by the modern Greeks: she bequeathed an immense patrimony to pious, or at least to ecclesiastical, uses. See Tillemont, Memoires Eccles. tom. xv. p. 181—184.

captive

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captive in the power of Genſeric[66]. The death of Marcian, after a reign of ſeven years, would have expoſed the Eaſt to the danger of a popular election, if the ſuperior weight of a ſingle family had not been able to incline the balance in favour of the candidate whoſe intereſt they ſupported. The patrician Aſpar might have placed the diadem on his own head, if he would have ſubſcribed the Nicene creed[67]. During three generations, the armies of the Eaſt were ſucceſſively commanded by his father, by himſelf, and by his ſon Ardaburius: his Barbarian guards formed a military force that overawed the palace and the capital; and the liberal diſtribution of his immenſe treaſures rendered Aſpar as popular as he was powerful. He recommended the obſcure name of Leo of Thrace, a military tribune, and the principal ſteward of his houſehold. His nomination was unanimouſly ratified by the ſenate; and the ſervant of Aſpar received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch, or biſhop, who was permitted to expreſs, by this unuſual ceremony, the ſuffrage of the Deity[68]. This emperor, the firſt of the name of Leo, has been diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Great*; from a ſucceſſion of princes, who gradually fixed, in the opinion of the Greeks, a very humble ſtandard of heroic, or at leaſt of royal, perfection. Yet the temperate firmneſs with which Leo reſiſted the oppreſſion of his benefactor, ſhewed that he was conſcious of his duty and of his prerogative. Aſpar was aſtoniſhed to find that his influence could no longer appoint a præfect of Conſtantinople: he preſumed to reproach his ſovereign with a breach of promiſe, and inſolently ſhaking his purple, "It is not proper (ſaid he), that the man

[66] See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 185.

[67] From this diſability of Aſpar to aſcend the throne, it may be inferred that the ſtain of *Hereſy* was perpetual and indelible, while that of *Barbariſm* diſappeared in the ſecond generation.

[68] Theophanes, p. 95. This appears to be the firſt origin of a ceremony, which all the Chriſtian princes of the world have ſince adopted; and from which the clergy have deduced the moſt formidable conſequences.

"who

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"who is invested with this garment should be guilty of lying." "Nor is it proper (replied Leo), that a prince should be compelled "to resign his own judgment, and the public interest, to the will "of a subject[69]." After this extraordinary scene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be sincere; or, at least, that it could be solid and permanent. An army of Isaurians[70] was secretly levied, and introduced into Constantinople; and while Leo undermined the authority, and prepared the disgrace, of the family of Aspar, his mild and cautious behaviour restrained them from any rash and desperate attempts, which might have been fatal to themselves or their enemies. The measures of peace and war were affected by this internal revolution. As long as Aspar degraded the majesty of the throne, the secret correspondence of religion and interest engaged him to favour the cause of Genseric. When Leo had delivered himself from that ignominious servitude, he listened to the complaints of the Italians; resolved to extirpate the tyranny of the Vandals; and declared his alliance with his colleague, Anthemius, whom he solemnly invested with the diadem and purple of the West.

Anthemius emperor of the West, A. D. 467—472.

The virtues of Anthemius have perhaps been magnified, since the Imperial descent, which he could only deduce from the usurper Procopius, has been swelled into a line of emperors[71]. But the merit of his immediate parents, their honours, and their

[69] Cedrenus (p. 345, 346.), who was conversant with the writers of better days, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar, βασιλευ τον αυτην την αλεξιδα περιβεβλημενον ου χρη διαψευδεσθαι.

[70] The power of the Isaurians agitated the Eastern empire in the two succeeding reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; but it ended in the destruction of those Barbarians, who maintained their fierce independence about two hundred and thirty years.

[71] ——Tali tu civis ab urbe
Procopio genitore micas; cui prisca propago
Augustis venit a *proavis*.

The poet (Sidon. Panegyr. Anthem. 67—306.) then proceeds to relate the private life and fortunes of the future emperor, with which he must have been very imperfectly acquainted.

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riches, rendered Anthemius one of the moſt illuſtrious ſubjects of the Eaſt. His father, Procopius, obtained, after his Perſian embaſſy, the rank of general and patrician; and the name of Anthemius was derived from his maternal grandfather, the celebrated præfect, who protected, with ſo much ability and ſucceſs, the infant reign of Theodoſius. The grandſon of the præfect was raiſed above the condition of a private ſubject, by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcian. This ſplendid alliance, which might ſuperſede the neceſſity of merit, haſtened the promotion of Anthemius to the ſucceſſive dignities of count, of maſter-general, of conſul, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honours of a victory, which was obtained on the banks of the Danube, over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the ſon-in-law of Marcian might hope to be his ſucceſſor; but Anthemius ſupported the diſappointment with courage and patience; and his ſubſequent elevation was univerſally approved by the public, who eſteemed him worthy to reign, till he aſcended the throne[72]. The emperor of the Weſt marched from Conſtantinople, attended by ſeveral counts of high diſtinction, and a body of guards almoſt equal to the ſtrength and numbers of a regular army: he entered Rome in triumph, and the choice of Leo was confirmed by the ſenate, the people, and the Barbarian confederates of Italy[73]. The ſolemn inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the nuptials of his daughter and the patrician Ricimer; a fortunate event, which was conſidered as the firmeſt ſecurity of the union and happineſs of the ſtate. The wealth of two empires was oſtentatiouſly diſplayed; and many ſenators completed their ruin by an expenſive effort to diſguiſe

A. D. 467, April 12.

[72] Sidonius diſcovers, with tolerable ingenuity, that this diſappointment added new luſtre to the virtues of Anthemius (210, &c.), who declined one ſceptre, and reluctantly accepted another (22, &c.).

[73] The poet again celebrates the unanimity of all orders of the ſtate (15—22.): and the Chronicle of Idatius mentions the forces which attended his march.

their

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their poverty. All ſerious buſineſs was ſuſpended during this feſtival; the courts of juſtice were ſhut; the ſtreets of Rome, the theatres, the places of public and private reſort, reſounded with hymenæal ſongs and dances; and the royal bride, clothed in ſilken robes, with a crown on her head, was conducted to the palace of Ricimer, who had changed his military dreſs for the habit of a conſul and a ſenator. On this memorable occaſion, Sidonius, whoſe early ambition had been ſo fatally blaſted, appeared as the orator of Auvergne, among the provincial deputies who addreſſed the throne with congratulations or complaints [74]. The calends of January were now approaching, and the venal poet, who had loved Avitus, and eſteemed Majorian, was perſuaded by his friends to celebrate, in heroic verſe, the merit, the felicity, the ſecond conſulſhip, and the future triumphs of the emperor Anthemius. Sidonius pronounced, with aſſurance and ſucceſs, a panegyric which is ſtill extant; and whatever might be the imperfections, either of the ſubject or of the compoſition, the welcome flatterer was immediately rewarded with the præfecture of Rome, a dignity which placed him among the illuſtrious perſonages of the empire, till he wiſely preferred the more reſpectable character of a biſhop and a ſaint [75].

A. D 468, January 1.

The Greeks ambitiouſly commend the piety and catholic faith of the emperor whom they gave to the Weſt; nor do they forget to obſerve, that when he left Conſtantinople, he converted his palace into the pious foundation of a public bath, a church, and an hoſpital for old men [76]. Yet ſome ſuſpicious appearances are found to ſully the

The feſtival of the Lupercalia.

[74] Interveni autem nuptiis Patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis Auguſti in ſpem publicæ ſecuritatis copulabatur. The journey of Sidonius from Lyons, and the feſtival of Rome, are deſcribed with ſome ſpirit. L. i. epiſt. 5. p. 9—13. Epiſt. 9. p. 21.

[75] Sidonius (l. i. epiſt. 9. p. 23, 24.) very fairly ſtates his motive, his labour, and his reward. "Hic ipſe Panegyricus, ſi non "judicium, certe eventum, boni operis, "accepit." He was made biſhop of Clermont, A. D. 471. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 750.

[76] The palace of Anthemius ſtood on the banks of the Propontis. In the ninth century, Alexius, the ſon-in-law of the emperor Theophilus,

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the theological fame of Anthemius. From the converſation of Philotheus, a Macedonian ſectary, he had imbibed the ſpirit of religious toleration; and the Heretics of Rome would have aſſembled with impunity, if the bold and vehement cenſure which pope Hilary pronounced in the church of St. Peter, had not obliged him to abjure the unpopular indulgence [77]. Even the Pagans, a feeble and obſcure remnant, conceived ſome vain hopes from the indifference, or partiality, of Anthemius; and his ſingular friendſhip for the philoſopher Severus, whom he promoted to the conſulſhip, was aſcribed to a ſecret project, of reviving the ancient worſhip of the Gods [78]. Theſe idols were crumbled into duſt: and the mythology which had once been the creed of nations, was ſo univerſally diſbelieved, that it might be employed without ſcandal, or at leaſt without ſuſpicion, by Chriſtian poets [79]. Yet the veſtiges of ſuperſtition were not abſolutely obliterated, and the feſtival of the Lupercalia, whoſe origin had preceded the foundation of Rome, was ſtill celebrated under the reign of Anthemius. The ſavage and ſimple rites were expreſſive of an early ſtate of ſociety before the invention of arts and agriculture. The ruſtic deities who preſided over the toils and pleaſures of the paſtoral life, Pan, Faunus, and their train of ſatyrs, were ſuch as the fancy of ſhepherds might create, ſportive,

Theophilus, obtained permiſſion to purchaſe the ground; and ended his days in a monaſtery which he founded on that delightful ſpot. Ducange, Conſtantinopolis Chriſtiana, p. 117. 152.

[77] Papa Hilarus . . . apud beatum Petrum Apoſtolum, palam ne id fieret clarâ voce conſtrinxit, in tantum ut non ea facienda cum interpoſitione juramenti idem promitteret Imperator. Gelaſius Epiſtol. ad Andronicum, apud Baron. A. D. 467. N° 3. The cardinal obſerves, with ſome complacency, that it was much eaſier to plant hereſies at Conſtantinople, than at Rome.

[78] Damaſcius, in the life of the philoſopher Iſidore, apud Photium, p. 1049. Damaſcius, who lived under Juſtinian, compoſed another work, conſiſting of 570 præternatural ſtories of ſouls, dæmons, apparitions, the dotage of Platonic Paganiſm.

[79] In the poetical works of Sidonius, which he afterwards condemned (l. ix. epiſt. 16. p. 285.), the fabulous deities are the principal actors. If Jerom was ſcourged by the angels for only reading Virgil; the biſhop of Clermont, for ſuch a vile imitation, deſerved an additional whipping from the muſes.

petulant,

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petulent, and laſcivious; whoſe power was limited, and whoſe malice was inoffenſive. A goat was the offering the beſt adapted to their character and attributes; the fleſh of the victim was roaſted on willow ſpits; and the riotous youths, who crowded to the feaſt, ran naked about the fields, with leather thongs in their hands, communicating, as it was ſuppoſed, the bleſſing of fecundity to the women whom they touched [80]. The altar of Pan was erected, perhaps by Evander the Arcadian, in a dark receſs in the ſide of the Palatine-hill, watered by a perpetual fountain, and ſhaded by an hanging grove. A tradition, that, in the ſame place, Romulus and Remus were ſuckled by the wolf, rendered it ſtill more ſacred and venerable in the eyes of the Romans; and this ſylvan ſpot was gradually ſurrounded by the ſtately edifices of the Forum [81]. After the converſion of the Imperial city, the Chriſtians ſtill continued, in the month of February, the annual celebration of the Lupercalia; to which they aſcribed a ſecret and myſterious influence on the genial powers of the animal and vegetable world. The biſhops of Rome were ſolicitous to aboliſh a profane cuſtom, ſo repugnant to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity; but their zeal was not ſupported by the authority of the civil magiſtrate: the inveterate abuſe ſubſiſted till the end of the fifth century, and pope Gelaſius, who purified the capital from the laſt ſtain of idolatry, appeaſed, by a formal apology, the murmurs of the ſenate and people [82].

[80] Ovid (Faſt. l. ii. 267—452.) has given an amuſing deſcription of the follies of antiquity, which ſtill inſpired ſo much reſpect, that a grave magiſtrate, running naked through the ſtreets, was not an object of aſtoniſhment or laughter.

[81] See Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. i. p. 25. 65. edit. Hudſon. The Roman antiquaries, Donatus (l. ii. c. 18. p. 173, 174.), and Nardini (p. 386, 387.), have laboured to aſcertain the true ſituation of the Lupercal.

[82] Baronius publiſhed, from the MSS. of the Vatican, this epiſtle of pope Gelaſius (A. D. 496. N° 28—45.), which is entitled Adverſus Andromachum Senatorem, cæteroſque Romanos, qui Lupercalia ſecundum morem priſtinum colenda conſtituebant. Gelaſius always ſuppoſes that his adverſaries are nominal Chriſtians; and that he may not yield to them in abſurd prejudice, he imputes to this harmleſs feſtival, all the *calamities* of the age.

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Preparations againſt the Vandals of Africa, A. D. 468.

In all his public declarations, the emperor Leo aſſumes the authority, and profeſſes the affection, of a father, for his ſon Anthemius, with whom he had divided the adminiſtration of the univerſe[83]. The ſituation, and perhaps the character, of Leo, diſſuaded him from expoſing his perſon to the toils and dangers of an African war. But the powers of the Eaſtern empire were ſtrenuouſly exerted to deliver Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandals; and Genſeric, who had ſo long oppreſſed both the land and ſea, was threatened from every ſide with a formidable invaſion. The campaign was opened by a bold and ſucceſsful enterpriſe of the præfect Heraclius[84]. The troops of Egypt, Thebais, and Libya, were embarked under his command: and the Arabs, with a train of horſes and camels, opened the roads of the deſert. Heraclius landed on the coaſt of Tripoli, ſurpriſed and ſubdued the cities of that province, and prepared, by a laborious march, which Cato had formerly executed[85], to join the Imperial army under the walls of Carthage. The intelligence of this loſs extorted from Genſeric ſome inſidious and ineffectual propoſitions of peace: but he was ſtill more ſeriouſly alarmed by the reconciliation of Marcellinus with the two empires. The independent patrician had been perſuaded to acknowledge the legitimate title of Anthemius, whom he accompanied in his journey to Rome; the Dal-

[83] Itaque nos quibus totius mundi regimen commiſit ſuperna proviſio .... Pius et triumphator ſemper Auguſtus filius noſter Anthemius, licet Divina Majeſtas et noſtra creatio pietati ejus plenam Imperii commiſerit poteſtatem, &c. .... Such is the dignified ſtyle of Leo, whom Anthemius reſpectfully names, Dominus et Pater meus Princeps ſacratiſſimus Leo. See Novell. Anthem. tit. ii. iii. p. 38. ad calcem Cod. Theod.

[84] The expedition of Heraclius is clouded with difficulties (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 640.), and it requires ſome dexterity to uſe the circumſtances afforded by Theophanes, without injury to the more reſpectable evidence of Procopius.

[85] The march of Cato from Berenice, in the province of Cyrene, was much longer than that of Heraclius from Tripoli. He paſſed the deep ſandy deſert in thirty days, and it was found neceſſary to provide, beſides the ordinary ſupplies, a great number of ſkins filled with water, and ſeveral *Pſylli*, who were ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the art of ſucking the wounds which had been made by the ſerpents of their native country. See Plutarch in Caton. Uticenſ. tom. iv. p. 275. Strabon. Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1193.

matian

matian fleet was received into the harbours of Italy; the active valour of Marcellinus expelled the Vandals from the iſland of Sardinia; and the languid efforts of the Weſt added ſome weight to the immenſe preparations of the Eaſtern Romans. The expence of the naval armament, which Leo ſent againſt the Vandals, has been diſtinctly aſcertained; and the curious and inſtructive account diſplays the wealth of the declining empire. The royal demeſnes, or private patrimony of the prince, ſupplied ſeventeen thouſand pounds of gold; forty-ſeven thouſand pounds of gold, and ſeven hundred thouſand of ſilver, were levied and paid into the treaſury by the Prætorian præfects. But the cities were reduced to extreme poverty; and the diligent calculation of fines and forfeitures, as a valuable object of the revenue, does not ſuggeſt the idea of a juſt, or merciful, adminiſtration. The whole expence, by whatſoever means it was defrayed, of the African campaign, amounted to the ſum of one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds of gold, about five millions two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, at a time when the value of money appears, from the comparative price of corn, to have been ſomewhat higher than in the preſent age[86]. The fleet that ſailed from Conſtantinople to Carthage, conſiſted of eleven hundred and thirteen ſhips, and the number of ſoldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred thouſand men. Baſiliſcus, the brother of the empreſs Vorina, was entruſted with this important command. His ſiſter, the wife of Leo, had exaggerated the merit of his former exploits againſt the Scythians. But the diſcovery of his guilt, or incapacity, was reſerved for the African war; and his friends could only ſave his mi-

[86] The principal ſum is clearly expreſſed by Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191.); the ſmaller conſtituent parts, which Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 396.) has laboriouſly collected from the Byzantine writers, are leſs certain, and leſs important. The hiſtorian Malchus laments the public miſery (Excerpt. ex Suida in Corp. Hiſt. Byzant. p. 58.); but he is ſurely unjuſt, when he charges Leo with hoarding the treaſures which he extorted from the people.

litary

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litary reputation, by asserting, that he had conspired with Aspar to spare Genseric, and to betray the last hope of the Western empire.

Failure of the expedition.

Experience has shewn, that the success of an invader most commonly depends on the vigour and celerity of his operations. The strength and sharpness of the first impression are blunted by delay; the health and spirit of the troops insensibly languish in a distant climate; the naval and military force, a mighty effort which perhaps can never be repeated, is silently consumed; and every hour that is wasted in negotiation, accustoms the enemy to contemplate and examine those hostile terrors, which, on their first appearance, he deemed irresistible. The formidable navy of Basiliscus pursued its prosperous navigation from the Thracian Bosphorus to the coast of Africa. He landed his troops at Cape Bona, or the promontory of Mercury, about forty miles from Carthage[87]. The army of Heraclius, and the fleet of Marcellinus, either joined or seconded the Imperial lieutenant; and the Vandals, who opposed his progress by sea or land, were successively vanquished[88]. If Basiliscus had seized the moment of consternation, and boldly advanced to the capital, Carthage must have surrendered, and the kingdom of the Vandals was extinguished. Genseric beheld the danger with firmness, and eluded it with his veteran dexterity. He protested, in the most respectful language, that he was ready to submit his person, and his dominions, to the will of the emperor; but he requested a truce of five days to regulate the terms of his submission; and it was universally believed, that his secret liberality contributed to the success of this public negotiation. Instead of obstinately refusing whatever in-

[87] This promontory is forty miles from Carthage (Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 192.), and twenty leagues from Sicily (Shaw's Travels, p. 89.). Scipio landed farther in the bay, at the fair promontory: see the animated description of Livy, xxix. 26, 27.

[88] Theophanes (p. 100.) affirms that many ships of the Vandals were sunk. The assertion of Jornandes (de Successione Regn.), that Basiliscus attacked Carthage, must be understood in a very qualified sense.

dulgence

dulgence his enemy ſo earneſtly ſolicited, the guilty, or the credulous, Baſiliſcus conſented to the fatal truce; and his imprudent ſecurity ſeemed to proclaim, that he already conſidered himſelf as the conqueror of Africa. During this ſhort interval, the wind became favourable to the deſigns of Genſeric. He manned his largeſt ſhips of war with the braveſt of the Moors and Vandals; and they towed after them many large barks, filled with combuſtible materials. In the obſcurity of the night, theſe deſtructive veſſels were impelled againſt the unguarded and unſuſpecting fleet of the Romans, who were awakened by the ſenſe of their inſtant danger. Their cloſe and crowded order aſſiſted the progreſs of the fire, which was communicated with rapid and irreſiſtible violence; and the noiſe of the wind, the crackling of the flames, the diſſonant cries of the ſoldiers and mariners, who could neither command, nor obey, increaſed the horror of the nocturnal tumult. Whilſt they laboured to extricate themſelves from the fire-ſhips, and to ſave at leaſt a part of the navy, the gallies of Genſeric aſſaulted them with temperate and diſciplined valour; and many of the Romans, who eſcaped the fury of the flames, were deſtroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. Among the events of that diſaſtrous night, the heroic, or rather deſperate, courage of John, one of the principal officers of Baſiliſcus, has reſcued his name from oblivion. When the ſhip, which he had bravely defended, was almoſt conſumed, he threw himſelf in his armour into the ſea, diſdainfully rejected the eſteem and pity of Genſo, the ſon of Genſeric, who preſſed him to accept honourable quarter, and ſunk under the waves; exclaiming with his laſt breath, that he would never fall alive into the hands of thoſe impious dogs. Actuated by a far different ſpirit, Baſiliſcus, whoſe ſtation was the moſt remote from danger, diſgracefully fled in the beginning of the engagement, returned to Conſtantinople with the loſs of more than half of his fleet and army, and ſheltered his guilty head in the ſanctuary of St. Sophia,

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Sophia, till his ſiſter, by her tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. Heraclius effected his retreat through the deſert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was aſſaſſinated, perhaps at the inſtigation of Ricimer, by one of his own captains; and the king of the Vandals expreſſed his ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction, that the Romans themſelves ſhould remove from the world his moſt formidable antagoniſts [89]. After the failure of this great expedition, Genſeric again became the tyrant of the ſea: the coaſts of Italy, Greece, and Aſia, were again expoſed to his revenge and avarice; Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and, before he died, in the fulneſs of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the Weſt [90].

A. D. 477.

Conqueſts of the Viſigoths in Spain and Gaul, A. D. 462—472.

During his long and active reign, the African monarch had ſtudiouſly cultivated the friendſhip of the Barbarians of Europe, whoſe arms he might employ in a ſeaſonable and effectual diverſion againſt the two empires. After the death of Attila, he renewed his alliance with the Viſigoths of Gaul; and the ſons of the elder Theodoric, who ſucceſſively reigned over that warlike nation, were eaſily perſuaded, by the ſenſe of intereſt, to forget the cruel affront which Genſeric had inflicted on their ſiſter [91]. The death of the emperor Majorian delivered Theodoric the ſecond from the reſtraint of fear, and perhaps of honour; he violated his recent treaty with the Romans;

[89] Damaſcius in Vit. Iſidor. apud Phot. p. 1048. It will appear, by comparing the three ſhort chronicles of the times, that Marcellinus had fought near Carthage, and was killed in Sicily.

[90] For the African war, ſee Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191, 192, 193.), Theophanes (p. 99, 100, 101.), Cedrenus (p. 349, 350.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 50, 51.). Monteſquieu (Conſiderations ſur la Grandeur, &c. c. xx. tom. iii. p. 497.) has made a judicious obſervation on the failure of theſe great naval armaments.

[91] Jornandes is our beſt guide through the reigns of Theodoric II. and Euric (de Rebus Geticis, c. 44, 45, 46, 47. p. 675—681.). Idatius ends too ſoon, and Iſidore is too ſparing of the information which he might have given on the affairs of Spain. The events that relate to Gaul are laborioufly illuſtrated in the third book of the Abbé Dubos, Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 424—620.

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and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to his dominions, became the immediate reward of his perfidy. The ſelfiſh policy of Ricimer encouraged him to invade the provinces which were in the poſſeſſion of Ægidius, his rival: but the active count, by the defence of Arles, and the victory of Orleans, ſaved Gaul, and checked, during his lifetime, the progreſs of the Viſigoths. Their ambition was ſoon rekindled; and the deſign of extinguiſhing the Roman empire in Spain and Gaul, was conceived, and almoſt completed, in the reign of Euric, who aſſaſſinated his brother Theodoric, and diſplayed, with a more ſavage temper, ſuperior abilities, both in peace and war. He paſſed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, ſubdued the cities of Saragoſſa and Pampeluna, vanquiſhed in battle the martial nobles of the Tarragoneſe province, carried his victorious arms into the heart of Luſitania, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Gallicia under the Gothic monarchy of Spain [92]. The efforts of Euric were not leſs vigorous, or leſs ſucceſsful, in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhône and the Loire, Berry, and Auvergne, were the only cities, or dioceſes, which refuſed to acknowledge him as their maſter [93]. In the defence of Clermont, their principal town, the inhabitants of Auvergne ſuſtained, with inflexible reſolution, the miſeries of war, peſtilence, and famine; and the Viſigoths, relinquiſhing the fruitleſs ſiege, ſuſpended the hopes of that important conqueſt. The youth of the province were animated by the heroic, and almoſt incredible, valour of Ecdicius, the ſon of the emperor Avitus [94], who made a deſperate ſally with only eighteen horſemen, boldly

[92] See Mariana, Hiſt. Hiſpan. tom. i. l. v. c. 5. p. 162.

[93] An imperfect, but original, picture of Gaul, more eſpecially of Auvergne, is ſhewn by Sidonius; who, as a ſenator, and afterwards as a biſhop, was deeply intereſted in the fate of his country. See l. v. epiſt. 1. 5. 9, &c.

[94] Sidonius, l. iii. epiſt. 3. p. 65—68. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 24. in tom. ii. p. 174. Jornandes, c. 45. p. 675. Perhaps Ecdicius was only the ſon-in-law of Avitus, his wife's ſon by another huſband.

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boldly attacked the Gothic army, and, after maintaining a flying ſkirmiſh, retired ſafe and victorious within the walls of Clermont. His charity was equal to his courage: in a time of extreme ſcarcity, four thouſand poor were fed at his expence; and his private influence levied an army of Burgundians for the deliverance of Auvergne. From *his* virtues alone the faithful citizens of Gaul derived any hopes of ſafety or freedom; and even ſuch virtues were inſufficient to avert the impending ruin of their country, ſince they were anxious to learn from his authority and example, whether they ſhould prefer the alternative of exile, or ſervitude [95]. The public confidence was loſt; the reſources of the ſtate were exhauſted; and the Gauls had too much reaſon to believe, that Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was incapable of protecting his diſtreſſed ſubjects beyond the Alps. The feeble emperor could only procure for their defence the ſervice of twelve thouſand Britiſh auxiliaries. Riothamus, one of the independent kings, or chieftains, of the iſland, was perſuaded to tranſport his troops to the continent of Gaul: he ſailed up the Loire, and eſtabliſhed his quarters in Berry, where the people complained of theſe oppreſſive allies, till they were deſtroyed, or diſperſed, by the arms of the Viſigoths [96].

Trial of Arvandus, A. D. 468.

One of the laſt acts of juriſdiction, which the Roman ſenate exerciſed over their ſubjects of Gaul, was the trial and condemnation of Arvandus, the Prætorian præfect. Sidonius, who rejoices that he lived under a reign in which he might pity and aſſiſt a ſtate-criminal, has expreſſed, with tenderneſs and freedom, the faults of his

[95] Si nullæ a republicâ vires, nulla præſidia, ſi nullæ, quantum rumor eſt, Anthemii principis opes, ſtatuit, te auctore, nobilitas ſeu patriam dimittere ſeu capillos (Sidon. l. ii. epiſt. i. p. 33.). The laſt words (Sirmond Not. p. 25.) may likewiſe denote the clerical tonſure, which was indeed the choice of Sidonius himſelf.

[96] The hiſtory of theſe Britons may be traced in Jornandes (c. 45. p. 678.), Sidonius (l. iii. epiſtol. 9. p. 73, 74.), and Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 18. in tom. ii. p. 170.). Sidonius (who ſtyles theſe mercenary troops argutos, armatos, tumultuoſos, virtute, numero, contubernio, contumaces) addreſſes their general in a tone of friendſhip and familiarity.

indiſcreet

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indiſcreet and unfortunate friend [97]. From the perils which he had eſcaped, Arvandus imbibed confidence rather than wiſdom; and ſuch was the various, though uniform, imprudence of his behaviour, that his proſperity muſt appear much more ſurpriſing than his downfal. The ſecond præfecture, which he obtained within the term of five years, aboliſhed the merit and popularity of his preceding adminiſtration. His eaſy temper was corrupted by flattery, and exaſperated by oppoſition; he was forced to ſatisfy his importunate creditors with the ſpoils of the province; his capricious inſolence offended the nobles of Gaul, and he ſunk under the weight of the public hatred. The mandate of his diſgrace ſummoned him to juſtify his conduct before the ſenate; and he paſſed the ſea of Tuſcany with a favourable wind, the preſage, as he vainly imagined, of his future fortunes. A decent reſpect was ſtill obſerved for the *Præfectorian* rank; and on his arrival at Rome, Arvandus was committed to the hoſpitality, rather than to the cuſtody, of Flavius Aſellus, the count of the ſacred largeſſes, who reſided in the Capitol [98]. He was eagerly purſued by his accuſers, the four deputies of Gaul, who were all diſtinguiſhed by their birth, their dignities, or their eloquence. In the name of a great province, and according to the forms of Roman juriſprudence, they inſtituted a civil and criminal action, requiring ſuch reſtitution as might compenſate the loſſes of individuals, and ſuch puniſhment as might ſatisfy the juſtice of the ſtate. Their charges of corrupt oppreſſion were numerous and weighty; but they placed their ſecret dependence on a letter, which they had intercepted, and which they could prove, by the evidence of his ſecretary, to

[97] See Sidonius, l. i. epiſt. 7. p. 15—20. with Sirmond's notes. This letter does honour to his heart, as well as to his underſtanding. The proſe of Sidonius, however vitiated by a falſe and affected taſte, is much ſuperior to his inſipid verſes.

[98] When the Capitol ceaſed to be a temple, it was appropriated to the uſe of the civil magiſtrate; and it is ſtill the reſidence of the Roman ſenator. The jewellers, &c. might be allowed to expoſe their precious wares in the porticoes.

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have been dictated by Arvandus himself. The author of this letter seemed to dissuade the king of the Goths from a peace with the *Greek* emperor: he suggested the attack of the Britons on the Loire; and he recommended a division of Gaul, according to the law of nations, between the Visigoths and the Burgundians [99]. These pernicious schemes, which a friend could only palliate by the reproaches of vanity and indiscretion, were susceptible of a treasonable interpretation; and the deputies had artfully resolved, not to produce their most formidable weapons till the decisive moment of the contest. But their intentions were discovered by the zeal of Sidonius. He immediately apprised the unsuspecting criminal of his danger; and sincerely lamented, without any mixture of anger, the haughty presumption of Arvandus, who rejected, and even resented, the salutary advice of his friends. Ignorant of his real situation, Arvandus shewed himself in the Capitol in the white robe of a candidate, accepted indiscriminate salutations and offers of service, examined the shops of the merchants, the silks and gems, sometimes with the indifference of a spectator, and sometimes with the attention of a purchaser; and complained of the times, of the senate, of the prince, and of the delays of justice. His complaints were soon removed. An early day was fixed for his trial; and Arvandus appeared, with his accusers, before a numerous assembly of the Roman senate. The mournful garb, which they affected, excited the compassion of the judges, who were scandalized by the gay and splendid dress of their adversary; and when the præfect Arvandus, with the first of the Gallic deputies, were directed to take their places on the senatorial benches, the same contrast of pride and modesty was observed in their behaviour. In this memorable judgment, which presented a lively image of the old republic, the Gauls exposed, with force and

[99] Hæc ad regem Gothorum, charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum Græco Imperatore dissuadens, Britannos super Ligerim sitos impugnari opportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus jure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans.

freedom,

freedom, the grievances of the province; and as ſoon as the minds of the audience were ſufficiently inflamed, they recited the fatal epiſtle. The obſtinacy of Arvandus was founded on the ſtrange ſuppoſition, that a ſubject could not be convicted of treaſon, unleſs he had actually conſpired to aſſume the purple. As the paper was read, he repeatedly, and with a loud voice, acknowledged it for his genuine compoſition; and his aſtoniſhment was equal to his diſmay, when the unanimous voice of the ſenate declared him guilty of a capital offence. By their decree, he was degraded from the rank of a præfect to the obſcure condition of a plebeian, and ignominiouſly dragged by ſervile hands to the public priſon. After a fortnight's adjournment, the ſenate was again convened to pronounce the ſentence of his death: but while he expected, in the iſland of Æſculapius, the expiration of the thirty days allowed by an ancient law to the vileſt malefactors [100], his friends interpoſed, the emperor Anthemius relented, and the præfect of Gaul obtained the milder puniſhment of exile and confiſcation. The faults of Arvandus might deſerve compaſſion; but the impunity of Seronatus accuſed the juſtice of the republic, till he was condemned, and executed, on the complaint of the people of Auvergne. That flagitious miniſter, the Catiline of his age and country, held a ſecret correſpondence with the Viſigoths, to betray the province which he oppreſſed: his induſtry was continually exerciſed in the diſcovery of new taxes and obſolete offences; and his extravagant vices would have inſpired contempt, if they had not excited fear and abhorrence [101].

Such criminals were not beyond the reach of juſtice; but whatever might be the guilt of Ricimer, that powerful Barbarian was able

Diſcord of Anthemius and Ricimer, A. D. 471.

[100] *Senatûſconſultum Tiberianum* (Sirmond Not. p. 17.); but that law allowed only ten days between the ſentence and execution; the remaining twenty were added in the reign of Theodoſius.

[101] Catilina ſeculi noſtri. Sidonius, l. ii. epiſt. i. p. 33.; l. v. epiſt. 13. p. 143.; l. vii. epiſt. 7. p. 185. He execrates the crimes, and applauds the puniſhment, of Seronatus, perhaps with the indignation of a virtuous citizen, perhaps with the reſentment of a perſonal enemy.

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to contend or to negotiate with the prince, whose alliance he had condescended to accept. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West, was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive, or impatient, of a superior, retired from Rome, and fixed his residence at Milan; an advantageous situation, either to invite, or to repel, the warlike tribes that were seated between the Alps and the Danube [102]. Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms; and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, fell prostrate at the feet of the patrician, and conjured him to spare their unhappy country. "For my own part," replied Ricimer, in a tone of insolent moderation, "I am still inclined to embrace the "friendship of the Galatian [103]; but who will undertake to appease "his anger, or to mitigate the pride, which always rises in propor- "tion to our submission?" They informed him that Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia [104], united the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; and appeared confident, that the eloquence of such an ambassador must prevail against the strongest opposition, either of interest or passion. Their recommendation was approved; and Epiphanius, assuming the benevolent office of mediation, proceeded without delay to Rome, where he was received with the honours due to his merit and reputation. The oration of a bishop in favour of peace, may be easily supposed: he argued, that, in all pos-

[102] Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, defeated and slew in battle Beorgor, king of the Alani (Jornandes, c. 45. p. 678.). His sister had married the king of the Burgundians, and he maintainad an intimate connection with the Suevic colony established in Pannonia and Noricum.

[103] Galatam concitatum. Sirmond (in his notes to Ennodius) applies this appellation to Anthemius himself. The emperor was probably born in the province of Galatia, whose inhabitants, the Gallo-Grecians, were supposed to unite the vices of a savage, and a corrupted, people.

[104] Epiphanius was thirty years bishop of Pavia (A. D. 467—497; see Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 788.). His name and actions would have been unknown to posterity, if Ennodius, one of his successors, had not written his life (Sirmond, Opera, tom. i. p. 1647—1692.); in which he represents him as one of the greatest characters of the age.

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ſible circumſtances, the forgiveneſs of injuries muſt be an act of mercy, or magnanimity, or prudence; and he ſeriouſly admoniſhed the emperor to avoid a conteſt with a fierce Barbarian, which might be fatal to himſelf, and muſt be ruinous to his dominions. Anthemius acknowledged the truth of his maxims; but he deeply felt, with grief and indignation, the behaviour of Ricimer; and his paſſion gave eloquence and energy to his diſcourſe. "What favours," he warmly exclaimed, "have we refuſed to this ungrateful man? "What provocations have we not endured? Regardleſs of the ma- "jeſty of the purple, I gave my daughter to a Goth; I ſacrificed "my own blood to the ſafety of the republic. The liberality which "ought to have ſecured the eternal attachment of Ricimer, has ex- "aſperated him againſt his benefactor. What wars has he not "excited againſt the empire? How often has he inſtigated and aſ- "ſiſted the fury of hoſtile nations? Shall I now accept his perfidious "friendſhip? Can I hope that *he* will reſpect the engagements of a "treaty, who has already violated the duties of a ſon?" But the anger of Anthemius evaporated in theſe paſſionate exclamations: he inſenſibly yielded to the propoſals of Epiphanius; and the biſhop returned to his dioceſe with the ſatisfaction of reſtoring the peace of Italy, by a reconciliation [105], of which the ſincerity and continuance might be reaſonably ſuſpected. The clemency of the emperor was extorted from his weakneſs; and Ricimer ſuſpended his ambitious deſigns till he had ſecretly prepared the engines, with which he reſolved to ſubvert the throne of Anthemius. The maſk of peace and moderation was then thrown aſide. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and Oriental Suevi: he diſclaimed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, marched

[105] Ennodius (p. 1659—1664.) has related this embaſſy of Epiphanius; and his narrative, verboſe and turgid as it muſt appear, illuſtrates ſome curious paſſages in the fall of the Weſtern empire.

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from Milan to the gates of Rome, and fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arrival of Olybrius, his Imperial candidate.

Olybrius emperor of the Weſt, A. D. 472, March 23.

The ſenator Olybrius, of the Anician family, might eſteem himſelf the lawful heir of the Weſtern empire. He had married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after ſhe was reſtored by Genſeric; who ſtill detained her ſiſter Eudoxia, as the wife, or rather as the captive, of his ſon. The king of the Vandals ſupported, by threats and ſolicitations, the fair pretenſions of his Roman ally; and aſſigned, as one of the motives of the war, the refuſal of the ſenate and people to acknowledge their lawful prince, and the unworthy preference which they had given to a ſtranger [106]. The friendſhip of the public enemy might render Olybrius ſtill more unpopular to the Italians; but when Ricimer meditated the ruin of the emperor Anthemius, he tempted with the offer of a diadem the candidate who could juſtify his rebellion by an illuſtrious name, and a royal alliance. The huſband of Placidia, who, like moſt of his anceſtors, had been inveſted with the conſular dignity, might have continued to enjoy a ſecure and ſplendid fortune in the peaceful reſidence of Conſtantinople; nor does he appear to have been tormented by ſuch a genius, as cannot be amuſed or occupied, unleſs by the adminiſtration of an empire. Yet Olybrius yielded to the importunities of his friends, perhaps of his wife; raſhly plunged into the dangers and calamities of a civil war; and with the ſecret connivance of the emperor Leo, accepted the Italian purple, which was beſtowed, and reſumed, at the capricious will of a Barbarian. He landed without obſtacle (for Genſeric was maſter of the ſea) either at Ravenna or the port of Oſtia, and immediately proceeded

[106] Priſcus Excerpt. Legation. p. 74. Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. Eudoxia and her daughter were reſtored after the death of Majorian. Perhaps the conſulſhip of Olybrius (A. D. 464) was beſtowed as a nuptial preſent.

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to the camp of Ricimer, where he was received as the ſovereign of the Weſtern world [107].

Sack of Rome, and death of Anthemius, A. D. 472, July 11.

The patrician, who had extended his poſts from the Anio to the Milvian bridge, already poſſeſſed two quarters of Rome, the Vatican and the Janiculum, which are ſeparated by the Tyber from the reſt of the city [108]; and it may be conjectured, that an aſſembly of ſeceding ſenators imitated, in the choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the ſenate and people firmly adhered to the cauſe of Anthemius; and the more effectual ſupport of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public diſtreſs, by a reſiſtance of three months, which produced the concomitant evils of famine and peſtilence. At length Ricimer made a furious aſſault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo; and the narrow paſs was defended with equal valour by the Goths, till the death of Gilimer their leader. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier, ruſhed with irreſiſtible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (if we may uſe the language of a contemporary Pope) was ſubverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer [109]. The unfortunate Anthemius was dragged from his concealment, and inhumanly maſſacred by the command of his ſon-in-law; who thus added a third,

[107] The hoſtile appearance of Olybrius is fixed (notwithſtanding the opinion of Pagi) by the duration of his reign. The ſecret connivance of Leo is acknowledged by Theophanes, and the Paſchal Chronicle. We are ignorant of his motives; but, in this obſcure period, our ignorance extends to the moſt public and important facts.

[108] Of the fourteen regions, or quarters, into which Rome was divided by Auguſtus, only *one*, the Janiculum, lay on the Tuſcan ſide of the Tyber. But, in the fifth century, the Vatican ſuburb formed a conſiderable city; and in the eccleſiaſtical diſtribution, which had been recently made by Simplicius, the reigning pope, *two* of the *ſeven* regions, or pariſhes, of Rome, depended on the church of St. Peter. See Nardini Roma Antica, p. 67. It would require a tedious diſſertation to mark the circumſtances in which I am inclined to depart from the topography of that learned Roman.

[109] Nuper Anthemii et Ricimeris civili furore ſubverſa eſt. Gelaſius in Epiſt. ad Andromach. apud Baron. A. D. 496, N° 42. Sigonius (tom. i. l. xiv. de Occidentali Imperio, p. 542, 543.) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 308, 309.), with the aid of a leſs imperfect MS. of the Hiſtoria Miſcella, have illuſtrated this dark and bloody tranſaction.

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or perhaps a fourth, emperor to the number of his victims. The ſoldiers, who united the rage of factious citizens with the ſavage manners of Barbarians, were indulged, without control, in the licence of rapine and murder: the crowd of ſlaves and plebeians, who were unconcerned in the event, could only gain by the indiſcriminate pillage; and the face of the city exhibited the ſtrange contraſt of ſtern cruelty, and diſſolute intemperance [110]. Forty days after this calamitous event, the ſubject, not of glory, but of guilt, Italy was delivered, by a painful diſeaſe, from the tyrant Ricimer, who bequeathed the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the ſame year, all the principal actors in this great revolution, were removed from the ſtage; and the whole reign of Olybrius, whoſe death does not betray any ſymptoms of violence, is included within the term of ſeven months. He left one daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia; and the family of the great Theodoſius, tranſplanted from Spain to Conſtantinople, was propagated in the female line as far as the eighth generation [111].

Death of Ricimer, Auguſt 20.

and of Olybrius, October 23.

Julius Nepos and Glycerius emperors of the Weſt, A. D. 472—475.

Whilſt the vacant throne of Italy was abandoned to lawleſs Barbarians [112], the election of a new colleague was ſeriouſly agitated in the council of Leo. The empreſs Verina, ſtudious to promote the greatneſs of her own family, had married one of her nieces to Julius Nepos, who ſucceeded his uncle Marcellinus in the ſovereignty of

[110] Such had been the, fæva ac deformis urbe totâ facies, when Rome was aſſaulted and ſtormed by the troops of Veſpaſian (ſee Tacit. Hiſt. iii. 82, 83.); and every cauſe of miſchief had ſince acquired much additional energy. The revolution of ages may bring round the ſame calamities; but ages may revolve, without producing a Tacitus to deſcribe them.

[111] See Ducange, Familiæ Byzantin. p. 74, 75. Areobindus, who appears to have married the niece of the emperor Juſtinian, was the eighth deſcendant of the elder Theodoſius.

[112] The laſt revolutions of the Weſtern empire are faintly marked in Theophanes (p. 102.), Jornandes (c. 45. p. 679.), the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Fragments of an anonymous writer, publiſhed by Valeſius at the end of Ammianus (p. 716, 717.). If Photius had not been ſo wretchedly conciſe, we ſhould derive much information from the contemporary hiſtories of Malchus and Candidus. See his Extracts, p. 172—179.

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Dalmatia, a more ſolid poſſeſſion than the title which he was perſuaded to accept, of Emperor of the Weſt. But the meaſures of the Byzantine court were ſo languid and irreſolute, that many months elapſed after the death of Anthemius, and even of Olybrius, before their deſtined ſucceſſor could ſhew himſelf, with a reſpectable force, to his Italian ſubjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obſcure ſoldier, was inveſted with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable, or unwilling, to ſupport his nomination by a civil war: the purſuits of domeſtic ambition recalled him beyond the Alps[113], and his client was permitted to exchange the Roman ſceptre for the biſhopric of Salona. After extinguiſhing ſuch a competitor, the emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the ſenate, by the Italians, and by the provincials of Gaul; his moral virtues, and military talents, were loudly celebrated; and thoſe who derived any private benefit from his government, announced, in prophetic ſtrains, the reſtoration of the public felicity[114]. Their hopes (if ſuch hopes had been entertained) were confounded within the term of a ſingle year; and the treaty of peace, which ceded Auvergne to the Viſigoths, is the only event of his ſhort and inglorious reign. The moſt faithful ſubjects of Gaul were ſacrificed, by the Italian emperor, to the hope of domeſtic ſecurity[115]; but his repoſe was ſoon invaded by a furious ſedition of the Barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Oreſtes their general, were in full march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos

[113] See Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 28. in tom. ii. p. 175. Dubos, Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 613. By the murder, or death, of his two brothers, Gundobald acquired the ſole poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Burgundy, whoſe ruin was haſtened by their diſcord.

[114] Julius Nepos armis pariter ſummus Auguſtus ac moribus. Sidonius, l. v. ep. 16. p. 146. Nepos had given to Ecdicius the title of Patrician, which Anthemius had promiſed, deceſſoris Anthemei fidem abſolvit. See. l. viii. ep. vii. p. 224.

[115] Epiphanius was ſent ambaſſador from Nepos to the Viſigoths, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the *fines Imperii Italici* (Ennodius in Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1665—1669.). His pathetic diſcourſe concealed the diſgraceful ſecret, which ſoon excited the juſt and bitter complaints of the biſhop of Clermont.

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trembled at their approach; and, instead of placing a just confidence in the strength of Ravenna, he hastily escaped to his ships, and retired to his Dalmatian principality, on the opposite coast of the Hadriatic. By this shameful abdication, he protracted his life about five years, in a very ambiguous state, between an emperor and an exile, till he was assassinated at Salona by the ungrateful Glycerius, who was translated, perhaps as the reward of his crime, to the archbishopric of Milan [116].

The patrician Orestes, A. D. 475.

The nations, who had asserted their independence after the death of Attila, were established, by the right of possession or conquest, in the boundless countries to the north of the Danube; or in the Roman provinces between the river and the Alps. But the bravest of their youth enlisted in the army of *confederates*, who formed the defence and the terror of Italy [117]; and in this promiscuous multitude, the names of the Heruli, the Scyrri, the Alani, the Turcillingi, and the Rugians, appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes [118], the son of Tatullus, and the father of the last Roman emperor of the West. Orestes, who has been already mentioned in this history, had never deserted his country. His birth and fortunes rendered him one of the most illustrious subjects of Pannonia. When that province was ceded to the Huns, he entered into the service of Attila, his lawful sovereign, obtained the office of his secretary, and was repeatedly sent ambassador to Constantinople, to represent the person, and signify the commands,

[116] Malchus, apud Phot. p. 172. Ennod. Epigram. lxxxii. in Sirmond Oper. tom. i. p. 1879. Some doubt may however be raised on the identity of the emperor and the archbishop.

[117] Our knowledge of these mercenaries, who subverted the Western empire, is derived from Procopius (de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. i. p. 308.). The popular opinion, and the recent historians, represent Odoacer in the false light of a *stranger*, and a *king*, who invaded Italy with an army of foreigners, his native subjects.

[118] Orestes, qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit, se illi junxit, et ejus notarius factus fuerat. Anonym. Vales. p. 716. He is mistaken in the date; but we may credit his assertion, that the secretary of Attila was the father of Augustulus.

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of the imperious monarch. The death of that conqueror reſtored him to his freedom; and Oreſtes might honourably refuſe either to follow the ſons of Attila into the Scythian deſert, or to obey the Oſtrogoths, who had uſurped the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the ſervice of the Italian princes, the ſucceſſors of Valentinian; and, as he poſſeſſed the qualifications of courage, induſtry, and experience, he advanced with rapid ſteps in the military profeſſion, till he was elevated, by the favour of Nepos himſelf, to the dignities of patrician, and maſter-general of the troops. Theſe troops had been long accuſtomed to reverence the character and authority of Oreſtes, who affected their manners, converſed with them in their own language, and was intimately connected with their national chieftains, by long habits of familiarity and friendſhip. At his ſolicitation they roſe in arms againſt the obſcure Greek, who preſumed to claim their obedience; and when Oreſtes, from ſome ſecret motive, declined the purple, they conſented, with the ſame facility, to acknowledge his ſon Auguſtulus, as the emperor of the Weſt. By the abdication of Nepos, Oreſtes had now attained the ſummit of his ambitious hopes; but he ſoon diſcovered, before the end of the firſt year, that the leſſons of perjury and ingratitude, which a rebel muſt inculcate, will be retorted againſt himſelf; and that the precarious ſovereign of Italy was only permitted to chuſe, whether he would be the ſlave, or the victim, of his Barbarian mercenaries. The dangerous alliance of theſe ſtrangers, had oppreſſed and inſulted the laſt remains of Roman freedom and dignity. At each revolution, their pay and privileges were augmented; but their inſolence increaſed in a ſtill more extravagant degree; they envied the fortune of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, whoſe victorious arms had acquired an independent and perpetual inheritance; and they inſiſted on their peremptory demand, that a *third* part of the lands of Italy ſhould be immediately divided among them. Oreſtes, with a ſpirit

His ſon Auguſtulus, the laſt emperor of the Weſt, A. D. 476.

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a ſpirit which, in another ſituation, might be entitled to our eſteem, choſe rather to encounter the rage of an armed multitude, than to ſubſcribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refuſal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer; a bold Barbarian, who aſſured his fellow-ſoldiers, that, if they dared to aſſociate under his command, they might ſoon extort the juſtice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garriſons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the ſame reſentment and the ſame hopes, impatiently flocked to the ſtandard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate patrician, overwhelmed by the torrent, haſtily retreated to the ſtrong city of Pavia, the epiſcopal ſeat of the holy Epiphanites. Pavia was immediately beſieged, the fortifications were ſtormed, the town was pillaged; and although the biſhop might labour, with much zeal and ſome ſucceſs, to ſave the property of the church, and the chaſtity of female captives, the tumult could only be appeaſed by the execution of Oreſtes [119]. His brother Paul was ſlain in an action near Ravenna; and the helpleſs Auguſtulus, who could no longer command the reſpect, was reduced to implore the clemency, of Odoacer.

Odoacer king of Italy, A. D. 476—490.

That ſucceſsful Barbarian was the ſon of Edecon; who, in ſome remarkable tranſactions, particularly deſcribed in a preceding chapter, had been the colleague of Oreſtes himſelf. The honour of an ambaſſador ſhould be exempt from ſuſpicion; and Edecon had liſtened to a conſpiracy againſt the life of his ſovereign. But this apparent guilt was expiated by his merit or repentance: his rank was eminent and conſpicuous; he enjoyed the favour of Attila; and the troops under his command, who guarded, in their turn, the royal village, conſiſted in a tribe of Scyrri, his immediate and hereditary ſubjects.

[119] See Ennodius (in Vit. Epiphan. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1669, 1670.). He adds weight to the narrative of Procopius, though we may doubt whether the devil actually contrived the ſiege of Pavia to diſtreſs the biſhop and his flock.

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In the revolt of the nations, they ſtill adhered to the Huns; and, more than twelve years afterwards, the name of Edecon is honourably mentioned, in their unequal conteſt with the Oſtrogoths; which was terminated, after two bloody battles, by the defeat and diſperſion of the Scyrri [120]. Their gallant leader, who did not ſurvive this national calamity, left two ſons, Onulf and Odoacer, to ſtruggle with adverſity, and to maintain as they might, by rapine or ſervice, the faithful followers of their exile. Onulf directed his ſteps towards Conſtantinople, where he ſullied, by the aſſaſſination of a generous beneſactor, the fame which he had acquired in arms. His brother Odoacer led a wandering life among the Barbarians of Noricum, with a mind and a fortune ſuited to the moſt deſperate adventures; and when he had fixed his choice, he piouſly viſited the cell of Severinus, the popular ſaint of the country, to ſolicit his approbation and bleſſing. The lowneſs of the door would not admit the lofty ſtature of Odoacer: he was obliged to ſtoop; but in that humble attitude the ſaint could diſcern the ſymptoms of his future greatneſs; and addreſſing him in a prophetic tone, "Purſue" (ſaid he) "your deſign; proceed to Italy; you will ſoon caſt away "this coarſe garment of ſkins; and your wealth will be adequate "to the liberality of your mind [121]." The Barbarian, whoſe daring ſpirit accepted and ratified the prediction, was admitted into the ſervice of the Weſtern empire, and ſoon obtained an honourable rank in the guards. His manners were gradually poliſhed, his military ſkill was improved,

[120] Jornandes, c. 53, 54. p. 692—695. M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. viii. p. 221—228.) has clearly explained the origin and adventures of Odoacer. I am almoſt inclined to believe, that he was the ſame who pillaged Angers, and commanded a fleet of Saxon pirates on the ocean. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 18. in tom. ii. p. 170.

[121] Vade ad Italiam, vade viliſſimus nunc pellibus coopertis: ſed multis cito plurima largiturus. Anonym. Valeſ. p. 717. He quotes the life of St. Severinus, which is extant, and contains much unknown and valuable hiſtory; it was compoſed by his diſciple Eugippius (A. D. 511), thirty years after his death. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 168—181.

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improved, and the confederates of Italy would not have elected him for their general, unleſs the exploits of Odoacer had eſtabliſhed a high opinion of his courage and capacity [122]. Their military acclamations ſaluted him with the title of king: but he abſtained, during his whole reign, from the uſe of the purple and diadem [123], leſt he ſhould offend thoſe princes, whoſe ſubjects, by their accidental mixture, had formed the victorious army, which time and policy might inſenſibly unite into a great nation.

Extinction of the Weſtern empire, A. D. 476, or A. D. 479.

Royalty was familiar to the Barbarians, and the ſubmiſſive people of Italy was prepared to obey, without a murmur, the authority which he ſhould condeſcend to exerciſe as the vicegerent of the emperor of the Weſt. But Odoacer had reſolved to aboliſh that uſeleſs and expenſive office; and ſuch is the weight of antique prejudice, that it required ſome boldneſs and penetration to diſcover the extreme facility of the enterpriſe. The unfortunate Auguſtulus was made the inſtrument of his own diſgrace: he ſignified his reſignation to the ſenate; and that aſſembly, in their laſt act of obedience to a Roman prince, ſtill affected the ſpirit of freedom, and the forms of the conſtitution. An epiſtle was addreſſed, by their unanimous decree, to the emperor Zeno, the ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor of Leo; who had lately been reſtored, after a ſhort rebellion, to the Byzantine throne. They ſolemnly "diſclaim the neceſſity, "or even the wiſh, of continuing any longer the Imperial ſuc-"ceſſion in Italy; ſince, in their opinion, the majeſty of a ſole "monarch is ſufficient to pervade and protect, at the ſame time, "both the Eaſt and the Weſt. In their own name, and in the name

[122] Theophanes, who calls him a Goth, affirms, that he was educated, nurſed (τραφεντος), in Italy (p. 102.); and as this ſtrong expreſſion will not bear a literal interpretation, it muſt be explained by long ſervice in the Imperial guards.

[123] Nomen regis Odoacer aſſumpſit, cum tamen neque purpurâ nec regalibus uteretur inſignibus. Caſſiodor. in Chron. A. D. 476. He ſeems to have aſſumed the abſtract title of a king, without applying it to any particular nation or country.

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" of the people, they conſent that the ſeat of univerſal empire ſhall " be transferred from Rome to Conſtantinople; and they baſely " renounce the right of chuſing their maſter, the only veſtige that " yet remained of the authority which had given laws to the world. " The republic (they repeat that name without a bluſh) might " ſafely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and " they humbly requeſt, that the emperor would inveſt him with the " title of Patrician, and the adminiſtration of the *dioceſe* of Italy." The deputies of the ſenate were received at Conſtantinople with ſome marks of diſpleaſure and indignation; and when they were admitted to the audience of Zeno, he ſternly reproached them with their treatment of the two emperors, Anthemius and Nepos, whom the Eaſt had ſucceſſively granted to the prayers of Italy. " The " firſt" (continued he) " you have murdered; the ſecond you have " expelled: but the ſecond is ſtill alive, and whilſt he lives he is your " lawful ſovereign." But the prudent Zeno ſoon deſerted the hopeleſs cauſe of his abdicated colleague. His vanity was gratified by the title of ſole emperor, and by the ſtatues erected to his honour in the ſeveral quarters of Rome; he entertained a friendly, though ambiguous, correſpondence with the *patrician* Odoacer; and he gratefully accepted the Imperial enſigns, the ſacred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the Barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the ſight of the people [124].

Auguſtulus is baniſhed to the Lucullan villa.

In the ſpace of twenty years ſince the death of Valentinian, nine emperors had ſucceſſively diſappeared; and the ſon of Oreſtes, a youth recommended only by his beauty, would be the leaſt entitled to the notice of poſterity, if his reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the Weſt, did not leave a me-

[124] Malchus, whoſe loſs excites our regret, has preſerved (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 93.) this extraordinary embaſſy from the ſenate to Zeno. The anonymous fragment (p. 717.), and the extract from Candidus (apud Phot. p. 176.), are likewiſe of ſome uſe.

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morable Æra in the history of mankind[125]. The patrician Orestes had married the daughter of count *Romulus*, of Petovio, in Noricum: the name of *Augustus*, notwithstanding the jealousy of power, was known at Aquileia as a familiar surname; and the appellations of the two great founders, of the city, and of the monarchy, were thus strangely united in the last of their successors[126]. The son of Orestes assumed and disgraced the names of Romulus Augustus; but the first was corrupted into Momyllus, by the Greeks, and the second has been changed by the Latins into the contemptible diminutive Augustulus. The life of this inoffensive youth was spared by the generous clemency of Odoacer; who dismissed him, with his whole family, from the Imperial palace, fixed his annual allowance at six thousand pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of Lucullus, in Campania, for the place of his exile or retirement[127]. As soon as the Romans breathed from the toils of the Punic war, they were attracted by the beauties and the pleasures of Campania; and the country-house of the elder Scipio at Liternum, exhibited a lasting model of their rustic simplicity[128]. The delicious shores of the bay

[125] The precise year in which the Western empire was extinguished, is not positively ascertained. The vulgar æra of A. D. 476, *appears* to have the sanction of authentic chronicles. But the two dates assigned by Jornandes (c. 46. p. 680.), would delay that great event to the year 479: and though M. de Buat has overlooked *his* evidence, he produces (tom. viii. p. 261—288.) many collateral circumstances in support of the same opinion.

[126] See his medals in Ducange (Fam. Byzantin. p. 81.), Priscus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 56.). Maffei Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 314. We may allege a famous and similar case. The meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the *illustrious* name of *Patricius*, which, by the conversion of Ireland, has been communicated to a whole nation.

[127] Ingrediens autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cujus infantiam miscrtus concessit ei sanguinem; et quia pulcher erat, tamen donavit ei reditum sex millia solidos, et misit eum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Anonym. Valesi. p. 716. Jornandes says (c. 46. p. 680.), in Lucullano Campaniæ castello exilii pœna damnavit.

[128] See the eloquent declamation of Seneca (epist. lxxxvi.). The philosopher might have recollected, that all luxury is relative; and that the elder Scipio, whose manners were polished by study and conversation, was himself accused of that vice by his ruder contemporaries (Livy, xxix. 19.).

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of Naples were crowded with villas; and Sylla applauded the masterly ſkill of his rival, who had ſeated himſelf on the lofty promontory of Miſenum, that commands, on every ſide, the ſea and land, as far as the boundaries of the horizon[129]. The villa of Marius was purchaſed, within a few years, by Lucullus, and the price had increaſed from two thouſand five hundred, to more than fourſcore thouſand, pounds ſterling[130]. It was adorned by the new proprietor with Grecian arts, and Aſiatic treaſures; and the houſes and gardens of Lucullus obtained a diſtinguiſhed rank in the liſt of Imperial palaces[131]. When the Vandals became formidable to the ſea-coaſt, the Lucullan villa, on the promontory of Miſenum, gradually aſſumed the ſtrength and appellation of a ſtrong caſtle, the obſcure retreat of the laſt emperor of the Weſt. About twenty years after that great revolution, it was converted into a church and monaſtery, to receive the bones of St. Severinus. They ſecurely repoſed, amidſt the broken trophies of Cimbric and Armenian victories, till the beginning of the tenth century; when the fortifications, which might afford a dangerous ſhelter to the Saracens, were demoliſhed by the people of Naples[132].

[129] Sylla, in the language of a ſoldier, praiſed his *peritia caſtrametandi* (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xviii. 7.). Phædrus, who makes its ſhady walks *(læta viridia)* the ſcene of an inſipid fable (ii. 5.), has thus deſcribed the ſituation:

Cæſar Tiberius quam petens Neapolim,
In Miſenenſem villam veniſſet ſuam;
Quæ monte ſummo poſita Luculli manu
Proſpectat Siculum et proſpicit Tuſcum mare.

[130] From ſeven myriads and a half to two hundred and fifty myriads of drachmæ. Yet even in the poſſeſſion of Marius, it was a luxurious retirement. The Romans derided his indolence: they ſoon bewailed his activity. See Plutarch, in Mario, tom. ii. p. 524.

[131] Lucullus had other villas of equal, though various, magnificence, at Baiæ, Naples, Tuſculum, &c. He boaſted that he changed his climate with the ſtorks and cranes. Plutarch, in Lucull. tom. iii. p. 193.

[132] Severinus died in Noricum, A. D. 482. Six years afterwards, his body, which ſcattered miracles as it paſſed, was tranſported by his diſciples into Italy. The devotion of a Neapolitan lady invited the ſaint to the Lucullan villa, in the place of Auguſtulus, who was probably no more. See Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 496, N° 50, 51.) and Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 178—181.), from the original life by Eugipius. The narrative of the laſt migration of Severinus to Naples, is likewiſe an authentic piece.

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Decay of the Roman ſpirit.

Odoacer was the firſt Barbarian who reigned in Italy, over a people who had once aſſerted their juſt ſuperiority above the reſt of mankind. The diſgrace of the Romans ſtill excites our reſpectful compaſſion, and we fondly ſympathiſe with the imaginary grief and indignation of their degenerate poſterity. But the calamities of Italy had gradually ſubdued the proud conſciouſneſs of freedom and glory. In the age of Roman virtue, the provinces were ſubject to the arms, and the citizens to the laws, of the republic; till thoſe laws were ſubverted by civil diſcord, and both the city and the provinces became the ſervile property of a tyrant. The forms of the conſtitution, which alleviated or diſguiſed their abject ſlavery, were aboliſhed by time and violence; the Italians alternately lamented the preſence or the abſence of the ſovereigns, whom they deteſted or deſpiſed; and the ſucceſſion of five centuries inflicted the various evils of military licence, capricious deſpotiſm, and elaborate oppreſſion. During the ſame period, the Barbarians had emerged from obſcurity and contempt, and the warriors of Germany and Scythia were introduced into the provinces, as the ſervants, the allies, and at length the maſters, of the Romans, whom they inſulted or protected. The hatred of the people was ſuppreſſed by fear; they reſpected the ſpirit and ſplendour of the martial chiefs who were inveſted with the honours of the empire; and the fate of Rome had long depended on the ſword of thoſe formidable ſtrangers. The ſtern Ricimer, who trampled on the ruins of Italy, had exerciſed the power, without aſſuming the title, of a king; and the patient Romans were inſenſibly prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his Barbaric ſucceſſors.

Character and reign of Odoacer, A. D. 476—490.

The King of Italy was not unworthy of the high ſtation to which his valour and fortune had exalted him: his ſavage manners were poliſhed by the habits of converſation; and he reſpected, though a conqueror and a Barbarian, the inſtitutions, and even the prejudices,

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of his ſubjects. After an interval of ſeven years, Odoacer reſtored the conſulſhip of the Weſt. For himſelf, he modeſtly, or proudly, declined an honour which was ſtill accepted by the emperors of the Eaſt; but the curule chair was ſucceſſively filled by eleven of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators[133]; and the liſt is adorned by the reſpectable name of Baſilius, whoſe virtues claimed the friendſhip and grateful applauſe of Sidonius, his client[134]. The laws of the emperors were ſtrictly enforced, and the civil adminiſtration of Italy was ſtill exerciſed by the Prætorian præfect, and his ſubordinate officers. Odoacer devolved on the Roman magiſtrates the odious and oppreſſive taſk of collecting the public revenue; but he reſerved for himſelf the merit of ſeaſonable and popular indulgence[135]. Like the reſt of the Barbarians, he had been inſtructed in the Arian hereſy; but he revered the monaſtic and epiſcopal characters; and the ſilence of the Catholics atteſts the toleration which they enjoyed. The peace of the city required the interpoſition of his præfect Baſilius, in the choice of a Roman pontiff: the decree which reſtrained the clergy from alienating their lands, was ultimately deſigned for the benefit of the people, whoſe devotion would have been taxed to repair the dilapidations of the church[136]. Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were reſpected by the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had ſo long inſulted the feeble race of

[133] The conſular Faſti may be found in Pagi or Muratori. The conſuls named by Odoacer, or perhaps by the Roman ſenate, appear to have been acknowledged in the Eaſtern empire.

[134] Sidonius Apollinaris (l. i. epiſt. 9. p. 22. edit. Sirmond) has compared the two leading ſenators of his time (A. D. 468), Gennadius Avienus, and Cæcina Baſilius. To the former he aſſigns the ſpecious, to the latter the ſolid, virtues of public and private life. A Baſilius junior, poſſibly his ſon, was conſul in the year 480.

[135] Epiphanius interceded for the people of Pavia; and the king firſt granted an indulgence of five years, and afterwards relieved them from the oppreſſion of Pelagius, the Prætorian præfect (Ennodius, in Vit. St. Epiphan. in Sirmond Oper. tom. i. p. 1670. 1672.).

[136] See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 483, N° 10—15. Sixteen years afterwards, the irregular proceedings of Baſilius were condemned by pope Symmachus in a Roman ſynod.

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Theodoſius. Odoacer paſſed the Hadriatic, to chaſtiſe the aſſaſſins of the emperor Nepos, and to acquire the maritime province of Dalmatia. He paſſed the Alps, to reſcue the remains of Noricum from Fava, or Feletheus, king of the Rugians, who held his reſidence beyond the Danube. The king was vanquiſhed in battle, and led away priſoner; a numerous colony of captives and ſubjects was tranſplanted into Italy; and Rome, after a long period of defeat and diſgrace, might claim the triumph of her Barbarian maſter[137].

Miſerable ſtate of Italy.

Notwithſtanding the prudence and ſucceſs of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the ſad proſpect of miſery and deſolation. Since the age of Tiberius, the decay of agriculture had been felt in Italy; and it was a juſt ſubject of complaint, that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves[138]. In the diviſion and the decline of the empire, the tributary harveſts of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn; the numbers of the inhabitants continually diminiſhed with the means of ſubſiſtence; and the country was exhauſted by the irretrievable loſſes of war, famine[139], and peſtilence. St. Ambroſe has deplored the ruin of a populous diſtrict, which had been once adorned with the flouriſhing cities of Bologna, Modena, Regium, and Placentia[140]. Pope Gelaſius was a ſubject of Odoacer; and he affirms, with ſtrong exaggeration, that in Æmilia, Tuſcany, and the adjacent provinces, the human ſpecies

[137] The wars of Odoacer are conciſely mentioned by Paul the Deacon (de Geſt. Langobard. l. i. c. 19. p. 757. edit. Grot.), and in the two Chronicles of Caſſiodorius and Cuſpinian. The life of St. Severinus, by Eugipius, which the count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples, &c. tom. viii. c. 1. 4. 8, 9.) has diligently ſtudied, illuſtrates the ruin of Noricum and the Bavarian antiquities.

[138] Tacit. Annal. iii. 53. The Recherches ſur l'Adminiſtration des Terres chez les Romains (p. 351—361.) clearly ſtate the progreſs of internal decay.

[139] A famine, which afflicted Italy at the time of the irruption of Odoacer, king of the Heruli, is eloquently deſcribed in proſe and verſe, by a French poet (Les Mois, tom. ii. p. 174. 206. edit. in 12mo.). I am ignorant from whence he derives his information; but I am well aſſured that he relates ſome facts incompatible with the truth of hiſtory.

[140] See the xxxixth epiſtle of St. Ambroſe, as it is quoted by Muratori, ſopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. i. Diſſert. xxi. p. 354.

was almoſt extirpated [141]. The plebeians of Rome, who were fed by the hand of their maſter, periſhed or diſappeared, as ſoon as his liberality was ſuppreſſed; the decline of the arts reduced the induſtrious mechanic to idleneſs and want; and the ſenators, who might ſupport with patience the ruin of their country, bewailed their private loſs of wealth and luxury. One-third of thoſe ample eſtates, to which the ruin of Italy is originally imputed [142], was extorted for the uſe of the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by inſults; the ſenſe of actual ſufferings was embittered by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands were allotted to new ſwarms of Barbarians, each ſenator was apprehenſive leſt the arbitrary ſurveyors ſhould approach his favourite villa, or his moſt profitable farm. The leaſt unfortunate were thoſe who ſubmitted without a murmur to the power which it was impoſſible to reſiſt. Since they deſired to live, they owed ſome gratitude to the tyrant who had ſpared their lives; and ſince he was the abſolute maſter of their fortunes, the portion which he left muſt be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift [143]. The diſtreſs of Italy was mitigated by the prudence and humanity of Odoacer, who had bound himſelf, at the price of his elevation, to ſatisfy the demands of a licentious and turbulent multitude. The kings of the Barbarians were frequently reſiſted, depoſed, or murdered, by their *native* ſubjects; and the various bands of Italian mercenaries, who aſſociated under the ſtandard of an elective general, claimed a larger privilege of freedom and rapine.

[141] Æmilia, Tuſcia, ceteræque provinciæ in quibus hominum prope nullus exſiſtit. Gelaſius, Epiſt. ad Andromachum, ap. Baronium, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 496, N° 36.

[142] Verumque confitentibus, latifundia perdidere Italiam. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xviii. 7.

[143] Such are the topics of conſolation, or rather of patience, which Cicero (ad Familiares, l. ix. epiſt. 17.) ſuggeſts to his friend Papirius Pætus, under the military deſpotiſm of Cæſar. The argument, however, of "vivere pulcherrimum duxi," is more forcibly addreſſed to a Roman philoſopher, who poſſeſſed the free alternative of life or death.

A monarchy

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A monarchy deſtitute of national union, and hereditary right, haſtened to its diſſolution. After a reign of fourteen years, Odoacer was oppreſſed by the ſuperior genius of Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths; a hero alike excellent in the arts of war and of government, who reſtored an age of peace and proſperity, and whoſe name ſtill excites and deſerves the attention of mankind.

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Origin, Progreſs, and Effects of the Monaſtic Life.—Converſion of the Barbarians to Chriſtianity and Arianiſm.—Perſecution of the Vandals in Africa.—Extinction of Arianiſm among the Barbarians.

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THE indiſſoluble connection of civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs, has compelled and encouraged me to relate the progreſs, the perſecutions, the eſtabliſhment, the diviſions, the final triumph, and the gradual corruption, of Chriſtianity. I have purpoſely delayed the conſideration of two religious events, intereſting in the ſtudy of human nature, and important in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. I. The inſtitution of the monaſtic life [1]; and, II. The converſion of the northern Barbarians.

I. THE MONASTIC LIFE. Origin of the monks.

I. Proſperity and peace introduced the diſtinction of the *vulgar* and the *Aſcetic Chriſtians* [2]. The looſe and imperfect practice of religion ſatisfied the conſcience of the multitude. The prince or ma-

[1] The origin of the monaſtic inſtitution has been laboriouſly diſcuſſed by Thomaſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1419—1426.) and Helyot (Hiſt. des Ordres Monaſtiques, tom. i. p. 1—66.). Theſe authors are very learned and tolerably honeſt, and their difference of opinion ſhews the ſubject in its full extent. Yet the cautious Proteſtant, who diſtruſts *any* popiſh guides, may conſult the ſeventh book of Bingham's Chriſtian Antiquities.

[2] See Euſeb. Demonſtrat. Evangel. (l. i. p. 20, 21. edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris, 1545.) In his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, publiſhed twelve years after the Demonſtration, Euſebius (l. ii. c. 17.) aſſerts the Chriſtianity of the Therapeutæ; but he appears ignorant, that a ſimilar inſtitution was actually revived in Egypt.

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giſtrate, the ſoldier or merchant, reconciled their fervent zeal, and implicit faith, with the exerciſe of their profeſſion, the purſuit of their intereſt, and the indulgence of their paſſions: but the Aſcetics, who obeyed and abuſed the rigid precepts of the goſpel, were inſpired by the ſavage enthuſiaſm, which repreſents man as a criminal, and God as a tyrant. They ſeriouſly renounced the buſineſs, and the pleaſures, of the age; abjured the uſe of wine, of fleſh, and of marriage; chaſtiſed their body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of miſery, as the price of eternal happineſs. In the reign of Conſtantine, the Aſcetics fled from a profane and degenerate world, to perpetual ſolitude, or religious ſociety. Like the firſt Chriſtians of Jeruſalem [3], they reſigned the uſe, or the property, of their temporal poſſeſſions; eſtabliſhed regular communities of the ſame ſex, and a ſimilar diſpoſition; and aſſumed the names of *Hermits*, *Monks*, and *Anachorets*, expreſſive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial deſert. They ſoon acquired the reſpect of the world, which they deſpiſed; and the loudeſt applauſe was beſtowed on this DIVINE PHILOSOPHY [4], which ſurpaſſed, without the aid of ſcience or reaſon, the laborious virtues of the Grecian ſchools. The monks might indeed contend with the Stoics, in the contempt of fortune, of pain, and of death: the Pythagorean ſilence and ſubmiſſion were revived in their ſervile diſcipline; and they diſdained, as firmly as the Cynics themſelves, all the forms and decencies of civil ſociety. But the votaries of this Divine Philoſophy aſpired to imitate a purer and more perfect model. They trod in the footſteps of the

[3] Caſſian (Collat. xviii. 5.) claims this origin for the inſtitution of the *Cœnobites*, which gradually decayed till it was reſtored by Antony and his diſciples.

[4] Ωφελιμωτατον γαρ τι χρημα εις ανθρωπους ελθουσα παρα Θεου η τοιαυτη φιλοσοφια. Theſe are the expreſſive words of Sozomen, who copiouſly and agreeably deſcribes (l. i. c. 12, 13, 14.) the origin and progreſs of this monkiſh philoſophy (ſee Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. tom. ii. p. 1441.). Some modern writers, Lipſius (tom. iv. p. 448. Manuduct. ad Philoſ. Stoic. iii. 13.), and La Mothe le Vayer (tom. ix. de la Vertû des Payens, p. 228—262.), have compared the Carmelites to the Pythagoreans, and the Cynics to the Capuchins.

prophets,

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prophets, who had retired to the deſert[5]; and they reſtored the devout and contemplative life, which had been inſtituted by the Eſſenians, in Paleſtine and Egypt. The philoſophic eye of Pliny had ſurveyed with aſtoniſhment a ſolitary people, who dwelt among the palm-trees near the Dead Sea; who ſubſiſted without money; who were propagated without women; and who derived from the diſguſt and repentance of mankind, a perpetual ſupply of voluntary aſſociates[6].

Antony and the monks of Egypt, A. D. 305.

Egypt, the fruitful parent of ſuperſtition, afforded the firſt example of the monaſtic life. Antony[7], an illiterate[8] youth of the lower parts of Thebais, diſtributed his patrimony[9], deſerted his family and native home, and executed his *monaſtic* penance with original and intrepid fanaticiſm. After a long and painful noviciate,

[5] The Carmelites derive their pedigree, in regular ſucceſſion, from the prophet Elijah (ſee the Theſes of Beziers, A. D. 1682. in Bayle's Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Oeuvres, tom. i. p. 82, &c. and the prolix irony of the Ordres Monaſtiques, an anonymous work, tom. i. p. 1—433. Berlin, 1751.). Rome and the inquiſition of Spain, ſilenced the profane criticiſm of the Jeſuits of Flanders (Helyot, Hiſt. des Ordres Monaſtiques, tom. i. p. 282—300.), and the ſtatue of Elijah, the Carmelite, has been erected in the church of St. Peter (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. iii. p. 87.).

[6] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. v. 15. Gens ſola, et in toto orbe præter ceteras mira, ſine ullâ feminâ, omni venere abdicatâ, ſine pecuniâ, ſocia palmarum. Ita per ſeculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna eſt in quâ nemo naſcitur. Tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia eſt. He places them juſt beyond the noxious influence of the lake, and names Engaddi and Maſada as the neareſt towns. The Laura, and monaſtery of St. Sabas, could not be far diſtant from this place. See Reland. Paleſtin. tom. i. p. 295. tom. ii. p. 763. 874. 880. 890.

[7] See Athanaſ. Op. tom. ii. p. 450—505. and the Vit. Patrum, p. 26—74. with Roſweyde's Annotations. The former is the Greek original; the latter, a very ancient Latin verſion by Evagrius, the friend of St. Jerom.

[8] Γραμματα μεν μαθειν ουκ ηνεσχετο. Athanaſ. tom. ii. in Vit. St. Anton. p. 452.; and the aſſertion of his total ignorance has been received by many of the ancients and moderns. But Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 666.) ſhews, by ſome probable arguments, that Antony could read and write in the Coptic his native tongue; and that he was only a ſtranger to the *Greek letters*. The philoſopher Syneſius (p. 51.) acknowledges, that the natural genius of Antony did not require the aid of learning.

[9] *Aruræ* autem erant ei trecentæ uberes, et valde optimæ (Vit. Patr. l. i. p. 36.). If the *Arura* be a ſquare meaſure of an hundred Egyptian cubits (Roſweyde, Onomaſticon ad Vit. Patrum, p. 1014, 1015.); and the Egyptian cubit of all ages be equal to twenty-two Engliſh inches (Greaves, vol. i. p. 233.), the arura will conſiſt of about three quarters of an Engliſh acre.

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among the tombs, and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the deſert three days journey to the eaſtward of the Nile; diſcovered a lonely ſpot, which poſſeſſed the advantages of ſhade and water, and fixed his laſt reſidence on mount Colzim near the Red Sea; where an ancient monaſtery ſtill preſerves the name and memory of the ſaint [10]. The curious devotion of the Chriſtians purſued him to the deſert; and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he ſupported his fame with diſcretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendſhip of Athanaſius, whoſe doctrine he approved; and the Egyptian peaſant reſpectfully declined a reſpectful invitation from the emperor Conſtantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one hundred and five years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his leſſons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increaſe on the ſands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the ſouth of Alexandria, the mountain, and adjacent deſert, of Nitria, were peopled by five thouſand anachorets; and the traveller may ſtill inveſtigate the ruins of fifty monaſteries which were planted in that barren ſoil, by the diſciples of Antony [11]. In the Upper Thebais, the vacant Iſland of Tabenne [12] was occupied by Pachomius, and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot ſucceſſively founded nine monaſteries of men, and

A. D. 251—356.

[10] The deſcription of the monaſtery is given by Jerom (tom. i. p. 248, 249. in Vit. Hilarion.), and the P. Sicard (Miſſions du Levant, tom. v. p. 122—200.). Their accounts cannot always be reconciled; the Father painted from his fancy, and the Jeſuit from his experience.

[11] Jerom, tom. i. p. 146. ad Euſtochium. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 7. in Vit. Patrum, p. 712. The P. Sicard (Miſſions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 29—79.) viſited, and has deſcribed, this deſert, which now contains four monaſteries, and twenty or thirty monks. See D'Anville, Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 74.

[12] Tabenne is a ſmall iſland in the Nile, in the dioceſe of Tentyra or Dendera, between the modern town of Girge and the ruins of ancient Thebes (D'Anville, p. 194.). M. de Tillemont doubts whether it was an iſle; but I may conclude, from his own facts, that the primitive name was afterwards tranſferred to the great monaſtery of Bau or Pabau (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 678. 688.).

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one of women; and the feſtival of Eaſter ſometimes collected fifty thouſand religious perſons, who followed his *angelic* rule of diſcipline [13]. The ſtately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the ſeat of Chriſtian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uſes; and the biſhop, who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thouſand females, and twenty thouſand males, of the monaſtic profeſſion [14]. The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were diſpoſed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people [15]; and poſterity might repeat the ſaying which had formerly been applied to the ſacred animals of the ſame country, That, in Egypt, it was leſs difficult to find a god, than a man.

Propagation of the monaſtic life at Rome, A. D. 341.

Athanaſius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monaſtic life; and a ſchool of this new philoſophy was opened by the diſciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threſhold of the Vatican. The ſtrange and ſavage appearance of theſe Egyptians excited, at firſt, horror and contempt, and, at length, applauſe and zealous imitation. The ſenators, and more eſpecially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houſes; and the narrow inſtitution of *ſix* Veſtals, was eclipſed by the frequent monaſteries, which were ſeated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midſt of the Roman Forum [16]. Inflamed by the

[13] See in the Codex Regularum (publiſhed by Lucas Holſtenius, Rome, 1661.) a preface of St. Jerom to his Latin verſion of the Rule of Pachomius, tom. i. p. 61.

[14] Rufin. c. 5. in Vit. Patrum, p. 459. He calls it, civitas ampla valde et populoſa, and reckons twelve churches. Strabo (l. xvii. p. 1166.), and Ammianus (xxii. 16.), have made honourable mention of Oxyrinchus, whoſe inhabitants adored a ſmall fiſh in a magnificent temple.

[15] Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tanta pæne habentur in deſertis multitudines monachorum. Rufin. c. 7. in Vit Patrum, p. 461. He congratulates the fortunate change.

[16] The introduction of the monaſtic life into Rome and Italy, is occaſionally mentioned by Jerom (tom. i. p. 119, 120. 199.).

example

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Hilarion in Paleſtine, A. D. 328.

example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whoſe name was Hilarion [17], fixed his dreary abode on a ſandy beach, between the ſea and a moraſs, about ſeven miles from Gaza. The auſtere penance, in which he perſiſted forty-eight years, diffuſed a ſimilar enthuſiaſm; and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thouſand anachorets, whenever he viſited the innumerable monaſteries of Paleſtine.

Baſil in Pontus, A. D. 360.

The fame of Baſil [18] is immortal in the monaſtic hiſtory of the Eaſt. With a mind that had taſted the learning and eloquence of Athens; with an ambition, ſcarcely to be ſatisfied by the archbiſhopric of Cæſarea, Baſil retired to a ſavage ſolitude in Pontus; and deigned, for a while, to give laws to the ſpiritual colonies which he profuſely ſcattered along the coaſt of the Black Sea.

Martin in Gaul, A. D. 370.

In the Weſt, Martin of Tours [19], a ſoldier, an hermit, a biſhop, and a ſaint, eſtabliſhed the monaſteries of Gaul; two thouſand of his diſciples followed him to the grave: and his eloquent hiſtorian challenges the deſerts of Thebais to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progreſs of the monks was not leſs rapid, or univerſal, than that of Chriſtianity itſelf. Every province, and, at laſt, every city, of the empire, was filled with their increaſing multitudes: and the bleak and barren iſles, from Lerins to Lipari, that ariſe out of the Tuſcan ſea, were choſen by the anachorets, for the place of their voluntary exile. An eaſy and perpetual intercourſe by ſea and land connected the provinces of

[17] See the Life of Hilarion, by St. Jerom (tom i. p. 241. 252.) The ſtories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, by the ſame author, are admirably told: and the only defect of theſe pleaſing compoſitions is the want of truth and common ſenſe.

[18] His original retreat was in a ſmall village on the banks of the Iris, not far from Neo-Cæſarea. The ten or twelve years of his monaſtic life were diſturbed by long and frequent avocations. Some critics have diſputed the authenticity of his Aſcetic rules; but the external evidence is weighty, and they can only prove, that it is the work of a real or affected enthuſiaſt. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 636—644. Helyot, Hiſt. des Ordres Monaſtiques, tom. i. p. 175—181.

[19] See his Life and the Three Dialogues by Sulpicius Severus, who aſſerts (Dialog. i. 16.), that the bookſellers of Rome were delighted with the quick and ready ſale of his popular work.

the

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the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion diſplays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Paleſtine might traverſe Egypt, embark for Sicily, eſcape to Epirus, and finally ſettle in the iſland of Cyprus [20]. The Latin Chriſtians embraced the religious inſtitutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who viſited Jeruſalem, eagerly copied, in the moſt diſtant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monaſtic life. The diſciples of Antony ſpread themſelves beyond the tropic over the Chriſtian empire of Æthiopia [21]. The monaſtery of Banchor [22], in Flintſhire, which contained above two thouſand brethren, diſperſed a numerous colony among the Barbarians of Ireland [23]; and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Iriſh monks, diffuſed over the northern regions a doubtful ray of ſcience and ſuperſtition [24].

Cauſes of its rapid progreſs.

Theſe unhappy exiles from ſocial life, were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of ſuperſtition. Their mutual reſolution was ſupported by the example of millions, of either ſex, of every age, and of every rank; and each proſelyte, who entered the gates of a monaſtery, was perſuaded, that he trod the ſteep and thorny path of

[20] When Hilarion ſailed from Parætonium to Cape Pachynus, he offered to pay his paſſage with a book of the Goſpels. Poſthumian, a Gallic monk, who had viſited Egypt, found a merchant-ſhip bound from Alexandria to Marſeilles, and performed the voyage in thirty days (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i. 1.). Athanaſius, who addreſſed his Life of St. Antony to the foreign monks, was obliged to haſten the compoſition, that it might be ready for the ſailing of the fleets (tom ii. p. 451.).

[21] See Jerom (tom. i. p. 126.), Aſſemanni, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 92. p. 857–919. and Geddes, Church Hiſtory of Æthiopia, p. 29, 30, 31. The Habyſſinian monks adhere very ſtrictly to the primitive inſtitution.

[22] Camden's Britannia, vol. i. p. 666, 667.

[23] All that learning can extract from the rubbiſh of the dark ages is copiouſly ſtated by archbiſhop Uſher, in his Britannicarum Eccleſiarum Antiquitates, cap. xvi. p. 425—503.

[24] This ſmall, though not barren, ſpot, Iona, Hy, or Columbkill, only two miles in length, and one mile in breadth, has been diſtinguiſhed, 1. By the monaſtery of St. Columba, founded A. D. 566; whoſe abbot exerciſed an extraordinary juriſdiction over the biſhops of Caledonia. 2. By a *claſſic* library, which afforded ſome hopes of an entire Livy; and 3. By the tombs of ſixty kings, Scots, Iriſh, and Norwegians; who repoſed in holy ground. See Uſher (p. 311. 360—370.) and Buchanan (Rer. Scot. l. ii. p. 15. edit. Ruddiman).

eternal

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eternal happineſs [25]. But the operation of theſe religious motives was variouſly determined by the temper and ſituation of mankind. Reaſon might ſubdue, or paſſion might ſuſpend, their influence: but they acted moſt forcibly on the infirm minds of children and females; they were ſtrengthened by ſecret remorſe, or accidental misfortune; and they might derive ſome aid from the temporal conſiderations of vanity or intereſt. It was naturally ſuppoſed, that the pious and humble monks, who had renounced the world, to accompliſh the work of their ſalvation, were the beſt qualified for the ſpiritual government of the Chriſtians. The reluctant hermit was torn from his cell, and ſeated, amidſt the acclamations of the people, on the epiſcopal throne: the monaſteries of Egypt, of Gaul, and of the Eaſt, ſupplied a regular ſucceſſion of ſaints and biſhops; and ambition ſoon diſcovered the ſecret road which led to the poſſeſſion of wealth and honours [26]. The popular monks, whoſe reputation was connected with the fame and ſucceſs of the order, aſſiduouſly laboured to multiply the number of their fellow-captives. They inſinuated themſelves into noble and opulent families; and the ſpecious arts of flattery and ſeduction were employed to ſecure thoſe proſelytes, who might beſtow wealth or dignity on the monaſtic profeſſion. The indignant father bewailed the loſs, perhaps of an only ſon [27]; the credulous maid was betrayed by vanity to violate

[25] Chryſoſtom (in the firſt tome of the Benedictine edition) has conſecrated three books to the praiſe and defence of the monaſtic life. He is encouraged by the example of the ark, to preſume, that none but the elect (the monks) can poſſibly be ſaved (l. i. p. 55, 56.). Elſewhere indeed he becomes more merciful (l. iii. p. 83, 84.), and allows different degrees of glory like the ſun, moon, and ſtars. In his lively compariſon of a king and a monk (l. iii. p. 116–121.), he ſuppoſes (what is hardly fair) that the king will be more ſparingly rewarded, and more rigorouſly puniſhed.

[26] Thomaſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1426—1469.), and Mabillon (Oeuvres Poſthumes, tom. ii. p. 115—158.). The monks were gradually adopted as a part of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy.

[27] Dr. Middleton (vol. i. p. 110.) liberally cenſures the conduct and writings of Chryſoſtom, one of the moſt eloquent and ſucceſsful advocates for the monaſtic life.

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the laws of nature; and the matron aſpired to imaginary perfection, by renouncing the virtues of domeſtic life. Paula yielded to the perſuaſive eloquence of Jerom [28]; and the profane title of mother-in-law of God [29], tempted that illuſtrious widow to conſecrate the virginity of her daughter Euſtochium. By the advice, and in the company, of her ſpiritual guide, Paula abandoned Rome and her infant ſon; retired to the holy village of Bethlem; founded an hoſpital and four monaſteries; and acquired, by her alms and pennance, an eminent and conſpicuous ſtation in the catholic church. Such rare and illuſtrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of their age; but the monaſteries were filled by a crowd of obſcure and abject plebeians [30], who gained in the cloyſter much more than they had ſacrificed in the world. Peaſants, ſlaves, and mechanics, might eſcape from poverty and contempt, to a ſafe and honourable profeſſion; whoſe apparent hardſhips were mitigated by cuſtom, by popular applauſe, and by the ſecret relaxation of diſcipline [31]. The ſubjects of Rome, whoſe perſons and fortunes were made reſponſible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppreſſion of the Imperial government; and the puſillanimous youth preferred the pennance of a monaſtic, to the dangers of a military, life. The

[28] Jerom's devout ladies form a very conſiderable portion of his works: the particular treatiſe, which he ſtyles the Epitaph of Paula (tom. i. p. 169—192.), is an elaborate and extravagant panegyric. The exordium is ridiculouſly turgid: "If all the members "of my body were changed into tongues, and "if all my limbs reſounded with a human "voice, yet ſhould I be incapable, &c."

[29] Socrus Dei eſſe cœpiſti (Jerom. tom. i. p. 140. ad Euſtochium). Rufinus (in Hieronym. Op. tom. iv. p. 223.), who was juſtly ſcandalized, aſks his adverſary, From what Pagan poet he had ſtolen an expreſſion ſo impious and abſurd?

[30] Nunc autem veniunt *plerumque* ad hanc profeſſionem ſervitutis Dei, et ex conditione ſervili, vel etiam liberati, vel propter hoc a Dominis liberati ſive liberandi; et ex vitâ ruſticanâ, et ex opificum exercitatione, et plebeio labore. Auguſtin. de Oper. Monach. c. 22. ap. Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. iii. p. 1094. The Egyptian, who blamed Arſenius, owned that he led a more comfortable life as a monk, than as a ſhepherd. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 679.

[31] A Domincan friar (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. i. p. 10.), who lodged at Cadiz in a convent of his brethren, ſoon underſtood, that their repoſe was never interrupted by nocturnal devotion; "quoiqu'on ne laiſſe pas "de ſonner pour l'edification du peuple."

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affrighted provincials of every rank, who fled before the Barbarians, found ſhelter and ſubſiſtence; whole legions were buried in theſe religious ſanctuaries; and the ſame cauſe, which relieved the diſtreſs of individuals, impaired the ſtrength and fortitude of the empire [31].

Obedience of the monks.

The monaſtic profeſſion of the ancients [32] was an act of voluntary devotion. The inconſtant fanatic was threatened with the eternal vengeance of the God whom he deſerted: but the doors of the monaſtery were ſtill open for repentance. Thoſe monks, whoſe conſcience was fortified by reaſon or paſſion, were at liberty to reſume the character of men and citizens; and even the ſpouſes of Chriſt might accept the legal embraces of an earthly lover [33]. The examples of ſcandal, and the progreſs of ſuperſtition, ſuggeſted the propriety of more forcible reſtraints. After a ſufficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was ſecured by a ſolemn and perpetual vow; and his irrevocable engagement was ratified by the laws of the church and ſtate. A guilty fugitive was purſued, arreſted, and reſtored to his perpetual priſon; and the interpoſition of the magiſtrate oppreſſed the freedom and merit, which had alleviated, in ſome degree, the abject ſlavery of the monaſtic diſcipline [34]. The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by an inflexible rule [35], or a capricious

[31] See a very ſenſible preface of Lucas Holſtenius to the Codex Regularum. The emperors attempted to ſupport the obligation of public and private duties; but the feeble dykes were ſwept away by the torrent of ſuperſtition: and Juſtinian ſurpaſſed the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of the monks (Thomaſſin, tom. i. p. 1782—1799, and Bingham, l. vii. c. 3. p. 253.).

[32] The monaſtic inſtitutions, particularly thoſe of Egypt, about the year 400, are deſcribed by four curious and devout travellers; Ruſinus (Vit. Patrum, l. ii. iii. p. 424—536.), Poſthumian (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i.), Palladius (Hiſt. Lauſiac. in Vit. Patrum, p. 709—863.), and Caſſian (ſee in tom. vii. Bibliothec. Max. Patrum, his four firſt books of Inſtitutes, and the twenty-four Collations or Conferences).

[33] The example of Malchus (Jerom. tom. i. p. 256.), and the deſign of Caſſian and his friend (Collation xxiv. 1.), are inconteſtable proofs of their freedom; which is elegantly deſcribed by Braſmus in his Life of St. Jerom. See Chardon, Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. vi. p. 279—300.

[34] See the Laws of Juſtinian (Novel. cxxiii. N° 42.), and of Lewis the Pious (in the Hiſtorians of France, tom. vi. p. 427.), and the actual juriſprudence of France, in Deniſſart (Deciſions, &c. tom. iv. p. 855, &c.).

[35] The ancient Codex Regularum, collected by Benedict Anianinus, the reformer of

capricious ſuperior: the ſlighteſt offences were corrected by diſgrace or confinement, extraordinary faſts or bloody flagellation; and diſobedience, murmur, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the moſt heinous ſins[36]. A blind ſubmiſſion to the commands of the abbot, however abſurd, or even criminal they might ſeem, was the ruling principle, the firſt virtue of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exerciſed by the moſt extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; aſſiduouſly to water a barren ſtaff, that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it ſhould vegetate and bloſſom like a tree; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to caſt their infant into a deep pond: and ſeveral ſaints, or madmen, have been immortalized in monaſtic ſtory, by their thoughtleſs, and fearleſs, obedience[37]. The freedom of the mind, the ſource of every generous and rational ſentiment, was deſtroyed by the habits of credulity and ſubmiſſion; and the monk, contracting the vices of a ſlave, devoutly followed the faith and paſſions of his eccleſiaſtical tyrant. The peace of the Eaſtern church was invaded by a ſwarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reaſon, or humanity; and the Imperial troops acknowledged, without ſhame,

of the monks in the beginning of the ninth century, and publiſhed in the ſeventeenth, by Lucas Holſtenius, contains thirty different rules for men and women. Of theſe, ſeven were compoſed in Egypt, one in the Eaſt, one in Cappadocia, one in Italy, one in Africa, four in Spain, eight in Gaul, or France, and one in England.

[36] The rule of Columbanus, ſo prevalent in the Weſt, inflicts one hundred laſhes for very ſlight offences (Cod. Reg. part ii. p. 174.). Before the time of Charlemagne, the abbots indulged themſelves in mutilating their monks, or putting out their eyes; a puniſhment much leſs cruel than the tremendous *vade in pace* (the ſubterraneous dungeon, or ſepulchre), which was afterwards invented. See an admirable diſcourſe of the learned Mabillon (Oeuvres Poſthumes, tom. ii. p. 321—336.); who, on this occaſion, ſeems to be inſpired by the genius of humanity. For ſuch an effort, I can forgive his defence of the holy tear of Vendome (p. 361—399.).

[37] Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i. 12, 13. p. 532, &c. Caſſian, Inſtitut. l. iv. c. 26, 27. "Præcipua ibi virtus et prima eſt obedientia." Among the Verba ſeniorum (in Vit. Patrum, l. v. p. 617.), the fourteenth libel or diſcourſe is on the ſubject of obedience; and the Jeſuit Roſweyde, who publiſhed that huge volume for the uſe of convents, has collected all the ſcattered paſſages in his two copious indexes.

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that they were much leſs apprehenſive of an encounter with the fierceſt Barbarians [38].

Their dreſs and habitations.

Superſtition has often framed and conſecrated the fantaſtic garments of the monks [39]: but their apparent ſingularity ſometimes proceeds from their uniform attachment to a ſimple and primitive model, which the revolutions of faſhion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind. The father of the Benedictines expreſsly diſclaims all idea of choice, or merit; and ſoberly exhorts his diſciples to adopt the coarſe and convenient dreſs of the countries which they may inhabit [40]. The monaſtic habits of the ancients varied with the climate, and their mode of life; and they aſſumed, with the ſame indifference, the ſheep-ſkin of the Egyptian peaſants, or the cloak of the Grecian philoſophers. They allowed themſelves the uſe of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domeſtic manufacture; but in the Weſt, they rejected ſuch an expenſive article of foreign luxury [41]. It was the practice of the monks either to cut or ſhave their hair; they wrapped their heads in a cowl, to eſcape the ſight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their ſlow and feeble ſteps were ſupported by a long ſtaff. The aſpect of a genuine anachoret was horrid and diſguſting; every ſenſation that is offenſive to man, was thought acceptable to God; and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the ſalutary cuſtom of bathing the limbs in water, and of anointing them with oil [42].

[38] Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 161.) has obſerved the ſcandalous valour of the Cappadocian monks, which was exemplified in the baniſhment of Chryſoſtom.

[39] Caſſian has ſimply, though copiouſly, deſcribed the monaſtic habit of Egypt (Inſtitut. l. i.), to which Sozomen (l. iii. c. 14.) attributes ſuch allegorical meaning and virtue.

[40] Regul. Benedict. N° 55. in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 51.

[41] See the Rule of Ferreolus, biſhop of Uſez (N 31. in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 136.), and of Iſidore, biſhop of Seville (N° 13. in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 214.).

[42] Some partial indulgences were granted for the hands and feet. "Totum autem "corpus nemo unguet niſi cauſâ infirmitatis, "nec lavabitur aquâ nudo corpore, niſi lan"guor perſpicuus ſit." (Regul. Pachom. xcii. part i. p. 78.)

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The auſtere monks ſlept on the ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the ſame bundle of palm-leaves ſerved them as a ſeat in the day, and a pillow in the night. Their original cells were low narrow huts, built of the ſlighteſt materials; which formed, by the regular diſtribution of the ſtreets, a large and populous village, incloſing, within the common wall, a church, an hoſpital, perhaps a library, ſome neceſſary offices, a garden, and a fountain or reſervoir of freſh water. Thirty or forty brethren compoſed a family of ſeparate diſcipline and diet; and the great monaſteries of Egypt conſiſted of thirty or forty families.

Their diet.

Pleaſure and guilt are ſynonymous terms in the language of the monks; and they had diſcovered, by experience, that rigid faſts, and abſtemious diet, are the moſt effectual preſervatives againſt the impure deſires of the fleſh[43]. The rules of abſtinence, which they impoſed, or practiſed, were not uniform or perpetual: the cheerful feſtival of the Pentecoſt was balanced by the extraordinary mortification of Lent; the fervour of new monaſteries was inſenſibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient, and temperate, virtue of the Egyptians[44]. The diſciples of Anthony and Pachomius were ſatisfied with their daily pittance[45],

[43] St. Jerom, in ſtrong, but indiſcreet, language, expreſſes the moſt important uſe of faſting and abſtinence: "Non quod Deus "univerſitatis Creator et Dominus, inteſti-"norum noſtrorum rugitû, et inanitate ven-"tris, pulmoniſque ardore delectetur, ſed "quod aliter pudicitia tuta eſſe non poſſit." (Op. tom. i. p. 137. ad Euſtochium.) See the twelfth and twenty-ſecond Collations of Caſſian, *de Caſtitate*, and *de Illuſionibus Nocturnis*.

[44] Edacitas in Græcis gula eſt, in Gallis natura (Dialog. i. c. 4. p. 521.). Caſſian fairly owns, that the perfect model of abſtinence cannot be imitated in Gaul, on account of the aerum temperies, and the qualitas noſtræ fragilitatis (Inſtitut. iv. 11.). Among the weſtern rules, that of Columbanus is the moſt auſtere; he had been educated amidſt the poverty of Ireland, as rigid perhaps, and inflexible, as the abſtemious virtue of Egypt. The Rule of Iſidore of Seville is the mildeſt: on holidays he allows the uſe of fleſh.

[45] "Thoſe who drink only water, and "have no nutritious liquor, ought, at leaſt, "to have a pound and a half (*twenty-four "ounces*) of bread every day." State of Priſons, p. 40. by Mr. Howard.

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of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biſcuit [46], which they divided into two frugal repaſts, of the afternoon, and of the evening. It was eſteemed a merit, and almoſt a duty, to abſtain from the boiled vegetables, which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot ſometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheeſe, fruit, ſallad, and the ſmall dried fiſh of the Nile [47]. A more ample latitude of ſea and river fiſh was gradually allowed or aſſumed: but the uſe of fleſh was long confined to the ſick or travellers; and when it gradually prevailed in the leſs rigid monaſteries of Europe, a ſingular diſtinction was introduced; as if birds, whether wild or domeſtic, had been leſs profane than the groſſer animals of the field. Water was the pure and innocent beverage of the primitive monks; and the founder of the Benedictines regrets the daily portion of half a pint of wine, which had been extorted from him by the intemperance of the age [48]. Such an allowance might be eaſily ſupplied by the vineyards of Italy; and his victorious diſciples, who paſſed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic, required, in the place of wine, an adequate compenſation of ſtrong beer or cyder.

Their manual labour.

The candidate who aſpired to the virtue of evangelical poverty, abjured, at his firſt entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all ſeparate, or excluſive, poſſeſſion [49]. The brethren

[46] See Caſſian. Collat. l. ii. 19, 20, 21. The ſmall loaves, or biſcuit, of ſix ounces each, had obtained the name of *Paximacia* (Roſweyde, Onomaſticon, p. 1045.). Pachomius, however, allowed his monks ſome latitude in the quantity of their food; but he made them work in proportion as they eat (Pallad. in Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 38, 39. in Vit. Patrum, l. viii. p. 736, 737.).

[47] See the banquet to which Caſſian (Collation viii. 1.) was invited by Serenus, an Egyptian abbot.

[48] See the Rule of St. Benedict, N° 39, 40. (in Cod. Reg. part ii. p. 41, 42.) Licet legamus vinum omnino monachorum non eſſe, ſed quia noſtris temporibus id monachis perſuaderi non poteſt; he allows them a Roman *hemina*, a meaſure which may be aſcertained from Arbuthnot's Tables.

[49] Such expreſſions, as *my* book, *my* cloak, *my* ſhoes (Caſſian. Inſtitut. l. iv. c. 13.), were not leſs ſeverely prohibited among the Weſtern monks (Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 174. 235. 288.); and the Rule of Columbanus puniſhed them with ſix laſhes. The ironical author of the *Ordres Monaſtiques*, who laughs at

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brethren were supported by their manual labour; and the duty of labour was strenuously recommended as a pennance, as an exercise, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subsistence[50]. The garden, and fields, which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the morass, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed, without reluctance, the menial offices of slaves and domestics; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utensils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to darken, rather than to dispel, the cloud of superstition. Yet the curiosity or zeal of some learned solitaries has cultivated the ecclesiastical, and even the profane, sciences: and posterity must gratefully acknowledge, that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens[51]. But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contented with the silent, sedentary, occupation, of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock, which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied, by trade, the wants of the community: the boats of Tabenne, and the other monasteries of Thebais, descended the Nile as far as Alexandria; and, in a Christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

at the foolish nicety of modern convents, seems ignorant that the ancients were equally absurd.

[50] Two great masters of ecclesiastical science, the P. Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 1090–1139.), and the P. Mabillon (Etudes Monastiques, tom. i. p. 116–155.), have seriously examined the manual labour of the monks, which the former considers as a *merit*, and the latter as a *duty*.

[51] Mabillon (Etudes Monastiques, tom. i. p. 47–55.) has collected many curious facts to justify the literary labours of his predecessors, both in the East and West. Books were copied in the ancient monasteries of Egypt (Cassian. Institut. l. iv. c. 12.), and by the disciples of St. Martin (Sulp. Sever. in Vit. Martin. c. 7. p. 473.). Cassiodorius has allowed an ample scope for the studies of the monks; and *we* shall not be scandalized, if their pen sometimes wandered from Chrysostom and Augustin, to Homer and Virgil.

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Their riches.

But the neceſſity of manual labour was inſenſibly ſuperſeded. The novice was tempted to beſtow his fortune on the ſaints, in whoſe ſociety he was reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life; and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their uſe, any future acceſſions of legacy or inheritance [52]. Melania contributed her plate, three hundred pounds weight of ſilver; and Paula contracted an immenſe debt, for the relief of their favourite monks; who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and pennance to a rich and liberal ſinner [53]. Time continually increaſed, and accidents could ſeldom diminiſh, the eſtates of the popular monaſteries, which ſpread over the adjacent country and cities: and, in the firſt century of their inſtitution, the infidel Zoſimus has maliciouſly obſerved, that for the benefit of the poor, the Chriſtian monks had reduced a great part of mankind to a ſtate of beggary [54]. As long as they maintained their original fervour, they approved themſelves, however, the faithful and benevolent ſtewards of the charity, which was entruſted to their care. But their diſcipline was corrupted by proſperity: they gradually aſſumed the pride of wealth, and at laſt indulged the luxury of expence. Their public luxury might be excuſed by the magnificence of religious worſhip, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal ſociety. But every age of the church has accuſed the licentiouſneſs of the degenerate monks; who no longer remembered the object of their inſtitution,

[52] Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. iii. p. 118. 145, 146. 171—179.) has examined the revolution of the civil, canon, and common law. Modern France confirms the death which monks have inflicted on themſelves, and juſtly deprives them of all right of inheritance.

[53] See Jerom, tom. i. p. 176. 183. The monk Pambo made a ſublime anſwer to Melania, who wiſhed to ſpecify the value of her gift: "Do you offer it to me, or to God? "If to God, HE who ſuſpends the mountains in a balance, need not be informed "of the weight of your plate." (Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 10. in the Vit. Patrum, l. viii. p. 715.)

[54] Το πολυ μερος της γης ωκειωσαντο, προφασει των μεταδιδοναι παντα πτωχοις παντας (ως εἰπειν) πτωχους κατασησαντες. Zoſim. l. v. p. 325. Yet the wealth of the Eaſtern monks was far ſurpaſſed by the princely greatneſs of the Benedictines.

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embraced the vain and ſenſual pleaſures of the world, which they had renounced [55], and ſcandalouſly abuſed the riches which had been acquired by the auſtere virtues of their founders [56]. Their natural deſcent, from ſuch painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vices of humanity, will not, perhaps, excite much grief or indignation in the mind of a philoſopher.

Their ſolitude.

The lives of the primitive monks were conſumed in pennance and ſolitude; undiſturbed by the various occupations which fill the time, and exerciſe the faculties, of reaſonable, active, and ſocial beings. Whenever they were permitted to ſtep beyond the precincts of the monaſtery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and ſpies of each other's actions; and, after their return, they were condemned to forget, or, at leaſt, to ſuppreſs, whatever they had ſeen or heard in the world. Strangers, who profeſſed the orthodox faith, were hoſpitably entertained in a ſeparate apartment; but their dangerous converſation was reſtricted to ſome choſen elders of approved diſcretion and fidelity. Except in their preſence, the monaſtic ſlave might not receive the viſits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious, if he afflicted a tender ſiſter, or an aged parent, by the obſtinate refuſal of a word or look [57]. The monks themſelves paſſed their lives, without perſonal attachments, among a crowd, which had been formed by accident, and was detained, in the ſame priſon, by force or prejudice. Recluſe fanatics have few ideas or

[55] The ſixth general council (the Quiniſext in Trullo, canon xlvii. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 213.) reſtrains women from paſſing the night in a male, or men in a female, monaſtery. The ſeventh general council (the ſecond Nicene, canon xx. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 325.) prohibits the erection of double or promiſcuous monaſteries of both ſexes; but it appears from Balſamon, that the prohibition was not effectual. On the irregular pleaſures and expences of the clergy and *monks*, ſee Thomaſſin, tom. iii. p. 1334—1368.

[56] I have ſomewhere heard or read the frank confeſſion of a Benedictine abbot: "My vow of poverty has given me an hundred thouſand crowns a year; my vow of obedience has raiſed me to the rank of a ſovereign prince."—I forget the conſequences of his vow of chaſtity.

[57] Pior, an Egyptian monk, allowed his ſiſter to ſee him; but he ſhut his eyes during the whole viſit. See Vit. Patrum, l. iii. p. 504. Many ſuch examples might be added.

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ſentiments to communicate: a ſpecial licence of the abbot regulated the time and duration of their familiar viſits; and, at their ſilent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inacceſſible, and almoſt inviſible, to each other [58]. Study is the reſource of ſolitude: but education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal ſtudies the mechanics and peaſants, who filled the monaſtic communities. They might work: but the vanity of ſpiritual perfection was tempted to diſdain the exerciſe of manual labour; and the induſtry muſt be faint and languid, which is not excited by the ſenſe of perſonal intereſt.

Their devotion and viſions.

According to their faith and zeal, they might employ the day, which they paſſed in their cells, either in vocal or mental prayer: they aſſembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worſhip of the monaſtery. The preciſe moment was determined by the ſtars, which are ſeldom clouded in the ſerene ſky of Egypt; and a ruſtic horn, or trumpet, the ſignal of devotion, twice interrupted the vaſt ſilence of the deſert [59]. Even ſleep, the laſt refuge of the unhappy, was rigorouſly meaſured: the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without buſineſs or pleaſure; and, before the cloſe of each day, he had repeatedly accuſed the tedious progreſs of the Sun [60]. In this comfortleſs ſtate, ſuperſtition ſtill purſued and tormented her wretched votaries [61]. The repoſe which they had ſought in the cloiſter was

[58] The 7th, 8th, 29th, 30th, 31ſt, 34th, 57th, 60th, 86th, and 95th articles of the Rule of Pachomius, impoſe moſt intolerable *laws* of ſilence and mortification.

[59] The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are copiouſly diſcuſſed by Caſſian, in the third and fourth books of his Inſtitutions; and he conſtantly prefers the liturgy, which an angel had dictated to the monaſteries of Tabenne.

[60] Caſſian, from his own experience, deſcribes the *acedia*, or liſtleſſneſs of mind and body, to which a monk was expoſed, when he ſighed to find himſelf alone. Sæpiuſque egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et Solem velut ad occaſum tardius properantem crebrius intuetur (Inſtitut. x. 1.).

[61] The temptations and ſufferings of Stagirius were communicated by that unfortunate youth to his friend St. Chryſoſtom. See Middleton's Works, vol. i. p. 107—110. Something ſimilar introduces the life of every ſaint; and the famous Inigo, or Ignatius, the founder of the Jeſuits (Vie d'Inigo de Guipoſcoa, tom. i. p. 29—38.), may ſerve as a memorable example.

diſturbed

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disturbed by tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires; and, while they considered each natural impulse as an unpardonable sin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of disease and despair, these unhappy victims were sometimes relieved by madness or death; and, in the sixth century, an hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the austere penitents, who were deprived of their senses [62]. Their visions, before they attained this extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy, have afforded ample materials of supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion, that the air, which they breathed, was peopled with invisible enemies; with innumerable dæmons, who watched every occasion, and assumed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of distempered fanaticism; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary slumber, might easily confound the phantoms of horror or delight, which had occupied his sleeping and his waking dreams [63].

The monks were divided into two classes: the *Cœnobites*, who lived under a common, and regular, discipline; and the *Anachorets*, who indulged their unsocial, independent, fanaticism [64]. The most devout, or the most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren, renounced

The Cœnobites and Anachorets.

[62] Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiastique, tom. vii. p. 46. I have read somewhere, in the Vitæ Patrum, but I cannot recover the place, that *several*, I believe *many*, of the monks, who did not reveal their temptations to the abbot, became guilty of suicide.

[63] See the seventh and eighth Collations of Cassian, who gravely examines, why the dæmons were grown less active and numerous, since the time of St. Antony. Rosweyde's copious index to the Vitæ Patrum will point out a variety of infernal scenes. The devils were most formidable in a female shape.

[64] For the distinction of the *Cœnobites* and the *Hermits*, especially in Egypt, see Jerom (tom. i. p. 45. ad Rusticum), the first Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus (c. 22. in Vit. Patrum, l. ii. p. 478.), Palladius (c. 7. 69. in Vit. Patrum, l. viii. p. 712. 758.), and above all, the eighteenth and nineteenth Collations of Cassian. These writers, who compare the common, and solitary, life, reveal the abuse and danger of the latter.

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the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Paleſtine, and Syria, were ſurrounded by a *Laura* [65], a diſtant circle of ſolitary cells; and the extravagant pennance of the Hermits was ſtimulated by applauſe and emulation [66]. They ſunk under the painful weight of croſſes and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves, of maſſy, and rigid, iron. All ſuperfluous incumbrance of dreſs they contemptuouſly caſt away; and ſome ſavage ſaints of both ſexes have been admired, whoſe naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aſpired to reduce themſelves to the rude and miſerable ſtate in which the human brute is ſcarcely diſtinguiſhed above his kindred animals: and a numerous ſect of Anachorets derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Meſopotamia with the common herd [67]. They often uſurped the den of ſome wild beaſt whom they affected to reſemble; they buried themſelves in ſome gloomy cavern, which art or nature had ſcooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are ſtill inſcribed with the monuments of their pennance [68]. The moſt perfect Hermits are ſuppoſed to have paſſed many days without food, many nights without ſleep, and many years without ſpeaking; and glorious was the *man* (I abuſe that name) who contrived any cell, or ſeat, of a peculiar conſtruction, which might expoſe him, in the moſt inconvenient poſture, to the inclemency of the ſeaſons.

[65] Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſiaſt. tom. ii. p. 205. 218. Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1501, 1502.) gives a good account of theſe cells. When Geraſimus founded his monaſtery, in the wilderneſs of Jordan, it was accompanied by a Laura of ſeventy cells.

[66] Theodoret, in a large volume (the Philotheus, in Vit. Patrum, l. ix. p. 793—863.), has collected the lives and miracles of thirty Anachorets. Evagrius (l. i. c. 12.) more briefly celebrates the monks and hermits of Paleſtine.

[67] Sozomen, l. vi. c. 33. The great St. Ephrem compoſed a Panegyric on theſe βοσκοι, or grazing monks (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 292.).

[68] The P. Sicard (Miſſions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 217—233.) examined the caverns of the Lower Thebais, with wonder and devotion. The inſcriptions are in the old Syriac character, which was uſed by the Chriſtians of Habyſſinia.

Among

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Simeon Stylites, A. D. 395—451.

Among these heroes of the monastic life, the name and genius of Simeon Stylites [69] have been immortalised by the singular invention of an aerial pennance. At the age of thirteen, the young Syrian deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful noviciate, in which Simeon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain, about thirty or forty miles to the East of Antioch. Within the space of a *mandara*, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was successively raised from the height of nine, to that of sixty, feet from the ground [70]. In this last, and lofty, station, the Syrian Anachoret resisted the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his out-stretched arms, in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet: and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh [71] might shorten, but it could not disturb, this *celestial* life; and the patient Hermit expired, without descending from his column. A prince, who should capriciously inflict such tortures, would be deemed a tyrant; but it would surpass the power of

[69] See Theodoret (in Vit. Patrum, l. ix. p. 848—854.), Antony (in Vit. Patrum, l. i. p. 170—177.), Cosmas in Asseman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 239—253.), Evagrius (l. i. c. 13, 14.), and Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. xv. p. 347—392.).

[70] The narrow circumference of two cubits, or three feet, which Evagrius assigns for the summit of the column, is inconsistent with reason, with facts, and with the rules of architecture. The people who saw it from below might be easily deceived.

[71] I must not conceal a piece of ancient scandal concerning the origin of this ulcer. It has been reported that the Devil, assuming an angelic form, invited him to ascend, like Elijah, into a fiery chariot. The saint too hastily raised his foot, and Satan seized the moment of inflicting this chastisement on his vanity.

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a tyrant, to impoſe a long and miſerable exiſtence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom muſt have gradually deſtroyed the ſenſibility both of the mind and body; nor can it be preſumed that the fanatics, who torment themſelves, are ſuſceptible of any lively affection for the reſt of mankind. A cruel unfeeling temper has diſtinguiſhed the monks of every age and country: their ſtern indifference, which is ſeldom mollified by perſonal friendſhip, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their mercileſs zeal has ſtrenuouſly adminiſtered the holy office of the Inquiſition.

Miracles and worſhip of the monks.

The monaſtic ſaints, who excite only the contempt and pity of a philoſopher, were reſpected, and almoſt adored, by the prince and people. Succeſſive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India ſaluted the divine pillar of Simeon: the tribes of Saracens diſputed in arms the honour of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Perſia gratefully confeſſed his ſupernatural virtue; and the angelic Hermit was conſulted by the younger Theodoſius, in the moſt important concerns of the church and ſtate. His remains were tranſported from the mountain of Teleniſſa, by a ſolemn proceſſion of the patriarch, the maſter-general of the Eaſt, ſix biſhops, twenty-one counts or tribunes, and ſix thouſand ſoldiers; and Antioch revered his bones, as her glorious ornament and impregnable defence. The fame of the apoſtles and martyrs was gradually eclipſed by theſe recent and popular Anachorets; the Chriſtian world fell proſtrate before their ſhrines; and the miracles aſcribed to their relics exceeded, at leaſt in number and duration, the ſpiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives [72] was embelliſhed by the artful cre-

[72] I know not how to ſelect or ſpecify the miracles contained in the *Vitæ Patrum* of Roſweyde, as the number very much exceeds the thouſand pages of that voluminous work. An elegant ſpecimen may be found in the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, and his life of St. Martin. He reveres the monks of Egypt; yet he inſults them with the remark, that *they* never raiſed the dead; whereas the biſhop of Tours had reſtored *three* dead men to life.

dulity

dulity of their intereſted brethren; and a believing age was eaſily perſuaded, that the ſlighteſt caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk, had been ſufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the univerſe. The favourites of Heaven were accuſtomed to cure inveterate diſeaſes with a touch, a word, or a diſtant meſſage; and to expel the moſt obſtinate dæmons from the ſouls, or bodies, which they poſſeſſed. They familiarly accoſted, or imperiouſly commanded, the lions and ſerpents of the deſert; infuſed vegetation into a ſapleſs trunk; ſuſpended iron on the ſurface of the water; paſſed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreſhed themſelves in a fiery furnace. Theſe extravagant tales, which diſplay the fiction, without the genius, of poetry, have ſeriouſly affected the reaſon, the faith, and the morals, of the Chriſtians. Their credulity debaſed and vitiated the faculties of the mind: they corrupted the evidence of hiſtory; and ſuperſtition gradually extinguiſhed the hoſtile light of philoſophy and ſcience. Every mode of religious worſhip which had been practiſed by the ſaints, every myſterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the ſanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppreſſed by the ſervile and puſillanimous reign of the monks. If it be poſſible to meaſure the interval, between the philoſophic writings of Cicero and the ſacred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accompliſhed in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.

Superſtition of the age.

II. The progreſs of Chriſtianity has been marked by two glorious and deciſive victories: over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire; and over the warlike Barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who ſubverted the empire, and embraced the religion, of the Romans. The Goths were the foremoſt of theſe ſavage proſelytes; and the nation was indebted for its converſion to a countryman, or, at leaſt, to a ſubject, worthy to be ranked among the inventors

II. Converſion of the Barbarians.

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inventors of useful arts, who have deserved the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. A great number of Roman provincials had been led away into captivity by the Gothic bands, who ravaged Asia in the time of Gallienus: and of these captives, many were Christians, and several belonged to the ecclesiastical order. Those involuntary missionaries, dispersed as slaves in the villages of Dacia, successively laboured for the salvation of their masters. The seeds, which they planted of the evangelic doctrine, were gradually propagated; and, before the end of a century, the pious work was atchieved by the labours of Ulphilas, whose ancestors had been transported beyond the Danube from a small town of Cappadocia.

Ulphilas, apostle of the Goths, A. D. 360, &c.

Ulphilas, the bishop and apostle of the Goths[73], acquired their love and reverence by his blameless life and indefatigable zeal; and they received, with implicit confidence, the doctrines of truth and virtue, which he preached and practised. He executed the arduous task of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue, a dialect of the German, or Teutonic, language; but he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the Barbarians. The rude, imperfect, idiom of soldiers and shepherds, so ill qualified to communicate any spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated by his genius; and Ulphilas, before he could frame his version, was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters; four of which he invented, to express the peculiar sounds that were unknown to the Greek, and Latin, pronunciation[74]. But the prosperous state of the Gothic

[73] On the subject of Ulphilas, and the conversion of the Goths, see Sozomen, l. vi. c. 37. Socrates, l. iv. c. 33. Theodoret, l. iv. c. 37. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 5. The heresy of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information.

[74] A mutilated copy of the four Gospels, in the Gothic version, was published A. D. 1665, and is esteemed the most ancient monument of the Teutonic language, though Wetstein attempts, by some frivolous conjectures, to deprive Ulphilas of the honour of the work. Two of the four additional letters express the *W*, and our own *Th*. See Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, tom. ii. p. 219—223. *Mill*, Prolegom. p. 151. edit. Kuster. Wetstein, Prolegom. tom. i. p. 114.

church

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church was soon afflicted by war and intestine discord, and the chieftains were divided by religion as well as by interest. Fritigern, the friend of the Romans, became the proselyte of Ulphilas; while the haughty soul of Athanaric disdained the yoke of the empire, and of the Gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the persecution which he excited. A waggon, bearing aloft the shapeless image, of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in solemn procession through the streets of the camp; and the rebels, who refused to worship the God of their fathers, were immediately burnt, with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the Eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace; he pleaded the cause of the distressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of *Moses* was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people, through the deep waters of the Danube, to the Land of Promise [75]. The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person, and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in their settlement, at the foot of the Mæsian mountains, in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These harmless Barbarians multiplied, in obscure peace, and the profession of Christianity [76].

The Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, &c. embrace Christianity, A. D. 400, &c.

Their fiercer brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse, of war, of friendship, or of conquest. In their long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean,

[75] Philostorgius erroneously places this passage under the reign of Constantine; but I am much inclined to believe that it preceded the great emigration.

[76] We are obliged to Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 51. p. 688.) for a short and lively picture of these lesser Goths. Gothi Minores, populus immensus, cum suo Pontifice ipsoque primate Wulfila. The last words, if they are not mere tautology, imply some temporal jurisdiction.

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they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Thoulouse, might edify, or disgrace, the palaces of Rome and Constantinople [77]. During the same period, Christianity was embraced by almost all the Barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of mercenaries, that raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy. The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of Paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxon conquerors of Britain were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missionaries of Rome. These Barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent and successful zeal in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the Othos, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelic light was gradually diffused from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic [78].

Motives of their faith.

The different motives which influenced the reason, or the passions, of the Barbarian converts, cannot easily be ascertained. They were often capricious and accidental; a dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest, or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and, above all, the fortunate event of a prayer, or vow, which, in a moment of danger, they had addressed to the God of the Christians [79]. The early prejudices of education were insen-

[77] At non ita Gothi non ita Vandali; malis licet doctoribus instituti, meliores tamen etiam in hâc parte quam nostri. Salvian de Gubern. Dei, l. vii. p. 243.

[78] Mosheim has slightly sketched the progress of Christianity in the North, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. The subject would afford materials for an ecclesiastical, and even philosophical, history.

[79] To such a cause has Socrates (l. vii. c. 30.) ascribed the conversion of the Burgundians, whose Christian piety is celebrated by Orosius (l. vii. c. 19.).

sibly

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ſibly erazed by the habits of frequent and familiar ſociety; the moral precepts of the Goſpel were protected by the extravagant virtues of the monks; and a ſpiritual theology was ſupported by the viſible power of relics, and the pomp of religious worſhip. But the rational and ingenious mode of perſuaſion, which a Saxon biſhop [80] ſuggeſted to a popular ſaint, might ſometimes be employed by the miſſionaries, who laboured for the converſion of infidels. "Admit," ſays the ſagacious diſputant, "whatever they are pleaſed to aſſert of the fabu-"lous, and carnal, genealogy of their gods and goddeſſes, who are "propagated from each other. From this principle deduce their "imperfect nature, and human infirmities, the aſſurance they were "*born*, and the probability that they will *die*. At what time, by "what means, from what cauſe, were the eldeſt of the gods or god-"deſſes produced? Do they ſtill continue, or have they ceaſed, to "propagate? If they have ceaſed, ſummon your antagoniſts to de-"clare the reaſon of this ſtrange alteration. If they ſtill continue, "the number of the gods muſt become infinite; and ſhall we not "riſk, by the indiſcreet worſhip of ſome impotent deity, to excite "the reſentment of his jealous ſuperior? The viſible heavens and "earth, the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe, which may be conceived "by the mind, is it created or eternal? If created, how, or where, "could the gods themſelves exiſt before the creation? If eternal, "how could they aſſume the empire of an independent and pre-"exiſting world? Urge theſe arguments with temper and modera-"tion; inſinuate, at ſeaſonable intervals, the truth, and beauty, of "the Chriſtian revelation; and endeavour to make the unbelievers "aſhamed, without making them angry." This metaphyſical rea-ſoning, too refined perhaps for the Barbarians of Germany, was for-

[80] See an original and curious epiſtle from Daniel, the firſt biſhop of Wincheſter (Beda, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Anglorum, l. v. c. 18. p. 203. edit. Smith), to St. Boniface, who preached the Goſpel among the Savages of Heſſe and Thuringia. Epiſtol. Bonifacii, lxvii. in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xiii. p. 93.

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tified by the groſſer weight of authority and popular conſent. The advantage of temporal proſperity had deſerted the Pagan cauſe, and paſſed over to the ſervice of Chriſtianity. The Romans themſelves, the moſt powerful and enlightened nation of the globe, had renounced their ancient ſuperſtition; and, if the ruin of their empire ſeemed to accuſe the efficacy of the new faith, the diſgrace was already retrieved by the converſion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and fortunate Barbarians, who ſubdued the provinces of the Weſt, ſucceſſively received, and reflected, the ſame edifying example. Before the age of Charlemagne, the Chriſtian nations of Europe might exult in the excluſive poſſeſſion of the temperate climates, of the fertile lands, which produced corn, wine, and oil; while the ſavage idolaters, and their helpleſs idols, were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the North [81].

Effects of their converſion.

Chriſtianity, which opened the gates of Heaven to the Barbarians, introduced an important change in their moral and political condition. They received, at the ſame time, the uſe of letters, ſo eſſential to a religion whoſe doctrines are contained in a ſacred book; and while they ſtudied the divine truth, their minds were inſenſibly enlarged by the diſtant view of hiſtory, of nature, of the arts, and of ſociety. The verſion of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which had facilitated their converſion, muſt excite, among their clergy, ſome curioſity to read the original text, to underſtand the ſacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of eccleſiaſtical tradition. Theſe ſpiritual gifts were preſerved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the ineſtimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, Cicero, and Livy, which were acceſſible to the

[81] The ſword of Charlemagne added weight to the argument; but when Daniel wrote this epiſtle (A. D. 723), the Mahometans, who reigned from India to Spain, might have retorted it againſt the Chriſtians.

Chriſtian

Chriſtian Barbarians, maintained a ſilent intercourſe between the reign of Auguſtus, and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne. The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect ſtate; and the flame of ſcience was ſecretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the mature age of the Weſtern world. In the moſt corrupt ſtate of Chriſtianity, the Barbarians might learn juſtice from the *law*, and mercy from the *goſpel:* and if the knowledge of their duty was inſufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their paſſions, they were ſometimes reſtrained by conſcience, and frequently puniſhed by remorſe. But the direct authority of religion was leſs effectual, than the holy communion which united them with their Chriſtian brethren in ſpiritual friendſhip. The influence of theſe ſentiments contributed to ſecure their fidelity in the ſervice, or the alliance, of the Romans, to alleviate the horrors of war, to moderate the inſolence of conqueſt, and to preſerve in the downfall of the empire, a permanent reſpect for the name and inſtitutions of Rome. In the days of Paganiſm, the prieſts of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and controlled the juriſdiction of the magiſtrates; and the zealous proſelytes transferred an equal, or more ample, meaſure of devout obedience, to the pontiffs of the Chriſtian faith. The ſacred character of the biſhops was ſupported by their temporal poſſeſſions; they obtained an honourable ſeat in the legiſlative aſſemblies of ſoldiers and freemen; and it was their intereſt, as well as their duty, to mollify, by peaceful counſels, the fierce ſpirit of the Barbarians. The perpetual correſpondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jeruſalem, and the growing authority of the Popes, cemented the union of the Chriſtian republic; and gradually produced the ſimilar manners, and common juriſprudence, which have diſtinguiſhed, from the reſt of mankind, the independent, and even hoſtile, nations of modern Europe.

But

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They are involved in the Arian hereſy.

But the operation of theſe cauſes was checked and retarded by the unfortunate accident, which infuſed a deadly poiſon into the cup of Salvation. Whatever might be the early ſentiments of Ulphilas, his connections with the empire and the church were formed during the reign of Arianiſm. The apoſtle of the Goths ſubſcribed the creed of Rimini; profeſſed with freedom, and perhaps with ſincerity, that the SON was not equal, or conſubſtantial, to the FATHER [82]; communicated theſe errors to the clergy and people; and infected the Barbaric world with an hereſy [83], which the great Theodoſius proſcribed and extinguiſhed among the Romans. The temper and underſtanding of the new proſelytes were not adapted to metaphyſical ſubtleties; but they ſtrenuouſly maintained, what they had piouſly received, as the pure and genuine doctrines of Chriſtianity. The advantage of preaching and expounding the Scriptures in the Teutonic language, promoted the apoſtolic labours of Ulphilas, and his ſucceſſors; and they ordained a competent number of biſhops and preſbyters, for the inſtruction of the kindred tribes. The Oſtrogoths, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Vandals, who had liſtened to the eloquence of the Latin clergy [84], preferred the more intelligible leſſons of their domeſtic teachers; and Arianiſm was adopted as the national faith of the warlike converts, who were

[82] The opinions of Ulphilas and the Goths inclined to Semi-Arianiſm, ſince they would not ſay that the Son was a *creature*, though they held communion with thoſe who maintained that hereſy. Their apoſtle repreſented the whole controverſy as a queſtion of trifling moment, which had been raiſed by the paſſions of the clergy. Theodoret, l. iv. c. 37.

[83] The Arianiſm of the Goths has been imputed to the emperor Valens: "Itaque "juſto Dei judicio ipſi eum vivum incende-"runt, qui propter eum etiam mortui, vitio "erroris arſuri ſunt." Oroſius, l. vii. c. 33. p. 554. This cruel ſentence is confirmed by Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 604—610.), who coolly obſerves, "un ſeul "homme entraina dans l'enfer un nombre in-"fini de Septentrionaux," &c. Salvian (de Gubern. Dei, l. v. p. 150, 151.) pities and excuſes their involuntary error.

[84] Oroſius affirms, in the year 416 (l. vii. c. 41. p. 580.), that the churches of Chriſt (of the Catholics) were filled with Huns, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians.

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ſeated on the ruins of the Weſtern empire. This irreconcilable difference of religion was a perpetual ſource of jealouſy and hatred; and the reproach of *Barbarian* was embittered by the more odious epithet of *Heretic*. The heroes of the North, who had ſubmitted, with ſome reluctance, to believe that all their anceſtors were in Hell[85], were aſtoniſhed and exaſperated to learn, that they themſelves had only changed the mode of their eternal condemnation. Inſtead of the ſmooth applauſe, which Chriſtian kings are accuſtomed to expect from their loyal prelates, the orthodox biſhops and their clergy were in a ſtate of oppoſition to the Arian courts; and their indiſcreet oppoſition frequently became criminal, and might ſometimes be dangerous[86]. The pulpit, that ſafe and ſacred organ of ſedition, reſounded with the names of Pharaoh and Holofernes[87]; the public diſcontent was inflamed by the hope or promiſe of a glorious deliverance; and the ſeditious ſaints were tempted to promote the accompliſhment of their own predictions. Notwithſtanding theſe provocations, the Catholics of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, enjoyed, under the reign of the Arians, the free, and peaceful, exerciſe of their religion. Their haughty maſters reſpected the zeal of a numerous people, reſolved to die at the foot of their altars; and the example of their devout conſtancy was admired and imitated by the Barbarians themſelves. The conquerors evaded, however, the diſgraceful reproach, or confeſſion, of fear, by attributing their toleration to the liberal motives of reaſon and humanity; and while they affected the language, they imperceptibly imbibed the ſpirit, of genuine Chriſtianity.

General toleration.

[85] Radbod, king of the Friſons, was ſo much ſcandalized by this raſh declaration of a miſſionary, that he drew back his foot after he had entered the baptiſmal font. See Fleury Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 167.

[86] The Epiſtles of Sidonius, biſhop of Clermont, under the Viſigoths, and of Avitus, biſhop of Vienna, under the Burgundians, explain, ſometimes in dark hints, the general diſpoſitions of the Catholics. The hiſtory of Clovis and Theodoric will ſuggeſt ſome particular facts.

[87] Genſeric confeſſed the reſemblance, by the ſeverity with which he puniſhed ſuch indiſcreet alluſions. Victor Vitenſis, l. 7. p. 10.

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Arian perſecution of the Vandals.

The peace of the church was ſometimes interrupted. The Catholics were indiſcreet, the Barbarians were impatient; and the partial acts of ſeverity or injuſtice which had been recommended by the Arian clergy, were exaggerated by the orthodox writers. The guilt of perſecution may be imputed to Euric, king of the Viſigoths; who ſuſpended the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical, or at leaſt of epiſcopal, functions; and puniſhed the popular biſhops of Aquitain with impriſonment, exile, and confiſcation[88]. But the cruel and abſurd enterpriſe of ſubduing the minds of a whole people, was undertaken by the Vandals alone. Genſeric himſelf, in his early youth, had renounced the orthodox communion; and the apoſtate could neither grant, nor expect, a ſincere forgiveneſs. He was exaſperated to find, that the Africans, who had fled before him in the field, ſtill preſumed to diſpute his will in ſynods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear or of compaſſion. His Catholic ſubjects were oppreſſed by intolerant laws, and arbitrary puniſhments. The language of Genſeric was furious, and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions might juſtify the moſt unfavourable interpretation of his actions; and the Arians were reproached with the frequent executions, which ſtained the palace, and the dominions, of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling paſſions of the monarch of the ſea. But Hunneric, his inglorious ſon, who ſeemed to inherit only his vices, tormented the Catholics with the ſame unrelenting fury, which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favourites of his father; and even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burnt alive in the midſt of Carthage. The religious war was preceded and prepared by an inſidious truce; perſecution was made the ſerious and important buſineſs

Genſeric, A. D. 429—477.

Hunneric, A. D. 477.

[88] Such are the contemporary complaints of Sidonius, biſhop of Clermont (l. vii. c. 6. p. 182, &c. edit. Sirmond). Gregory of Tours, who quotes this Epiſtle (l. ii. c. 25. in tom. ii. p. 174.), extorts an unwarrantable aſſertion, that of the nine vacancies in Aquitain, ſome had been produced by epiſcopal *martyrdoms*.

of

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of the Vandal court; and the loathſome diſeaſe, which haſtened the death of Hunneric, revenged the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance, of the church. The throne of Africa was ſucceſſively filled by the two nephews of Hunneric; by Gundamund, who reigned about twelve, and by Thraſimund, who governed the nation above twenty-ſeven, years. Their adminiſtration was hoſtile and oppreſſive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or even to ſurpaſs, the cruelty of his uncle; and, if at length he relented, if he recalled the biſhops, and reſtored the freedom of Athanaſian worſhip, a premature death intercepted the benefits of his tardy clemency. His brother, Thraſimund, was the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed of the Vandal kings, whom he excelled in beauty, prudence, and magnanimity of ſoul. But this magnanimous character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful clemency. Inſtead of threats and tortures, he employed the gentle, but efficacious, powers of ſeduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favour, were the liberal rewards of apoſtacy; the Catholics, who had violated the laws, might purchaſe their pardon by the renunciation of their faith; and whenever Thraſimund meditated any rigorous meaſure, he patiently waited till the indiſcretion of his adverſaries furniſhed him with a ſpecious opportunity. Bigotry was his laſt ſentiment in the hour of death: and he exacted from his ſucceſſor a ſolemn oath, that he would never tolerate the ſectaries of Athanaſius. But his ſucceſſor, Hilderic, the gentle ſon of the ſavage Hunneric, preferred the duties of humanity and juſtice, to the vain obligation of an impious oath; and his acceſſion was glorioufly marked by the reſtoration of peace and univerſal freedom. The throne of that virtuous, though feeble monarch, was uſurped by his couſin Gelimer, a zealous Arian: but the Vandal kingdom, before he could enjoy or abuſe his power, was ſubverted by the arms of

Gundamund, A. D. 484.

Thraſimund, A. D. 496.

Hilderic, A. D. 523.

Gelimer, A. D. 530.

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Beliſarius; and the orthodox party retaliated the injuries which they had endured [89].

A general view of the perſecution in Africa.

The paſſionate declamations of the Catholics, the ſole hiſtorians of this perſecution, cannot afford any diſtinct ſeries of cauſes and events; any impartial view of characters, or counſels; but the moſt remarkable circumſtances, that deſerve either credit or notice, may be referred to the following heads: I. In the original law, which is ſtill extant [90], Hunneric expreſsly declares, and the declaration appears to be correct, that he had faithfully tranſcribed the regulations and penalties of the Imperial edicts; againſt the heretical congregations, the clergy, and the people, who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed religion. If the rights of conſcience had been underſtood, the Catholics muſt have condemned their paſt conduct, or acquieſced in their actual ſufferings. But they ſtill perſiſted to refuſe the indulgence which they claimed. While they trembled under the laſh of perſecution, they praiſed the *laudable* ſeverity of Hunneric himſelf, who burnt or baniſhed great numbers of Manichæans [91]; and they rejected, with horror, the ignominious compromiſe, that the diſciples of Arius, and of Athanaſius, ſhould enjoy a reciprocal and ſimilar toleration in the territories of the Romans, and in thoſe of the Vandals [92].

[89] The original monuments of the Vandal perſecution are preſerved in the five books of the Hiſtory of Victor Vitenſis (de Perſecutione Vandalicâ), a biſhop who was exiled by Hunneric; in the Life of St. Fulgentius, who was diſtinguiſhed in the perſecution of Thraſimund (in Biblioth. Max. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 4—16.), and in the firſt book of the Vandalic War, by the impartial Procopius (c. 7, 8. p. 196, 197, 198, 199.). Dom Ruinart, the laſt editor of Victor, has illuſtrated the whole ſubject with a copious and learned apparatus of notes and ſupplement (Paris, 1694).

[90] Victor, iv. 2. p. 65. Hunneric refuſes the name of Catholics to the *Homoouſians*. He deſcribes, as the veri Divinæ Majeſtatis cultores, his own party, who profeſſed the faith, confirmed by more than a thouſand biſhops, in the ſynods of Rimini and Seleucia.

[91] Victor, ii. 1. p. 21, 22. *Laudabilior . . . videbatur.* In the MSS. which omit this word, the paſſage is unintelligible. See Ruinart, Not. p. 164.

[92] Victor, ii. 2. p. 22, 23. The clergy of Carthage called theſe conditions, *periculoſæ*; and they ſeem, indeed, to have been propoſed as a ſnare to entrap the Catholic biſhops.

II. The

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II. The practice of a conference, which the Catholics had so frequently used to insult and punish their obstinate antagonists, was retorted against themselves [93]. At the command of Hunneric, four hundred and sixty-six orthodox bishops assembled at Carthage; but when they were admitted into the hall of audience, they had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cyrila exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated, after the mutual and ordinary reproaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipitation, of military force and of popular clamour. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the Catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy; and three hundred and two were banished to the different parts of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life [94]. The hardships of ten years exile must have reduced their numbers; and if they had complied with the law of Thrasimund, which prohibited any episcopal consecrations, the orthodox church of Africa must have expired with the lives of its actual members. They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia; where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the gracious Hilderic [95]. The two islands were judiciously chosen by

[93] See the narrative of this conference, and the treatment of the bishops, in Victor, ii. 13—18. p. 35—42. and the whole fourth book, p. 63—171. The third book, p. 42—62. is entirely filled by their apology or confession of faith.

[94] See the list of the African bishops, in Victor, p. 117—140. and Ruinart's notes, p. 215—397. The schismatic name of *Donatus* frequently occurs, and they appear to have adopted (like our fanatics of the last age) the pious appellations of *Deodatus*, *Deogratias*, *Quidvultdeus*, *Habetdeum*, &c.

[95] Fulgent. Vit. c. 16—29. Thrasimund affected the praise of moderation and learning; and Fulgentius addressed three books of controversy to the Arian tyrant, whom he styles *piissime Rex*. Biblioth. Maxim. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 41. Only sixty bishops are mentioned as exiles in the life of Fulgentius; they are increased to one hundred and twenty by Victor Tunnunensis, and Isidore; but the number of two hundred and twenty is specified in the *Historia Miscella*, and a short authentic chronicle of the times. See Ruinart, p. 570, 571.

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the malice of their Arian tyrants. Seneca, from his own experience, has deplored and exaggerated the miſerable ſtate of Corſica [96], and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholeſome quality of the air [97]. III. The zeal of Genſeric and his ſucceſſors, for the converſion of the Catholics, muſt have rendered them ſtill more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith. Before the churches were finally ſhut, it was a crime to appear in a Barbarian dreſs; and thoſe who preſumed to neglect the royal mandate, were rudely dragged backwards by their long hair [98]. The Palatine officers, who refuſed to profeſs the religion of their prince, were ignominiouſly ſtripped of their honours and employments; baniſhed to Sardinia and Sicily; or condemned to the ſervile labours of ſlaves and peaſants in the fields of Utica. In the diſtricts which had been peculiarly allotted to the Vandals, the exerciſe of the Catholic worſhip was more ſtrictly prohibited; and ſevere penalties were denounced againſt the guilt, both of the miſſionary and the proſelyte. By theſe arts, the faith of the Barbarians was preſerved, and their zeal was inflamed: they diſcharged, with devout fury, the office of ſpies, informers, or executioners; and whenever their cavalry took the field, it was the favourite amuſement of the march, to defile the churches, and to inſult the clergy of the adverſe faction [99]. IV. The citizens, who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province, were delivered, with exquiſite cruelty, to the Moors of the deſert. A venerable train of biſhops, preſbyters, and deacons, with a

[96] See the baſe and inſipid epigrams of the Stoic, who could not ſupport exile with more fortitude than Ovid. Corſica might not produce corn, wine, or oil; but it could not be deſtitute of graſs, water, and even fire.

[97] Si ob gravitatem cœli interiſſent, *vile* damnum. Tacit. Annal. ii. 85. In this application, Thraſimund would have adopted the reading of ſome critics, *utile* damnum.

[98] See theſe preludes of a *general* perſecution, in Victor, ii. 3, 4-7. and the two edicts of Hunneric, l. ii. p. 35. l. iv. p. 64.

[99] See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7. p. 197, 198. A Mooriſh prince endeavoured to propitiate the God of the Chriſtians, by his diligence to eraze the marks of the Vandal ſacrilege.

faithful

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faithful crowd of four thouſand and ninety-ſix perſons, whoſe guilt is not preciſely aſcertained, were torn from their native homes, by the command of Hunneric. During the night they were confined, like a herd of cattle, amidſt their own ordure; during the day they purſued their march over the burning ſands; and if they fainted under the heat and fatigue, they were goaded, or dragged along, till they expired in the hands of their tormentors [100]. Theſe unhappy exiles, when they reached the Mooriſh huts, might excite the compaſſion of a people, whoſe native humanity was neither improved by reaſon, nor corrupted by fanaticiſm: but if they eſcaped the dangers, they were condemned to ſhare the diſtreſs, of a ſavage life. V. It is incumbent on the authors of perſecution previouſly to reflect, whether they are determined to ſupport it in the laſt extreme. They excite the flame which they ſtrive to extinguiſh; and it ſoon becomes neceſſary to chaſtiſe the contumacy, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fine, which he is unable or unwilling to diſcharge, expoſes his perſon to the ſeverity of the law; and his contempt of lighter penalties ſuggeſts the uſe and propriety of capital puniſhment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation, we may clearly perceive, that the Catholics, more eſpecially under the reign of Hunneric, endured the moſt cruel and ignominious treatment [101]. Reſpectable citizens, noble matrons, and conſecrated virgins, were ſtripped naked, and raiſed in the air by pullies, with a weight ſuſpended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with ſcourges, or burnt in the moſt tender parts with red-hot plates of iron. The amputation of the ears, the noſe, the tongue, and the right-hand, was inflicted by the Arians; and although the preciſe number cannot be defined, it is evident that many perſons, among

[100] See this ſtory in Victor, ii. 8—12. p. 30—34. Victor deſcribes the diſtreſs of theſe confeſſors as an eye-witneſs.

[101] See the fifth book of Victor. His paſſionate complaints are confirmed by the ſober teſtimony of Procopius, and the public declaration of the emperor Juſtinian. (Cod. l. i. tit. xxvii.)

whom

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whom a biſhop [102] and a proconſul [103] may be named, were entitled to the crown of martyrdom. The ſame honour has been aſcribed to the memory of count Sebaſtian, who profeſſed the Nicene creed with unſhaken conſtancy; and Genſeric might deteſt, as an heretic, the brave and ambitious fugitive whom he dreaded as a rival [104]. VI. A new mode of converſion, which might ſubdue the feeble, and alarm the timorous, was employed by the Arian miniſters. They impoſed, by fraud or violence, the rites of baptiſm; and puniſhed the apoſtacy of the Catholics, if they diſclaimed this odious and profane ceremony, which ſcandalouſly violated the freedom of the will, and the unity of the ſacrament [105]. The hoſtile ſects had formerly allowed the validity of each other's baptiſm; and the innovation, ſo fiercely maintained by the Vandals, can be imputed only to the example and advice of the Donatiſts. VII. The Arian clergy ſurpaſſed, in religious cruelty, the king and his Vandals; but they were incapable of cultivating the ſpiritual vineyard, which they were ſo deſirous to poſſeſs. A patriarch [106] might ſeat himſelf on the throne of Carthage; ſome biſhops, in the principal cities, might uſurp the place of their rivals; but the ſmallneſs of their numbers, and their ignorance of the Latin language [107], diſqualified the Barbarians for the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry of a great church; and the Africans, after the loſs of their

[102] Victor, ii. 18. p. 41.

[103] Victor, v. 4. p. 74, 75. His name was Victorianus, and he was a wealthy citizen of Adrumetum, who enjoyed the confidence of the king; by whoſe favour he had obtained the office, or at leaſt the title, of proconſul of Africa.

[104] Victor, i. 6. p. 8, 9. After relating the firm reſiſtance and dextrous reply of count Sebaſtian, he adds, quare alio generis argumento poſtea bellicoſum virum occidit.

[105] Victor, v. 12, 13. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 609.

[106] *Primate* was more properly the title of the biſhop of Carthage: but the name of *patriarch* was given by the ſects and nations to their principal eccleſiaſtic. See Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 155. 158.

[107] The patriarch Cyrila himſelf publicly declared, that he did not underſtand Latin (Victor, ii. 18. p. 42.); Neſcio Latine; and he might converſe with tolerable eaſe, without being capable of diſputing or preaching in that language. His Vandal clergy were ſtill more ignorant; and ſmall confidence could be placed in the Africans who had conformed.

orthodox

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orthodox paſtors, were deprived of the public exerciſe of Chriſtianity. VIII. The emperors were the natural protectors of the Homoouſian doctrine: and the faithful people of Africa, both as Romans and as Catholics, preferred their lawful ſovereignty to the uſurpation of the Barbarous heretics. During an interval of peace and friendſhip, Hunneric reſtored the cathedral of Carthage; at the interceſſion of Zeno, who reigned in the Eaſt, and of Placidia, the daughter and relict of emperors, and the ſiſter of the queen of the Vandals [108]. But this decent regard was of ſhort duration; and the haughty tyrant diſplayed his contempt for the religion of the Empire, by ſtudiouſly arranging the bloody images of perſecution, in all the principal ſtreets through which the Roman ambaſſador muſt paſs in his way to the palace [109]. An oath was required from the biſhops, who were aſſembled at Carthage, that they would ſupport the ſucceſſion of his ſon Hilderic, and that they would renounce all foreign or *tranſmarine* correſpondence. This engagement, conſiſtent, as it ſhould ſeem, with their moral and religious duties, was refuſed by the more ſagacious members [110] of the aſſembly. Their refuſal, faintly coloured by the pretence that it is unlawful for a Chriſtian to ſwear, muſt provoke the ſuſpicions of a jealous tyrant.

Catholic frauds,

The Catholics, oppreſſed by royal and military force, were far ſuperior to their adverſaries in numbers and learning. With the ſame weapons which the Greek [111] and Latin fathers had already provided for the Arian controverſy, they repeatedly ſilenced, or van-

[108] Victor, ii. 1, 2. p. 22.

[109] Victor, v. 7. p. 77. He appeals to the ambaſſador himſelf, whoſe name was Uranius.

[110] *Aſtutiores*. Victor, iv. 4. p. 70. He plainly intimates that their quotation of the Goſpel "Non jurabitis in toto," was only meant to elude the obligation of an inconvenient oath. The forty-ſix biſhops who refuſed were baniſhed to Corſica; the three hundred and two who ſwore, were diſtributed through the provinces of Africa.

[111] Fulgentius, biſhop of Ruſpæ, in the Byzacene province, was of a ſenatorial family, and had received a liberal education. He could repeat all Homer and Menander before he was allowed to ſtudy Latin, his native tongue (Vit. Fulgent. c. 1.). Many African biſhops might underſtand Greek, and many Greek theologians were tranſlated into Latin.

quiſhed,

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quiſhed, the fierce and illiterate ſucceſſors of Ulphilas. The conſciouſneſs of their own ſuperiority might have raiſed them above the arts, and paſſions, of religious warfare. Yet, inſtead of aſſuming ſuch honourable pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the aſſurance of impunity, to compoſe fictions, which muſt be ſtigmatized with the epithets of fraud and forgery. They aſcribed their own polemical works to the moſt venerable names of Chriſtian antiquity; the characters of Athanaſius and Auguſtin were awkwardly perſonated by Vigilius and his diſciples[112]; and the famous creed, which ſo clearly expounds the myſteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, is deduced, with ſtrong probability, from this African ſchool[113]. Even the ſcriptures themſelves were profaned by their raſh and ſacrilegious hands. The memorable text, which aſſerts the unity of the THREE who bear witneſs in heaven[114], is condemned by the univerſal ſilence of the orthodox fathers, ancient verſions, and authentic manuſcripts[115]. It was firſt alleged by the

[112] Compare the two prefaces to the Dialogue of Vigilius of Thapſus (p. 118, 119. edit. Chiflet). He might amuſe his learned reader with an innocent fiction; but the ſubject was too grave, and the Africans were too ignorant.

[113] The P. Queſnel ſtarted this opinion, which has been favourably received. But the three following truths, however ſurpriſing they may ſeem, are *now* univerſally acknowledged (Gerard Voſſius, tom. vi. p. 516—522. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 667—671.). 1. St. Athanaſius is not the author of the creed which is ſo frequently read in our churches. 2. It does not appear to have exiſted, within a century after his death. 3. It was originally compoſed in the Latin tongue, and, conſequently, in the Weſtern provinces. Gennadius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, was ſo much amazed by this extraordinary compoſition, that he frankly pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man. Petav. Dogmat. Theologica, tom. ii. l. vii. c. 8. p. 687.

[114] 1 John, v. 7. See Simon, Hiſt. Critique du Nouveau Teſtament, part i. c. xviii. p. 203—218.; and part ii. c. ix. p. 99—121.; and the elaborate Prolegomena and Annotations of Dr. Mill and Wetſtein to their editions of the Greek Teſtament. In 1689, the papiſt Simon ſtrove to be free; in 1707, the proteſtant Mill wiſhed to be a ſlave; in 1751, the Arminian Wetſtein uſed the liberty of his times, and of his ſect.

[115] Of *all* the MSS. now extant, above fourſcore in number, ſome of which are more than 1200 years old (Wetſtein ad loc.). The *orthodox* copies of the Vatican, of the Complutenſian editors, of Robert Stephens, are become inviſible; and the *two* MSS. of Dublin and Berlin are unworthy to form an exception. See Emlyn's Works, vol. ii. p. 227—255. 269—299.; and M. de Miſſy's four ingenious letters, in tom. viii. and ix of the Journal Britannique.

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Catholic biſhops whom Hunneric ſummoned to the conference of Carthage [116]. An allegorical interpretation, in the form, perhaps, of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin Bibles, which were renewed and corrected in a dark period of ten centuries [117]. After the invention of printing [118], the editors of the Greek Teſtament yielded to their own prejudices, or thoſe of the times [119]; and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of modern Europe.

and miracles.

The example of fraud muſt excite ſuſpicion; and the ſpecious miracles by which the African Catholics have defended the truth and juſtice of their cauſe, may be aſcribed, with more reaſon, to their own induſtry, than to the viſible protection of Heaven. Yet the hiſtorian, who views this religious conflict with an impartial eye, may condeſcend to mention *one* preternatural event, which will edify the devout, and ſurpriſe the incredulous. Tipaſa [120], a maritime

[116] Or, more properly, by the *four* biſhops who compoſed and publiſhed the profeſſion of faith in the name of their brethren. They ſtyle this text, luce clarius (Victor Vitenſis de Perſecut. Vandal. l. iii. c. 11. p. 54.). It is quoted ſoon afterwards by the African polemics, Vigilius and Fulgentius.

[117] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Bibles were corrected by Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by Nicolas, cardinal and librarian of the Roman church, ſecundum orthodoxam fidem (Wetſtein, Prolegom. p. 84, 85.). Notwithſtanding theſe corrections, the paſſage is ſtill wanting in twenty-five Latin MSS. (Wetſtein ad loc.), the oldeſt and the faireſt; two qualities ſeldom united, except in manuſcripts.

[118] The art which the Germans had invented was applied in Italy to the profane writers of Rome and Greece. The original Greek of the New Teſtament was publiſhed about the ſame time (A. D. 1514, 1516, 1520) by the induſtry of Eraſmus, and the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes. The Complutenſian Polyglot coſt the cardinal 50,000 ducats. See Mattaire Annal. Typograph. tom. ii. p. 2—8. 125—133.; and Wetſtein, Prolegomena, p. 116—127.

[119] The three witneſſes have been eſtabliſhed in our Greek Teſtaments by the prudence of Eraſmus; the honeſt bigotry of the Complutenſian editors; the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens in the placing a crochet; and the deliberate falſehood, or ſtrange miſapprehenſion, of Theodore Beza.

[120] Plin. Hiſt. Natural. v. 1. Itinerar. Weſſeling, p. 15. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. part ii. p. 127. This Tipaſa (which muſt not be confounded with another in Numidia) was a town of ſome note, ſince Veſpaſian endowed it with the right of Latium.

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colony of Mauritania, ſixteen miles to the eaſt of Cæſarea, had been diſtinguiſhed, in every age, by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatiſts [121]; they reſiſted, or eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deſerted on the approach of an heretical biſhop: moſt of the inhabitants who could procure ſhips paſſed over to the coaſt of Spain: and the unhappy remnant; refuſing all communion with the uſurper, ſtill preſumed to hold their pious, but illegal, aſſemblies. Their diſobedience exaſperated the cruelty of Hunneric. A military count was diſpatched from Carthage to Tipaſa: he collected the Catholics in the Forum; and, in the preſence of the whole province, deprived the guilty of their right-hands and their tongues. But the holy confeſſors continued to ſpeak without tongues; and this miracle is atteſted by Victor, an African biſhop, who publiſhed an hiſtory of the perſecution within two years after the event [122]. "If any one," ſays Victor, "ſhould doubt of "the truth, let him repair to Conſtantinople, and liſten to the clear "and perfect language of Reſtitutus, the ſub-deacon, one of theſe "glorious ſufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the emperor "Zeno, and is reſpected by the devout empreſs." At Conſtantinople we are aſtoniſhed to find a cool, a learned, an unexceptionable witneſs, without intereſt, and without paſſion. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philoſopher, has accurately deſcribed his own obſervations on theſe African ſufferers. "I ſaw them myſelf: I heard them ſpeak: "I diligently inquired by what means ſuch an articulate voice could "be formed without any organ of ſpeech: I uſed my eyes to ex-"amine the report of my ears; I opened their mouth, and ſaw that "the whole tongue had been completely torn away by the roots; "an operation which the phyſicians generally ſuppoſe to be mor-

[121] Optatus Milevitanus de Schiſm. Donatiſt. l. ii. p. 38.

[122] Victor Vitenſis, v. 6. p. 76. Ruinart, p. 483—487.

"tal."

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"tal [123]." The teſtimony of Æneas of Gaza might be confirmed by the ſuperfluous evidence of the emperor Juſtinian, in a perpetual edict; of count Marcellinus, in his Chronicle of the times; and of pope Gregory the Firſt, who had reſided at Conſtantinople, as the miniſter of the Roman pontiff [124]. They all lived within the compaſs of a century; and they all appeal to their perſonal knowledge, or the public notoriety, for the truth of a miracle, which was repeated in ſeveral inſtances, diſplayed on the greateſt theatre of the world, and ſubmitted, during a ſeries of years, to the calm examination of the ſenſes. This ſupernatural gift of the African confeſſors, who ſpoke without tongues, will command the aſſent of thoſe, and of thoſe only, who already believe, that their language was pure and orthodox. But the ſtubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by ſecret, incurable, ſuſpicion; and the Arian, or Socinian, who has ſeriouſly rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be ſhaken by the moſt plauſible evidence of an Athanaſian miracle.

The ruin of Arianiſm among the Barbarians, A. D. 500—700.

The Vandals and the Oſtrogoths perſevered in the profeſſion of Arianiſm till the final ruin of the kingdoms which they had founded in Africa and Italy. The Barbarians of Gaul ſubmitted to the orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain was reſtored to the Catholic church by the voluntary converſion of the Viſigoths.

Revolt and martyrdom of Hermenegild in Spain, A. D. 577—584.

This ſalutary revolution [125] was haſtened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reaſon may ſtyle an ungrateful rebel. Leovigild,

[123] Æneas Gazæus in Theophraſtro, in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 664, 665. He was a Chriſtian, and compoſed this Dialogue (the Theophraſtus) on the immortality of the ſoul, and the reſurrection of the body; beſides twenty-five Epiſtles, ſtill extant. See Cave (Hiſt. Litteraria, p. 297.) and Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. tom. i. p. 422.).

[124] Juſtinian. Codex, l. i. tit. xxvii. Marcellin. in Chron. p. 45. in Theſaur. Temporum Scaliger. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7. p. 196. Gregor. Magnus Dialog. iii. 32. None of theſe witneſſes have ſpecified the number of the confeſſors, which is fixed at ſixty in an old menology (apud Ruinart, p. 486.). Two of them loſt their ſpeech by fornication; but the miracle is enhanced by the ſingular inſtance of a boy who had *never* ſpoken before his tongue was cut out.

[125] See the two general hiſtorians of Spain, Mariana (Hiſt. de Rebus Hiſpaniæ, tom. i. l. v.

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Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deſerved the reſpect of his enemies, and the love of his ſubjects: the Catholics enjoyed a free toleration, and his Arian ſynods attempted, without much ſucceſs, to reconcile their ſcruples by aboliſhing the unpopular rite of a *ſecond* baptiſm. His eldeſt ſon Hermenegild, who was inveſted by his father with the royal diadem, and the fair principality of Bœtica, contracted an honourable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princeſs, the daughter of Sigebert king of Auſtraſia, and of the famous Brunechild. The beauteous Ingundis, who was no more than thirteen years of age, was received, beloved, and perſecuted, in the Arian court of Toledo; and her religious conſtancy was alternately aſſaulted with blandiſhments and violence by Goiſvintha, the Gothic queen, who abuſed the double claim of maternal authority[126]. Incenſed by her reſiſtance, Goiſvintha ſeized the Catholic princeſs by her long hair, inhumanly daſhed her againſt the ground, kicked her till ſhe was covered with blood, and at laſt gave orders that ſhe ſhould be ſtripped, and thrown into a baſon, or fiſh-pond[127]. Love and honour might excite Hermenegild to reſent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually perſuaded, that Ingundis ſuffered for the cauſe of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, archbiſhop of Seville, accompliſhed his converſion; and the heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the ſolemn rites of confirmation[128]. The raſh youth,

l. v. c. 12—15. p. 182—194.) and Ferreras (French tranſlation, tom. ii. p. 206—247.). Mariana almoſt forgets that he is a Jeſuit, to aſſume the ſtyle and ſpirit of a Roman claſſic. Ferreras, an induſtrious compiler, reviews his facts, and rectifies his chronology.

[126] Goiſvintha ſucceſſively married two kings of the Viſigoths; Athanigild, to whom ſhe bore Brunechild, the mother of Ingundis; and Leovigild, whoſe two ſons, Hermenegild and Recared, were the iſſue of a former marriage.

[127] Iracundiæ furore ſuccenſa, adprehenſam per comam capitis puellam in terram conlidit, et diu calcibus verberatam, ac ſanguine cruentatam, juſſit exſpoliari, et piſcinæ immergi. Greg. Turon. l. v. c. 39. in tom. ii. p. 255. Gregory is one of our beſt originals for this portion of hiſtory.

[128] The Catholics who admitted the baptiſm of heretics, repeated the rite, or, as it was afterwards ſtyled, the ſacrament of confirmation, to which they aſcribed many myſtic and marvellous prerogatives, both viſible and inviſible. See Chardon, Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 405—552.

inflamed

inflamed by zeal, and perhaps by ambition, was tempted to violate the duties of a ſon, and a ſubject; and the Catholics of Spain, although they could not complain of perſecution, applauded his pious rebellion againſt an heretical father. The civil war was protracted by the long and obſtinate ſieges of Merida, Cordova, and Seville, which had ſtrenuouſly eſpouſed the party of Hermenegild. He invited the orthodox Barbarians, the Suevi, and the Franks, to the deſtruction of his native land: he ſolicited the dangerous aid of the Romans, who poſſeſſed Africa, and a part of the Spaniſh coaſt; and his holy ambaſſador, the archbiſhop Leander, effectually negotiated in perſon with the Byzantine court. But the hopes of the Catholics were cruſhed by the active diligence of a monarch who commanded the troops and treaſures of Spain; and the guilty Hermenegild, after his vain attempts to reſiſt or to eſcape, was compelled to ſurrender himſelf into the hands of an incenſed father. Leovigild was ſtill mindful of that ſacred character; and the rebel, deſpoiled of the regal ornaments, was ſtill permitted, in a decent exile, to profeſs the Catholic religion. His repeated and unſucceſsful treaſons at length provoked the indignation of the Gothic king; and the ſentence of death, which he pronounced with apparent reluctance, was privately executed in the tower of Seville. The inflexible conſtancy with which he refuſed to accept the Arian communion, as the price of his ſafety, may excuſe the honours that have been paid to the memory of St. Hermenegild. His wife and infant ſon were detained by the Romans in ignominious captivity: and this domeſtic misfortune tarniſhed the glories of Leovigild, and embittered the laſt moments of his life.

Converſion of Recared and the Viſigoths of Spain, A. D. 586—589.

His ſon and ſucceſſor, Recared, the firſt Catholic king of Spain, had imbibed the faith of his unfortunate brother, which he ſupported with more prudence and ſucceſs. Inſtead of revolting againſt his father, Recared patiently expected the hour of his death. Inſtead of

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of condemning his memory, he piouſly ſuppoſed, that the dying monarch had abjured the errors of Arianiſm, and recommended to his ſon the converſion of the Gothic nation. To accompliſh that ſalutary end, Recared convened an aſſembly of the Arian clergy and nobles, declared himſelf a Catholic, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their prince. The laborious interpretation of doubtful texts, or the curious purſuit of metaphyſical arguments, would have excited an endleſs controverſy; and the monarch diſcreetly propoſed to his illiterate audience, two ſubſtantial and viſible arguments, the teſtimony of Earth, and of Heaven. The *Earth* had ſubmitted to the Nicene ſynod: the Romans, the Barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain, unanimouſly profeſſed the ſame orthodox creed; and the Viſigoths reſiſted, almoſt alone, the conſent of the Chriſtian world. A ſuperſtitious age was prepared to reverence, as the teſtimony of *Heaven*, the preternatural cures, which were performed by the ſkill or virtue of the Catholic clergy; the baptiſmal fonts of Oſſet in Bœtica[129], which were ſpontaneouſly repleniſhed each year, on the vigil of Eaſter[130]; and the miraculous ſhrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Gallicia[131]. The Catholic king encountered ſome difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conſpiracy, ſecretly fomented by the queen-dowager, was formed againſt his life; and two counts excited a dangerous revolt in the Narbonneſe Gaul. But

[129] Oſſet, or Julia Conſtantia, was oppoſite to Seville, on the northern ſide of the Bœtis (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. iii. 3.): and the authentic reference of Gregory of Tours (Hiſt. Francor. l. vi. c. 43. p. 288.) deſerves more credit than the name of Luſitania (de Gloriâ Martyr. c. 24.), which has been eagerly embraced by the vain and ſuperſtitious Portugueſe (Ferreras, Hiſt. d'Eſpagne, tom. ii. p. 166.).

[130] This miracle was ſkilfully performed. An Arian king ſealed the doors, and dug a deep trench round the church without being able to intercept the Eaſter ſupply of baptiſmal water.

[131] Ferreras (tom. ii. p. 168–175. A. D. 550) has illuſtrated the difficulties which regard the time and circumſtances of the converſion of the Suevi. They had been recently united by Leovigild to the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

Recared

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Recared disarmed the conspirators, defeated the rebels, and executed severe justice; which the Arians, in their turn, might brand with the reproach of persecution. Eight bishops, whose names betray their Barbaric origin, abjured their errors; and all the books of Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the house in which they had been purposely collected. The whole body of the Visigoths and Suevi were allured or driven into the pale of the Catholic communion; the faith, at least of the rising generation, was fervent and sincere; and the devout liberality of the Barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed, by declaring the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Son, as well as from the Father; a weighty point of doctrine, which produced, long afterwards, the schism of the Greek and Latin churches[132]. The royal proselyte immediately saluted and consulted pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was distinguished by the conversion of heretics and infidels. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems: they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist; a cross, which inclosed a small piece of the true wood; and a key, that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter[133].

Conversion of the Lombards of Italy, A. D. 600, &c.

The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith among the victorious savages, whose recent Christianity was

[132] This addition to the Nicene, or rather the Constantinopolitan creed, was first made in the eighth council of Toledo, A. D. 653; but it was expressive of the popular doctrine (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi. p. 527. de tribus Symbolis).

[133] See Gregor. Magn. l. vii. epist. 126. apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 599, N° 25, 26.

polluted

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polluted by the Arian hereſy. Her devout labours ſtill left room for the induſtry and ſucceſs of future miſſionaries; and many cities of Italy were ſtill diſputed by hoſtile biſhops. But the cauſe of Arianiſm was gradually ſuppreſſed by the weight of truth, of intereſt, and of example; and the controverſy, which Egypt had derived from the Platonic ſchool, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the final converſion of the Lombards of Italy[134].

Perſecution of the Jews in Spain, A. D. 612—712.

The firſt miſſionaries who preached the goſpel to the Barbarians, appealed to the evidence of reaſon, and claimed the benefit of toleration[135]. But no ſooner had they eſtabliſhed their ſpiritual dominion, than they exhorted the Chriſtian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or Barbaric ſuperſtition. The ſucceſſors of Clovis inflicted one hundred laſhes on the peaſants who refuſed to deſtroy their idols; the crime of ſacrificing to the dæmons was puniſhed by the Anglo-Saxon laws with the heavier penalties of impriſonment and confiſcation; and even the wiſe Alfred adopted, as an indiſpenſable duty, the extreme rigour of the Moſaic inſtitutions[136]. But the puniſhment, and the crime, were gradually aboliſhed among a Chriſtian people: the theological diſputes of the ſchools were ſuſpended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant ſpirit, which could find neither idolaters nor heretics, was reduced to the perſecution of the Jews. That exiled nation had founded ſome ſynagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, ſince the time of Ha-

[134] Paul Warnefrid (de Geſtis Langobard. l. iv. c. 44. p. 853. edit. Grot.) allows that Arianiſm ſtill prevailed under the reign of Rotharis (A. D. 636—652). The pious *Deacon* does not attempt to mark the preciſe æra of the national converſion, which was accompliſhed, however, before the end of the ſeventh century.

[135] Quorum fidei et converſioni ita congratulatus eſſe rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Chriſtianiſmum . . . . Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribuſque ſuæ ſalutis, ſervitium Chriſti voluntarium non coactitium eſſe debere. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtic. l. i. c. 26. p. 62. edit. Smith.

[136] See the Hiſtorians of France, tom. iv. p. 114.; and Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 11. 31. Siquis ſacrificium immolaverit præter Deo ſoli morte moriatur.

drian,

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drian, was filled with their numerous colonies [137]. The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the finances, invited the pious avarice of their maſters; and they might be oppreſſed without danger, as they had loſt the uſe, and even the remembrance, of arms. Siſebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the ſeventh century, proceeded at once to the laſt extremes of perſecution [138]. Ninety thouſand Jews were compelled to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm; the fortunes of the obſtinate infidels were confiſcated, their bodies were tortured; and it ſeems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The exceſſive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who ſolemnly pronounced an inconſiſtent ſentence: *that* the ſacraments ſhould not be forcibly impoſed; but *that* the Jews who had been baptized ſhould be conſtrained, for the honour of the church, to perſevere in the external practice of a religion which they diſbelieved, and deteſted. Their frequent relapſes provoked one of the ſucceſſors of Siſebut to baniſh the whole nation from his dominions; and a council of Toledo publiſhed a decree, that every Gothic king ſhould ſwear to maintain this ſalutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to diſmiſs the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themſelves of the induſtrious ſlaves, over whom they might exerciſe a lucrative oppreſſion. The Jews ſtill continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and eccleſiaſtical laws, which in the ſame country have been faithfully

[137] The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon, and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar: that Hadrian tranſported forty thouſand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thouſand of the tribe of Benjamin, &c. Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. vii. c. 9. p. 240—256.

[138] Iſidore, at that time archbiſhop of Seville, mentions, diſapproves, and congratulates, the zeal of Siſebut (Chron. Goth. p. 728.). Baronius (A. D. 614, N° 41.) aſſigns the number on the evidence of Aïmoin (l. iv. c. 22.): but the evidence is weak, and I have not been able to verify the quotation (Hiſtorians of France, tom. iii. p. 127.).

 tranſcribed

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tranſcribed in the Code of the Inquiſition. The Gothic kings and biſhops at length diſcovered, that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge. A nation, the ſecret or profeſſed enemies of Chriſtianity, ſtill multiplied in ſervitude, and diſtreſs; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid ſucceſs of the Arabian conquerors [139].

Concluſion.

As ſoon as the Barbarians withdrew their powerful ſupport, the unpopular hereſy of Arius ſunk into contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks ſtill retained their ſubtle and loquacious diſpoſition: the eſtabliſhment of an obſcure doctrine ſuggeſted new queſtions, and new diſputes; and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate, or a fanatic monk, to violate the peace of the church, and, perhaps, of the empire. The hiſtorian of the empire may overlook thoſe diſputes which were confined to the obſcurity of ſchools and ſynods. The Manichæans, who laboured to reconcile the religions of Chriſt and of Zoroaſter, had ſecretly introduced themſelves into the provinces: but theſe foreign ſectaries were involved in the common diſgrace of the Gnoſtics, and the Imperial laws were executed by the public hatred. The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Paleſtine, and ſilently expired in a ſuperſtitious age. But the Eaſt was diſtracted by the Neſtorian and Eutychian controverſies; which attempted to explain the myſtery of the incarnation, and haſtened the ruin of Chriſtianity in her native land. Theſe controverſies were firſt agitated under the reign of the younger Theodoſius: but their important conſequences extend far beyond the limits of the preſent volume. The metaphy-

[139] Baſnage (tom. viii. c. 13. p. 388—400.) faithfully repreſents the ſtate of the Jews: but he might have added from the canons of the Spaniſh councils, and the laws of the Viſigoths, many curious circumſtances, eſſential to his ſubject, though they are foreign to mine.

ſical

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ſical chain of argument, the conteſts of eccleſiaſtical ambition, and their political influence on the decline of the Byzantine empire, may afford an intereſting and inſtructive ſeries of hiſtory, from the general councils of Epheſus and Chalcedon, to the conqueſt of the Eaſt by the ſucceſſors of Mahomet.

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Reign and Converſion of Clovis.—His Victories over the Alemanni, Burgundians, and Viſigoths.—Eſtabliſhment of the French Monarchy in Gaul.—Laws of the Barbarians.—State of the Romans.—The Viſigoths of Spain.—Conqueſt of Britain by the Saxons.

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The revolution of Gaul.

THE Gauls[1], who impatiently ſupported the Roman yoke, received a memorable leſſon from one of the lieutenants of Veſpaſian, whoſe weighty ſenſe has been refined and expreſſed by the genius of Tacitus[2]. "The protection of the republic has delivered "Gaul from internal diſcord and foreign invaſions. By the loſs of "national independence, you have acquired the name and privileges "of Roman citizens. You enjoy, in common with ourſelves, the "permanent benefits of civil government; and your remote ſitua- "tion is leſs expoſed to the accidental miſchiefs of tyranny. Inſtead "of exerciſing the rights of conqueſt, we have been contented to "impoſe ſuch tributes as are requiſite for your own preſervation. "Peace cannot be ſecured without armies; and armies muſt be ſup-

[1] In this chapter I ſhall draw my quotations from the Recueil des Hiſtoriens des Gaules et de la France, Paris, 1738—1767, in eleven volumes in folio. By the labour of Dom. Bouquet, and the other Benedictines, all the original teſtimonies, as far as A. D. 1060, are diſpoſed in chronological order, and illuſtrated with learned notes. Such a national work, which will be continued to the year 1500, might provoke our emulation.

[2] Tacit. Hiſt. iv. 73, 74. in tom. i. p. 445. To abridge Tacitus, would indeed be preſumptuous: but I may ſelect the general ideas which he applies to the preſent ſtate and future revolutions of Gaul.

"ported

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" ported at the expence of the people. It is for your ſake, not for " our own, that we guard the barrier of the Rhine againſt the fero- " cious Germans, who have ſo often attempted, and who will al- " ways deſire, to exchange the ſolitude of their woods and moraſſes " for the wealth and fertility of Gaul. The fall of Rome would be " fatal to the provinces; and you would be buried in the ruins of " that mighty fabric, which has been raiſed by the valour and wiſ- " dom of eight hundred years. Your imaginary freedom would be " inſulted and oppreſſed by a ſavage maſter; and the expulſion of " the Romans would be ſucceeded by the eternal hoſtilities of the " Barbarian conquerors[3]." This ſalutary advice was accepted, and this ſtrange prediction was accompliſhed. In the ſpace of four hundred years, the hardy Gauls, who had encountered the arms of Cæſar, were imperceptibly melted into the general maſs of citizens and ſubjects: the Weſtern empire was diſſolved; and the Germans, who had paſſed the Rhine, fiercely contended for the poſſeſſion of Gaul, and excited the contempt, or abhorrence, of its peaceful and poliſhed inhabitants. With that conſcious pride which the pre-eminence of knowledge and luxury ſeldom fails to inſpire, they derided the hairy and gigantic ſavages of the North; their ruſtic manners, diſſonant joy, voracious appetite, and their horrid appearance, equally diſguſting to the ſight and to the ſmell. The liberal ſtudies were ſtill cultivated in the ſchools of Autun and Bordeaux; and the language of Cicero and Virgil was familiar to the Gallic youth. Their ears were aſtoniſhed by the harſh and unknown ſounds of the Germanic dialect, and they ingeniouſly lamented that the trembling muſes fled from the harmony of a Burgundian lyre. The Gauls were endowed with all the advantages of art and nature; but as they wanted cou-

[3] Eadem ſemper cauſa Germanis tranſcendendi in Gallias libido atque avaritiæ et mutandæ ſedis amor; ut relictis paludibus et ſolitudinibus ſuis, fecundiſſimum hoc ſolum voſque ipſos poſſiderent . . . . . Nam pulſis Romanis quid aliud quam bella omnium inter ſe gentium exſiſtent?

rage

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rage to defend them, they were juſtly condemned to obey, and even to flatter, the victorious Barbarians, by whoſe clemency they held their precarious fortunes and their lives [4].

Euric, king of the Viſigoths, A. D. 476—485.

As ſoon as Odoacer had extinguiſhed the Weſtern empire, he ſought the friendſhip of the moſt powerful of the Barbarians. The new ſovereign of Italy reſigned to Euric king of the Viſigoths, all the Roman conqueſts beyond the Alps, as far as the Rhine and the Ocean [5]: and the ſenate might confirm this liberal gift with ſome oſtentation of power, and without any real loſs of revenue or dominion. The lawful pretenſions of Euric were juſtified by ambition and ſucceſs; and the Gothic nation might aſpire, under his command, to the monarchy of Spain and Gaul. Arles and Marſeilles ſurrendered to his arms: he oppreſſed the freedom of Auvergne; and the biſhop condeſcended to purchaſe his recal from exile by a tribute of juſt, but reluctant, praiſe. Sidonius waited before the gates of the palace among a crowd of ambaſſadors and ſuppliants; and their various buſineſs at the court of Bordeaux atteſted the power, and the renown, of the king of the Viſigoths. The Heruli of the diſtant ocean, who painted their naked bodies with its cærulean colour, implored his protection; and the Saxons reſpected the maritime provinces of a prince, who was deſtitute of any naval force. The tall Burgundians ſubmitted to his authority; nor did he reſtore the captive Franks, till he had impoſed on that fierce nation the terms of an unequal peace. The Vandals of Africa cultivated his uſeful friendſhip; and the Oſtrogoths of Pannonia were ſupported by his powerful aid againſt the oppreſſion of the neighbouring Huns. The North (ſuch are the lofty ſtrains of the poet) was agitated, or

[4] Sidonius Apollinaris ridicules, with affected wit and pleaſantry, the hardſhips of his ſituation (Carm. xii. in tom. i. p. 811.).

[5] See Procopius de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 31. The character of Grotius inclines me to believe, that he has not ſubſtituted the *Rhine* for the *Rhône* (Hiſt. Gothorum, p. 175.) without the uthority of ſome MS.

appeaſed,

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appeaſed, by the nod of Euric; the great king of Perſia conſulted the oracle of the Weſt; and the aged god of the Tyber was protected by the ſwelling genius of the Garonne [6]. The fortune of nations has often depended on accidents; and France may aſcribe her greatneſs to the premature death of the Gothic king, at a time when his ſon Alaric was an helpleſs infant, and his adverſary Clovis [7] an ambitious and valiant youth.

Clovis, king of the Franks, A.D. 481—511.

While Childeric, the father of Clovis, lived an exile in Germany, he was hoſpitably entertained by the queen, as well as by the king, of the Thuringians. After his reſtoration, Baſina eſcaped from her huſband's bed to the arms of her lover; freely declaring, that if ſhe had known a man wiſer, ſtronger, or more beautiful, than Childeric, that man ſhould have been the object of her preference [8]. Clovis was the offſpring of this voluntary union; and, when he was no more than fifteen years of age, he ſucceeded, by his father's death, to the command of the Salian tribe. The narrow limits of his kingdom [9] were confined to the iſland of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceſes of Tournay and Arras [10]; and at the baptiſm of Clovis, the number of his warriors could not exceed five thouſand. The kindred tribes of the Franks, who had ſeated themſelves along the Belgic rivers, the Scheld, the Meuſe, the Moſelle, and the Rhine, were

[6] Sidonius, l. viii. epiſt. 3. 9. in tom. i. p. 800. Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 47. p. 680.) juſtifies, in ſome meaſure, this portrait of the Gothic hero.

[7] I uſe the familiar appellation of *Clovis*; from the Latin *Chlodovechus*, or *Chlodovæus*. But the *Ch* expreſſes only the German aſpiration; and the true name is not different from *Ludwin*, or *Lewis* (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xx. p. 68.).

[8] Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 12. in tom. i. p. 168. Baſina ſpeaks the language of Nature: the Franks, who had ſeen her in their youth, might converſe with Gregory, in their old age; and the biſhop of Tours could not wiſh to defame the mother of the firſt Chriſtian king.

[9] The Abbé Dubos (Hiſt. Critique de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe dans les Gaules, tom. i. p. 630—650.) has the merit of defining the primitive kingdom of Clovis, and of aſcertaining the genuine number of his ſubjects.

[10] Eccleſiam incultam ac negligentiâ civium Paganorum prætermiſſam, veprium denſitate oppletam, &c. Vit. St. Vedaſti, in tom. iii. p. 372. This deſcription ſuppoſes that Arras was poſſeſſed by the Pagans, many years before the baptiſm of Clovis.

governed

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governed by their independent kings, of the Merovingian race; the equals, the allies, and ſometimes the enemies, of the Salic prince. But the Germans, who obeyed, in peace, the hereditary juriſdiction of their chiefs, were free to follow the ſtandard of a popular and victorious general; and the ſuperior merit of Clovis attracted the reſpect and allegiance of the national confederacy. When he firſt took the field, he had neither gold and ſilver in his coffers, nor wine and corn in his magazines [11]: but he imitated the example of Cæſar, who, in the ſame country, had acquired wealth by the ſword, and purchaſed ſoldiers with the fruits of conqueſt. After each ſucceſsful battle or expedition, the ſpoils were accumulated in one common maſs; every warrior received his proportionable ſhare, and the royal prerogative ſubmitted to the equal regulations of military law. The untamed ſpirit of the Barbarians was taught to acknowledge the advantages of regular diſcipline [12]. At the annual review of the month of March, their arms were diligently inſpected; and when they traverſed a peaceful territory, they were prohibited from touching a blade of graſs. The juſtice of Clovis was inexorable; and his careleſs or diſobedient ſoldiers were puniſhed with inſtant death. It would be ſuperfluous to praiſe the valour of a Frank: but the valour of Clovis was directed by cool and conſummate prudence [13]. In all his tranſactions with mankind, he calculated the weight of intereſt, of paſſion, and of opinion; and his meaſures were ſometimes adapted to the ſanguinary manners of the Germans, and ſometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome, and Chriſtianity. He was inter-

[11] Gregory of Tours (l. v. c. 1. in tom. ii. p. 232.) contraſts the poverty of Clovis with the wealth of his grandſons. Yet Remigius (in tom. iv. p. 52.) mentions his *paternas opes*, as ſufficient for the redemption of captives.

[12] See Gregory (l. ii. c. 27. 37. in tom. ii. p. 175. 181, 182.). The famous ſtory of the vaſe of Soiſſons explains both the power and the character of Clovis. As a point of controverſy, it has been ſtrangely tortured by Boulainvilliers, Dubos, and the other political antiquarians.

[13] The duke of Nivernois, a noble ſtateſman, who has managed weighty and delicate negotiations, ingeniouſly illuſtrates (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. xx. p. 147—184.) the political ſyſtem of Clovis.

cepted

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cepted in the career of victory, ſince he died in the forty-fifth year of his age: but he had already accompliſhed, in a reign of thirty years, the eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy in Gaul.

His victory over Syagrius, A. D. 486.

The firſt exploit of Clovis was the defeat of Syagrius, the ſon of Ægidius; and the public quarrel might, on this occaſion, be inflamed by private reſentment. The glory of the father ſtill inſulted the Merovingian race; the power of the ſon might excite the jealous ambition of the king of the Franks. Syagrius inherited, as a patrimonial eſtate, the city and dioceſe of Soiſſons: the deſolate remnant of the ſecond Belgic, Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens, would naturally ſubmit to the count or patrician [14]; and after the diſſolution of the Weſtern empire, he might reign with the title, or at leaſt with the authority, of king of the Romans [15]. As a Roman, he had been educated in the liberal ſtudies of rhetoric and juriſprudence; but he was engaged by accident and policy in the familiar uſe of the Germanic idiom. The independent Barbarians reſorted to the tribunal of a ſtranger, who poſſeſſed the ſingular talent of explaining in their native tongue, the dictates of reaſon and equity. The diligence and affability of their judge rendered him popular, the impartial wiſdom of his decrees obtained their voluntary obedience, and the reign of Syagrius over the Franks and Burgundians, ſeemed to revive the original inſtitution of civil ſociety [16]. In the midſt of theſe peaceful occupations, Syagrius re-

[14] M. Biet (in a Diſſertation which deſerved the prize of the Academy of Soiſſons, p. 178—226.) has accurately defined the nature and extent of the kingdom of Syagrius, and his father; but he too readily allows the ſlight evidence of Dubos (tom. ii. p. 54—57.) to deprive him of Beauvais and Amiens.

[15] I may obſerve that Fredegarius, in his Epitome of Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. p. 398.), has prudently ſubſtituted the name of *Patricius* for the incredible title of *Rex Romanorum*.

[16] Sidonius (l. v. epiſt. 5. in tom. i. p. 794.), who ſtyles him the Solon, the Amphion, of the Barbarians, addreſſes this imaginary king in the tone of friendſhip and equality. From ſuch offices of arbitration, the crafty Dejoces had raiſed himſelf to the throne of the Medes (Herodot. l. i. c. 96—100.).

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ceived, and boldly accepted, the hoſtile defiance of Clovis; who challenged his rival, in the ſpirit, and almoſt in the language, of chivalry, to appoint the day, and the field [17], of battle. In the time of Cæſar, Soiſſons would have poured forth a body of fifty thouſand horſe; and ſuch an army might have been plentifully ſupplied with ſhields, cuiraſſes, and military engines, from the three arſenals, or manufactures, of the city [18]. But the courage and numbers of the Gallic youth were long ſince exhauſted; and the looſe bands of volunteers, or mercenaries, who marched under the ſtandard of Syagrius, were incapable of contending with the national valour of the Franks. It would be ungenerous, without ſome more accurate knowledge of his ſtrength and reſources, to condemn the rapid flight of Syagrius, who eſcaped, after the loſs of a battle, to the diſtant court of Thouloufe. The feeble minority of Alaric could not aſſiſt, or protect, an unfortunate fugitive; the puſillanimous [19] Goths were intimidated by the menaces of Clovis; and the Roman *king*, after a ſhort confinement, was delivered into the hands of the executioner. The Belgic cities ſurrendered to the king of the Franks; and his dominions were enlarged towards the Eaſt by the ample dioceſe of Tongres [20], which Clovis ſubdued in the tenth year of his reign.

[17] Campum ſibi præparari juſſit. M. Biet (p. 226—251.) has diligently aſcertained this field of battle, at Nogent, a Benedictine abbey, about ten miles to the north of Soiſſons. The ground was marked by a circle of Pagan ſepulchres; and Clovis beſtowed the adjacent lands of Leuilly and Coucy on the church of Rheims.

[18] See Cæſar. Comment. de Bell. Gallic. ii. 4. in tom. i. p. 220. and the Notitiæ, tom. i. p. 126. The three *Fabricæ* of Soiſſons were, *Scutaria*, *Baliſtaria*, and *Clinabaria*. The laſt ſupplied the complete armour of the heavy cuiraſſiers.

[19] The epithet muſt be confined to the circumſtances; and hiſtory cannot juſtify the French prejudice of Gregory (l. ii. c. 27. in tom. ii. p. 175.), ut Gothorum pavere *mos* eſt.

[20] Dubos has ſatisfied me (tom. i. p. 277—286.) that Gregory of Tours, his tranſcribers or his readers, have repeatedly confounded the German kingdom of *Thuringia* beyond the Rhine, and the Gallic *city* of *Tongria* on the Meuſe, which was more anciently the country of the Eburones, and more recently the dioceſe of Liege.

The

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Defeat and ſubmiſſion of the Alemanni, A. D. 496.

The name of the Alemanni has been abſurdly derived from their imaginary ſettlement on the banks of the *Leman* lake [21]. That fortunate diſtrict, from the lake to Avenche, and Mount Jura, was occupied by the Burgundians [22]. The northern parts of Helvetia had indeed been ſubdued by the ferocious Alemanni, who deſtroyed with their own hands the fruits of their conqueſt. A province, improved and adorned by the arts of Rome, was again reduced to a ſavage wilderneſs; and ſome veſtige of the ſtately Vindoniſſa may ſtill be diſcovered in the fertile and populous valley of the Aar [23]. From the ſource of the Rhine, to its conflux with the Mein and the Moſelle, the formidable ſwarms of the Alemanni commanded either ſide of the river, by the right of ancient poſſeſſion, or recent victory. They had ſpread themſelves into Gaul, over the modern provinces of Alſace and Lorraine; and their bold invaſion of the kingdom of Cologne ſummoned the Salic prince to the defence of his Ripuarian allies. Clovis encountered the invaders of Gaul in the plain of Tolbiac, about twenty-four miles from Cologne; and the two fierceſt nations of Germany were mutually animated by the memory of paſt exploits, and the proſpect of future greatneſs. The Franks, after an obſtinate ſtruggle, gave way; and the Alemanni, raiſing a ſhout of victory, impetuouſly preſſed their retreat. But the battle was reſtored by

[21] Populi habitantes juxta *Lemannum* lacum, *Alemanni* dicuntur. Servius, ad Virgil. Georgic. iv. 278. Dom Bouquet (tom. i. p. 817.) has only alleged the more recent and corrupt text of Iſidore of Seville.

[22] Gregory of Tours ſends St. Lupicinus inter illa Jurenſis deſerti ſecreta, quæ, inter Burgundiam Alamanniamque ſita, Aventicæ adjacent civitati, in tom. i. p. 648. M. de Watteville (Hiſt. de la Confederation Helvetique, tom. i. p. 9, 10.) has accurately defined the Helvetian limits of the dutchy of Alemannia, and the Tranjurane Burgundy. They were commenſurate with the dioceſes of Conſtance and Avenche, or Lauſanne, and are ſtill diſcriminated, in modern Switzerland, by the uſe of the German, or French, language.

[23] See Guilliman de Rebus Helveticis, l. i. c. 3. p. 11, 12. Within the ancient walls of Vindoniſſa, the caſtle of Habſburgh, the abbey of Konigsfield, and the town of Bruck, have ſucceſſively ariſen. The philoſophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conqueſt, of feudal or Auſtrian tyranny, of monkiſh ſuperſtition, and of induſtrious freedom. If he be truly a philoſopher, he will applaud the merit and happineſs of his own times.

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the valour, the conduct, and perhaps by the piety, of Clovis; and the event of the bloody day decided for ever the alternative of empire or ſervitude. The laſt king of the Alemanni was ſlain in the field, and his people was ſlaughtered and purſued, till they threw down their arms, and yielded to the mercy of the conqueror. Without diſcipline it was impoſſible for them to rally; they had contemptuouſly demoliſhed the walls and fortifications which might have protected their diſtreſs; and they were followed into the heart of their foreſts, by an enemy, not leſs active, or intrepid, than themſelves. The great Theodoric congratulated the victory of Clovis, whoſe ſiſter Albofleda the king of Italy had lately married; but he mildly interceded with his brother in favour of the ſuppliants and fugitives who had implored his protection. The Gallic territories, which were poſſeſſed by the Alemanni, became the prize of their conqueror; and the haughty nation, invincible, or rebellious, to the arms of Rome, acknowledged the ſovereignty of the Merovingian kings, who graciouſly permitted them to enjoy their peculiar manners and inſtitutions, under the government of official, and, at length, of hereditary, dukes. After the conqueſt of the Weſtern provinces, the Franks alone maintained their ancient habitations beyond the Rhine. They gradually ſubdued, and civilized, the exhauſted countries, as far as the Elbe, and the mountains of Bohemia; and the peace of Europe was ſecured by the obedience of Germany [24].

Converſion of Clovis, A. D. 496.

Till the thirtieth year of his age, Clovis continued to worſhip the gods of his anceſtors [25]. His diſbelief, or rather diſregard, of Chriſtianity,

[24] Gregory of Tours (l. ii. 30. 37. in tom. ii. p. 176, 177. 182.), the Geſta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 551.), and the epiſtle of Theodoric (Caſſiodor. Variar. l. ii. c. 41. in tom. iv. p. 4.), repreſent the defeat of the Alemanni. Some of their tribes ſettled in Rhætia, under the protection of Theodoric; whoſe ſucceſſors ceded the colony and their country to the grandſon of Clovis. The ſtate of the Alemanni under the Merovingian kings may be ſeen in Maſcou (Hiſt. of the Ancient Germans, xi. 8, &c. Annotation xxxvi.) and Guilliman (de Reb. Helvet. l. ii. c. 10—12. p. 72—80.).

[25] Clotilda, or rather Gregory, ſuppoſes that Clovis worſhipped the gods of Greece and

tianity, might encourage him to pillage with leſs remorſe the churches of an hoſtile territory: but his ſubjects of Gaul enjoyed the free exerciſe of religious worſhip; and the biſhops entertained a more favourable hope of the idolater, than of the heretics. The Merovingian prince had contracted a fortunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, who, in the midſt of an Arian court, was educated in the profeſſion of the Catholic faith. It was her intereſt, as well as her duty, to atchieve the converſion[26] of a Pagan huſband; and Clovis inſenſibly liſtened to the voice of love and religion. He conſented (perhaps ſuch terms had been previouſly ſtipulated) to the baptiſm of his eldeſt ſon; and though the ſudden death of the infant excited ſome ſuperſtitious fears, he was perſuaded, a ſecond time, to repeat the dangerous experiment. In the diſtreſs of the battle of Tolbiac, Clovis loudly invoked the god of Clotilda and the Chriſtians; and victory diſpoſed him to hear, with reſpectful gratitude, the eloquent[27] Remigius[28], biſhop of Rheims, who forcibly diſplayed the temporal and ſpiritual advantages of his converſion. The king declared himſelf ſatisfied of the truth of the Catholic faith; and the political reaſons which might have ſuſpended his

and Rome. The fact is incredible, and the miſtake only ſhews how completely, in leſs than a century, the national religion of the Franks had been aboliſhed, and even forgotten.

[26] Gregory of Tours relates the marriage and converſion of Clovis (l. ii. c. 28—31. in tom. ii. p. 175—178.). Even Fredegarius, or the nameleſs Epitomizer (in tom. ii. p. 398—400.), the author of the Geſta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 548—552.), and Aimoin himſelf (l. i. c. 13. in tom. iii. p. 37—40.), may be heard without diſdain. Tradition might long preſerve ſome curious circumſtances of theſe important tranſactions.

[27] A traveller, who returned from Rheims to Auvergne, had ſtolen a copy of his Declamations from the ſecretary or bookſeller of the modeſt archbiſhop (Sidonius Apollinar. l. ix. epiſt. 7.). Four epiſtles of Remigius, which are ſtill extant (in tom. iv. p. 51, 52, 53.), do not correſpond with the ſplendid praiſe of Sidonius.

[28] Hincmar, one of the ſucceſſors of Remigius (A. D. 845—882), has compoſed his life (in tom. iii. p. 373—380.). The authority of ancient MSS. of the church of Rheims might inſpire ſome confidence, which is deſtroyed, however, by the ſelfiſh and audacious fictions of Hincmar. It is remarkable enough, that Remigius, who was conſecrated at the age of twenty-two (A. D. 457), filled the epiſcopal chair ſeventy-four years (Pagi Critica, in Baron. tom. ii. p. 384. 572.).

public

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public profeſſion, were removed by the devout or loyal acclamations of the Franks, who ſhewed themſelves alike prepared to follow their heroic leader, to the field of battle, or to the baptiſmal font. The important ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Rheims, with every circumſtance of magnificence and ſolemnity, that could impreſs an awful ſenſe of religion on the minds of its rude proſelytes [29]. The new Conſtantine was immediately baptiſed, with three thouſand of his warlike ſubjects; and their example was imitated by the remainder of the *gentle Barbarians*, who, in obedience to the victorious prelate, adored the croſs which they had burnt, and burnt the idols which they had formerly adored [30]. The mind of Clovis was ſuſceptible of tranſient fervour: he was exaſperated by the pathetic tale of the paſſion and death of Chriſt; and, inſtead of weighing the ſalutary conſequences of that myſterious ſacrifice, he exclaimed with indiſcreet fury, "Had I been preſent at the head of my valiant "Franks, I would have revenged his injuries [31]." But the ſavage conqueror of Gaul was incapable of examining the proofs of a religion, which depends on the laborious inveſtigation of hiſtoric evidence, and ſpeculative theology. He was ſtill more incapable of feeling the mild influence of the goſpel, which perſuades and purifies the heart of a genuine convert. His ambitious reign was a perpetual violation of moral and Chriſtian duties; his hands were

[29] A vial (the *Sainte Ampoulle*) of holy, or rather celeſtial, oil, was brought down by a white dove, for the baptiſm of Clovis; and it is ſtill uſed, and renewed, in the coronation of the kings of France. Hincmar (he aſpired to the primacy of Gaul) is the firſt author of this fable (in tom. iii. p. 377.), whoſe ſlight foundations the Abbé de Vertot (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. ii. p. 619—633.) has undermined, with profound reſpect, and conſummate dexterity.

[30] Mitis depone colla, Sicamber: adora quod incendiſti, incende quod adoraſti. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 31. in tom. ii. p. 177.

[31] Si ego ibidem cum Francis meis fuiſſem, injurias ejus vindicaſſem. This raſh expreſſion, which Gregory has prudently concealed, is celebrated by Fredegarius (Epitom. c. 21. in tom. ii. p. 400.), Aimoin (l. i. c. 16. in tom. iii. p. 40.), and the Chroniques de St. Denys (l. i. c. 20. in tom. iii. p. 171.), as an admirable effuſion of Chriſtian zeal.

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ſtained with blood, in peace as well as in war; and, as ſoon as Clovis had diſmiſſed a ſynod of the Gallican church, he calmly aſſaſſinated *all* the princes of the Merovingian race[32]. Yet the king of the Franks might ſincerely worſhip the Chriſtian God, as a Being more excellent and powerful than his national deities; and the ſignal deliverance and victory of Tolbiac encouraged Clovis to confide in the future protection of the Lord of Hoſts. Martin, the moſt popular of the ſaints, had filled the Weſtern world with the fame of thoſe miracles, which were inceſſantly performed at his holy ſepulchre of Tours. His viſible or inviſible aid promoted the cauſe of a liberal and orthodox prince; and the profane remark of Clovis himſelf, that St. Martin was an expenſive friend[33], need not be interpreted as the ſymptom of any permanent, or rational, ſcepticiſm. But earth, as well as heaven, rejoiced in the converſion of the Franks. On the memorable day, when Clovis aſcended from the baptiſmal font, he alone, in the Chriſtian world, deſerved the name and prerogatives of a Catholic king. The emperor Anaſtaſius entertained ſome dangerous errors concerning the nature of the divine incarnation; and the Barbarians of Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul, were involved in the Arian hereſy. The eldeſt, or rather the only, ſon of the church, was acknowledged by the clergy as their lawful ſovereign, or glorious deliverer; and the arms of Clovis were ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the zeal and favour of the Catholic faction[34].

[32] Gregory (l. ii. c. 40—43. in tom. ii. p. 183—185.), after coolly relating the repeated crimes, and affected remorſe, of Clovis, concludes, perhaps undeſignedly, with a leſſon, which ambition will never hear; "His ita "tranſactis . . . obiit."

[33] After the Gothic victory, Clovis made rich offerings to St. Martin of Tours. He wiſhed to redeem his war-horſe by the gift of one hundred pieces of gold; but the enchanted ſteed could not move from the ſtable till the price of his redemption had been doubled. This *miracle* provoked the king to exclaim, Vere B. Martinus eſt bonus in auxilio, ſed carus in negotio (Geſta Francorum, in tom. ii. p. 554, 555.).

[34] See the epiſtle from pope Anaſtaſius to the royal convert (in tom. iv. p. 50, 51.). Avitus, biſhop of Vienna, addreſſed Clovis on the ſame ſubject (p. 49.); and many of the Latin biſhops would aſſure him of their joy and attachment.

Under

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Submiſſion of the Armoricans and the Roman troops, A. D. 497, &c.

Under the Roman empire, the wealth and juriſdiction of the biſhops, their ſacred character, and perpetual office, their numerous dependents, popular eloquence, and provincial aſſemblies, had rendered them always reſpectable, and ſometimes dangerous. Their influence was augmented with the progreſs of ſuperſtition; and the eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy may, in ſome degree, be aſcribed to the firm alliance of an hundred prelates, who reigned in the diſcontented, or independent, cities of Gaul. The ſlight foundations of the *Armorican* republic had been repeatedly ſhaken, or overthrown; but the ſame people ſtill guarded their domeſtic freedom; aſſerted the dignity of the Roman name; and bravely reſiſted the predatory inroads, and regular attacks, of Clovis, who laboured to extend his conqueſts from the Seine to the Loire. Their ſucceſsful oppoſition introduced an equal and honourable union. The Franks eſteemed the valour of the Armoricans[35], and the Armoricans were reconciled by the religion of the Franks. The military force, which had been ſtationed for the defence of Gaul, conſiſted of one hundred different bands of cavalry or infantry; and theſe troops, while they aſſumed the title and privileges of Roman ſoldiers, were renewed by an inceſſant ſupply of the Barbarian youth. The extreme fortifications, and ſcattered fragments, of the empire, were ſtill defended by their hopeleſs courage. But their retreat was intercepted, and their communication was impracticable: they were abandoned by the Greek princes of Conſtantinople, and they piouſly diſclaimed all connection with the Arian uſurpers of Gaul. They accepted, without ſhame or reluctance, the generous capitulation, which was propoſed by a Catholic hero; and this ſpurious, or

[35] Inſtead of the Ἀξθορυχοι, an unknown people, who now appear in the text of Procopius, Hadrian de Valois has reſtored the proper name of the Ἀρμορυχοι; and this eaſy correction has been almoſt univerſally approved. Yet an unprejudiced reader would naturally ſuppoſe, that Procopius means to deſcribe a tribe of Germans in the alliance of Rome; and not a confederacy of Gallic cities, which had revolted from the empire.

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legitimate, progeny of the Roman legions, was diſtinguiſhed in the ſucceeding age by their arms, their enſigns, and their peculiar dreſs and inſtitutions. But the national ſtrength was increaſed by theſe powerful and voluntary acceſſions; and the neighbouring kingdoms dreaded the numbers, as well as the ſpirit, of the Franks. The reduction of the Northern provinces of Gaul, inſtead of being decided by the chance of a ſingle battle, appears to have been ſlowly effected by the gradual operation of war and treaty; and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition, by ſuch efforts, or ſuch conceſſions, as were adequate to its real value. *His* ſavage character, and the virtues of Henry IV. ſuggeſt the moſt oppoſite ideas of human nature: yet ſome reſemblance may be found in the ſituation of two princes, who conquered France by their valour, their policy, and the merits of a ſeaſonable converſion [36].

The Burgundian war, A. D. 499.

The kingdom of the Burgundians, which was defined by the courſe of two Gallic rivers, the Saone and the Rhône, extended from the foreſt of Voſges to the Alps and the ſea of Marſeilles [37]. The ſceptre was in the hands of Gundobald. That valiant and ambitious prince had reduced the number of royal candidates by the death of two brothers, one of whom was the father of Clotilda [38]; but his imperfect prudence ſtill permitted Godegeſil, the youngeſt

[36] This important digreſſion of Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 29—36.) illuſtrates the origin of the French monarchy. Yet I muſt obſerve, 1. That the Greek hiſtorian betrays an inexcuſable ignorance of the geography of the Weſt. 2. That theſe treaties and privileges, which ſhould leave ſome laſting traces, are totally inviſible in Gregory of Tours, the Salic laws, &c.

[37] Regnum circa Rhodanum aut Ararim cum provinciâ Maſſilienſi retinebant. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 32. in tom. ii. p. 178. The province of Marſeilles, as far as the Durance, was afterwards ceded to the Oſtrogoths: and the ſignatures of twenty-five biſhops are ſuppoſed to repreſent the kingdom of Burgundy, A. D. 519. (Concil. Epaon. in tom. iv. p. 104, 105.) Yet I would except Vindoniſſa. The biſhop, who lived under the Pagan Alemanni, would naturally reſort to the ſynods of the next Chriſtian kingdom. Maſcou (in his four firſt annotations) has explained many circumſtances relative to the Burgundian monarchy.

[38] Maſcou (Hiſt. of the Germans, xi. 10.), who very reaſonably diſtruſts the teſtimony of Gregory of Tours, has produced a paſſage from Avitus (epiſt. v.) to prove that Gundobald affected to deplore the tragic event, which his ſubjects affected to applaud.

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of his brothers, to poſſeſs the dependent principality of Geneva. The Arian monarch was juſtly alarmed by the ſatisfaction, and the hopes, which ſeemed to animate his clergy and people, after the converſion of Clovis; and Gundobald convened at Lyons an aſſembly of his biſhops, to reconcile, if it were poſſible, their religious and political diſcontents. A vain conference was agitated between the two factions. The Arians upbraided the Catholics with the worſhip of three Gods: the Catholics defended their cauſe by theological diſtinctions; and the uſual arguments, objections, and replies, were reverberated with obſtinate clamour; till the king revealed his ſecret apprehenſions, by an abrupt but deciſive queſtion, which he addreſſed to the orthodox biſhops. "If you truly profeſs "the Chriſtian religion, why do you not reſtrain the king of "the Franks? He has declared war againſt me, and forms alliances "with my enemies for my deſtruction. A ſanguinary and covetous "mind is not the ſymptom of a ſincere converſion: let him "ſhew his faith by his works." The anſwer of Avitus, biſhop of Vienna, who ſpoke in the name of his brethren, was delivered with the voice and countenance of an angel. "We are ignorant of the "motives and intentions of the king of the Franks: but we are "taught by ſcripture, that the kingdoms which abandon the divine "law, are frequently ſubverted; and that enemies will ariſe on "every ſide againſt thoſe who have made God their enemy. Re-"turn, with thy people, to the law of God, and he will give peace "and ſecurity to thy dominions." The king of Burgundy, who was not prepared to accept the condition, which the Catholics conſidered as eſſential to the treaty, delayed and diſmiſſed the eccleſiaſtical conference; after reproaching his biſhops, that Clovis, their friend and proſelyte, had privately tempted the allegiance of his brother [39].

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[39] See the original conference (in tom. iv. p. 99—102.). Avitus, the principal actor, and probably the ſecretary of the meeting, was biſhop of Vienna. A ſhort account of his

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Victory of Clovis, A. D. 500.

The allegiance of his brother was already ſeduced; and the obedience of Godegeſil, who joined the royal ſtandard with the troops of Geneva, more effectually promoted the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy. While the Franks and Burgundians contended with equal valour, his ſeaſonable deſertion decided the event of the battle; and as Gundobald was faintly ſupported by the diſaffected Gauls, he yielded to the arms of Clovis, and haſtily retreated from the field, which appears to have been ſituate between Langres and Dijon. He diſtruſted the ſtrength of Dijon, a quadrangular fortreſs, encompaſſed by two rivers, and by a wall thirty feet high, and fifteen thick, with four gates, and thirty-three towers[40]: he abandoned to the purſuit of Clovis the important cities of Lyons and Vienna; and Gundobald ſtill fled with precipitation, till he had reached Avignon, at the diſtance of two hundred and fifty miles from the field of battle. A long ſiege, and an artful negotiation, admoniſhed the king of the Franks of the danger and difficulty of his enterpriſe. He impoſed a tribute on the Burgundian prince, compelled him to pardon and reward his brother's treachery, and proudly returned to his own dominions with the ſpoils and captives of the ſouthern provinces. This ſplendid triumph was ſoon clouded by the intelligence, that Gundobald had violated his recent obligations, and that the unfortunate Godegeſil, who was left at Vienna with a garriſon of five thouſand Franks[41], had been beſieged, ſurpriſed, and maſſacred, by his inhuman brother. Such an outrage might have exaſperated the

his perſon and works may be found in Dupin (Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique, tom. v. p. 5—10.).

[40] Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 19. in tom. ii. p. 197.) indulges his genius, or rather tranſcribes ſome more eloquent writer, in the deſcription of Dijon; a caſtle, which already deſerved the title of a city. It depended on the biſhops of Langres till the twelfth century, and afterwards became the capital of the dukes of Burgundy. Longuerue, Deſcription de la France, part i. p. 280.

[41] The Epitomizer of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 401.) has ſupplied this number of Franks; but he raſhly ſuppoſes that they were cut in pieces by Gundobald. The prudent Burgundian ſpared the ſoldiers of Clovis, and ſent theſe captives to the king of the Viſigoths, who ſettled them in the territory of Thouloufe.

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patience of the moſt peaceful ſovereign; yet the conqueror of Gaul diſſembled the injury, releaſed the tribute, and accepted the alliance, and military ſervice, of the king of Burgundy. Clovis no longer poſſeſſed thoſe advantages which had aſſured the ſucceſs of the preceding war; and his rival, inſtructed by adverſity, had found new reſources in the affections of his people. The Gauls or Romans applauded the mild and impartial laws of Gundobald, which almoſt raiſed them to the ſame level with their conquerors. The biſhops were reconciled, and flattered, by the hopes, which he artfully ſuggeſted, of his approaching converſion; and though he eluded their accompliſhment to the laſt moment of his life, his moderation ſecured the peace, and ſuſpended the ruin, of the kingdom of Burgundy [42].

Final conqueſt of Burgundy by the Franks, A. D. 532.

I am impatient to purſue the final ruin of that kingdom, which was accompliſhed under the reign of Sigiſmond, the ſon of Gundobald. The Catholic Sigiſmond has acquired the honours of a ſaint and martyr [43]; but the hands of the royal ſaint were ſtained with the blood of his innocent ſon, whom he inhumanly ſacrificed to the pride and reſentment of a ſtepmother. He ſoon diſcovered his error, and bewailed the irreparable loſs. While Sigiſmond embraced the corpſe of the unfortunate youth, he received a ſevere admonition from one of his attendants: "It is not his ſituation, O king! it is "thine which deſerves pity and lamentation." The reproaches of a guilty conſcience were alleviated, however, by his liberal donations to the monaſtery of Agaunum, or St. Maurice, in Vallais; which he himſelf had founded in honour of the imaginary martyrs of

[42] In this Burgundian war I have followed Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 32, 33. in tom. ii. p. 178, 179.), whoſe narrative *appears* ſo incompatible with that of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 31, 32.), that ſome critics have ſuppoſed *two* different wars. The Abbé Dubos (Hiſt. Critique, &c. tom. ii. p. 126—162.) has diſtinctly repreſented the cauſes and the events.

[43] See his life, or legend (in tom. iii. p. 402.). A martyr! how ſtrangely has that word been diſtorted from its original ſenſe of a common witneſs. St. Sigiſmond was remarkable for the cure of fevers.

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the Thebæan legion [44]. A full chorus of perpetual pſalmody was inſtituted by the pious king; he aſſiduouſly practiſed the auſtere devotion of the monks; and it was his humble prayer, that heaven would inflict in this world the puniſhment of his ſins. His prayer was heard: the avengers were at hand; and the provinces of Burgundy were overwhelmed by an army of victorious Franks. After the event of an unſucceſsful battle, Sigiſmond, who wiſhed to protract his life that he might prolong his pennance, concealed himſelf in the deſert in a religious habit, till he was diſcovered and betrayed by his ſubjects, who ſolicited the favour of their new maſters. The captive monarch, with his wife and two children, was tranſported to Orleans, and buried alive in a deep well, by the ſtern command of the ſons of Clovis; whoſe cruelty might derive ſome excuſe from the maxims and examples of their barbarous age. Their ambition, which urged them to atchieve the conqueſt of Burgundy, was inflamed, or diſguiſed, by filial piety: and Clotilda, whoſe ſanctity did not conſiſt in the forgiveneſs of injuries, preſſed them to revenge her father's death on the family of his aſſaſſin. The rebellious Burgundians, for they attempted to break their chains, were ſtill permitted to enjoy their national laws under the obligation of a tribute and military ſervice; and the Merovingian princes peaceably reigned over a kingdom, whoſe glory and greatneſs had been firſt overthrown by the arms of Clovis [45].

[44] Before the end of the fifth century, the church of St. Maurice, and his Thebæan legion, had rendered Agaunum a place of devout pilgrimage. A promiſcuous community of both ſexes had introduced ſome deeds of darkneſs, which were aboliſhed (A. D. 515) by the regular monaſtery of Sigiſmond. Within fifty years, his *angels of light* made a nocturnal ſally to murder their biſhop, and his clergy. See in the Bibliotheque Raiſonnée (tom. xxxvi. p. 435—438.) the curious remark of a learned librarian of Geneva.

[45] Marius, biſhop of Avenche (Chron. in tom. ii. p. 15.), has marked the authentic dates, and Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 5, 6. in tom. ii. p. 188, 189.) has expreſſed the principal facts, of the life of Sigiſmond, and the conqueſt of Burgundy. Procopius (in tom. ii. p. 34.) and Agathias (in tom. ii. p. 49.) ſhew their remote and imperfect knowledge.

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The Gothic war, A. D. 507.

The first victory of Clovis had insulted the honour of the Goths. They viewed his rapid progress with jealousy and terror; and the youthful fame of Alaric was oppressed by the more potent genius of his rival. Some disputes inevitably arose on the edge of their contiguous dominions; and after the delays of fruitless negotiation, a personal interview of the two kings was proposed and accepted. This conference of Clovis and Alaric was held in a small island of the Loire, near Amboise. They embraced, familiarly conversed, and feasted together; and separated with the warmest professions of peace, and brotherly love. But their apparent confidence concealed a dark suspicion of hostile and treacherous designs; and their mutual complaints solicited, eluded, and disclaimed, a final arbitration. At Paris, which he already considered as his royal seat, Clovis declared to an assembly of the princes and warriors, the pretence, and the motive, of a Gothic war. "It grieves me to see that "the Arians still possess the fairest portion of Gaul. Let us march "against them with the aid of God; and having vanquished the "heretics, we will possess, and divide, their fertile provinces[45]." The Franks, who were inspired by hereditary valour and recent zeal, applauded the generous design of their monarch; expressed their resolution to conquer or die, since death and conquest would be equally profitable; and solemnly protested that they would never shave their beards, till victory should absolve them from that inconvenient vow. The enterprise was promoted by the public, or private, exhortations of Clotilda. She reminded her husband, how effectually some pious foundation would propitiate the Deity, and his servants: and the Christian hero, darting his battle-axe with a skilful and nervous hand, "There (said he), on that spot where my

[45] Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 37. in tom. ii. p. 181.) inserts the short but persuasive speech of Clovis. Valde molestè fero, quòd hi Ariani partem teneant Galliarum (the author of the Gesta Francorum, in tom. ii. p. 553. adds the precious epithet of *optimam*), eamus cum Dei adjutorio, et, superatis eis, redigamus terram in ditionem nostram.

"*Franciſca*

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"*Franciſca*[47] ſhall fall, will I erect a church in honour of the holy "apoſtles." This oſtentatious piety confirmed and juſtified the attachment of the Catholics, with whom he ſecretly correſponded; and their devout wiſhes were gradually ripened into a formidable conſpiracy. The people of Aquitain was alarmed by the indiſcreet reproaches of their Gothic tyrants, who juſtly accuſed them of preferring the dominion of the Franks; and their zealous adherent Quintianus, biſhop of Rodez[48], preached more forcibly in his exile than in his dioceſe. To reſiſt theſe foreign and domeſtic enemies, who were fortified by the alliance of the Burgundians, Alaric collected his troops, far more numerous than the military powers of Clovis. The Viſigoths reſumed the exerciſe of arms, which they had neglected in a long and luxurious peace[49]: a ſelect band of valiant and robuſt ſlaves attended their maſters to the field[50]; and the cities of Gaul were compelled to furniſh their doubtful and reluctant aid. Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths, who reigned in Italy, had laboured to maintain the tranquillity of Gaul; and he aſſumed, or affected, for that purpoſe, the impartial character of a mediator. But the ſagacious monarch dreaded the riſing empire of Clovis, and he was firmly engaged to ſupport the national and religious cauſe of the Goths.

[47] Tunc rex projecit a ſe in directum Bipennem ſuam quod eſt *Franciſca*, &c. (Geſta Franc. in tom. ii. p. 554.). The form, and uſe, of this weapon, are clearly deſcribed by Procopius (in tom. ii. p. 37.). Examples of its *national* appellation in Latin and French, may be found in the Gloſſary of Ducange, and the large Dictionnaire de Trevoux.

[48] It is ſingular enough, that ſome important and authentic facts ſhould be found in a life of Quintianus, compoſed in rhyme in the old *Patois* of Rouergue (Dubos Hiſt. Critique, &c. tom. ii. p. 179.).

[49] Quamvis fortitudini veſtræ confidentiam tribuat parentum veſtrorum innumerabilis multitudo; quamvis Attilam potentem reminiſcamini Viſigotharum viribus inclinatum; tamen quia populorum ferocia corda longâ pace molleſcunt, cavete ſubito in aleam mittere, quos conſtat tantis temporibus exercitia non habere. Such was the ſalutary, but fruitleſs, advice of peace, of reaſon, and of Theodoric (Caſſiodor. l. iii. ep. 2.).

[50] Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xv. c. 14.) mentions and approves the law of the Viſigoths (l. ix. tit. 2. in tom. iv. p. 425.), which obliged all maſters to arm, and ſend, or lead, into the field, a tenth of their ſlaves.

The

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Victory of Clovis, A. D. 507.

The accidental, or artificial, prodigies which adorned the expedition of Clovis, were accepted by a ſuperſtitious age, as the manifeſt declaration of the Divine favour. He marched from Paris; and as he proceeded with decent reverence through the holy dioceſe of Tours, his anxiety tempted him to conſult the ſhrine of St. Martin, the ſanctuary, and the oracle of Gaul. His meſſengers were inſtructed to remark the words of the Pſalm, which ſhould happen to be chaunted at the preciſe moment when they entered the church. Thoſe words moſt fortunately expreſſed the valour and victory of the champions of Heaven, and the application was eaſily transferred to the new Joſhua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle againſt the enemies of the Lord [51]. Orleans ſecured to the Franks a bridge on the Loire; but, at the diſtance of forty miles from Poitiers, their progreſs was intercepted by an extraordinary ſwell of the river Vigenna, or Vienne; and the oppoſite banks were covered by the encampment of the Viſigoths. Delay muſt be always dangerous to Barbarians, who conſume the country through which they march; and had Clovis poſſeſſed leiſure and materials, it might have been impracticable to conſtruct a bridge, or to force a paſſage, in the face of a ſuperior enemy. But the affectionate peaſants, who were impatient to welcome their deliverer, could eaſily betray ſome unknown, or unguarded, ford: the merit of the diſcovery was enhanced by the uſeful interpoſition of fraud or fiction; and a white hart, of ſingular ſize and beauty, appeared to guide and animate the march of the Catholic army. The counſels of the Viſigoths were irreſolute and diſtracted. A

[51] This mode of divination, by accepting as an omen the firſt ſacred words, which in particular circumſtances ſhould be preſented to the eye or ear, was derived from the Pagans; and the Pſalter, or Bible, was ſubſtituted to the poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth to the fourteenth century, theſe *ſortes ſanctorum*, as they are ſtyled, were repeatedly condemned by the decrees of councils, and repeatedly practiſed by kings, biſhops, and ſaints. See a curious diſſertation of the Abbé du Reſnel, in the Memoires de l'Academie, tom. xix. p. 287—310.

crowd

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crowd of impatient warriors, preſumptuous in their ſtrength, and diſdaining to fly before the robbers of Germany, excited Alaric to aſſert in arms the name and blood of the conqueror of Rome. The advice of the graver chieftains preſſed him to elude the firſt ardour of the Franks; and to expect, in the ſouthern provinces of Gaul, the veteran and victorious Oſtrogoths, whom the king of Italy had already ſent to his aſſiſtance. The deciſive moments were waſted in idle deliberation; the Goths too haſtily abandoned, perhaps, an advantageous poſt; and the opportunity of a ſecure retreat was loſt by their ſlow and diſorderly motions. After Clovis had paſſed the ford, as it is ſtill named, of the *Hart*, he advanced with bold and haſty ſteps to prevent the eſcape of the enemy. His nocturnal march was directed by a flaming meteor, ſuſpended in the air above the cathedral of Poitiers; and this ſignal, which might be previouſly concerted with the orthodox ſucceſſor of St. Hilary, was compared to the column of fire that guided the Iſraelites in the deſert. At the third hour of the day, about ten miles beyond Poitiers, Clovis overtook, and inſtantly attacked, the Gothic army; whoſe defeat was already prepared by terror and confuſion. Yet they rallied in their extreme diſtreſs, and the martial youths, who had clamorouſly demanded the battle, refuſed to ſurvive the ignominy of flight. The two kings encountered each other in ſingle combat. Alaric fell by the hand of his rival; and the victorious Frank was ſaved by the goodneſs of his cuiraſs, and the vigour of his horſe, from the ſpears of two deſperate Goths, who furiouſly rode againſt him, to revenge the death of their ſovereign. The vague expreſſion of a mountain of the ſlain, ſerves to indicate a cruel, though indefinite, ſlaughter; but Gregory has carefully obſerved, that his valiant countryman Apollinaris, the ſon of Sidonius, loſt his life at the head of the nobles of Auvergne. Perhaps theſe ſuſpected Catholics had been maliciouſly expoſed to the blind

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Conqueſt of Aquitain by the Franks, A. D. 508.

aſſault of the enemy; and perhaps the influence of religion was ſuperſeded by perſonal attachment, or military honour [52].

Such is the empire of Fortune (if we may ſtill diſguiſe our ignorance under that popular name), that it is almoſt equally difficult to foreſee the events of war, or to explain their various conſequences. A bloody and complete victory has ſometimes yielded no more than the poſſeſſion of the field; and the loſs of ten thouſand men has ſometimes been ſufficient to deſtroy, in a ſingle day, the work of ages. The deciſive battle of Poitiers was followed by the conqueſt of Aquitain. Alaric had left behind him an infant ſon, a baſtard competitor, factious nobles, and a diſloyal people; and the remaining forces of the Goths were oppreſſed by the general conſternation, or oppoſed to each other in civil diſcord. The victorious king of the Franks proceeded without delay to the ſiege of Angoulême. At the ſound of his trumpets the walls of the city imitated the example of Jericho, and inſtantly fell to the ground; a ſplendid miracle, which may be reduced to the ſuppoſition, that ſome clerical engineers had ſecretly undermined the foundations of the rampart [53]. At Bourdeaux, which had ſubmitted without reſiſtance, Clovis eſtabliſhed his winter-quarters; and his prudent œconomy tranſported from Thouloufe the royal treaſures, which were depoſited in the capital of the monarchy. The conqueror penetrated as far as the confines of Spain [54]; reſtored the honours of the Catholic church;

[52] After correcting the text, or excuſing the miſtake, of Procopius, who places the defeat of Alaric near Carcaſſone, we may conclude from the evidence of Gregory, Fortunatus, and the author of the Geſta Francorum, that the battle was fought *in campo Vocladenſi*, on the banks of the Clain, about ten miles to the ſouth of Poitiers. Clovis overtook and attacked the Viſigoths near Vivonne, and the victory was decided near a village ſtill named Champagné St. Hilaire. See the Diſſertations of the Abbé le Bœuf, tom. i. p. 304—331.

[53] Angoulême is in the road from Poitiers to Bourdeaux; and although Gregory delays the ſiege, I can more readily believe that he confounded the order of hiſtory, than that Clovis neglected the rules of war.

[54] Pyrenæos montes uſque Perpinianum ſubjecit; is the expreſſion of Rorico, which betrays his recent date; ſince Perpignan did not exiſt before the tenth century (Marca Hiſpanica,

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church; fixed in Aquitain a colony of Franks[55]; and delegated to his lieutenants the eaſy taſk of ſubduing, or extirpating, the nation of the Viſigoths. But the Viſigoths were protected by the wiſe and powerful monarch of Italy. While the balance was ſtill equal, Theodoric had perhaps delayed the march of the Oſtrogoths; but their ſtrenuous efforts ſucceſsfully reſiſted the ambition of Clovis; and the army of the Franks, and their Burgundian allies, was compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Arles, with the loſs, as it is ſaid, of thirty thouſand men. Theſe viciſſitudes inclined the fierce ſpirit of Clovis to acquieſce in an advantageous treaty of peace. The Viſigoths were ſuffered to retain the poſſeſſion of Septimania, a narrow tract of ſea-coaſt, from the Rhone to the Pyrenees; but the ample province of Aquitain, from thoſe mountains to the Loire, was indiſſolubly united to the kingdom of France[56].

Conſulſhip of Clovis, A. D. 510.

After the ſucceſs of the Gothic war, Clovis accepted the honours of the Roman conſulſhip. The emperor Anaſtaſius ambitiouſly beſtowed on the moſt powerful rival of Theodoric, the title and enſigns of that eminent dignity; yet, from ſome unknown

Hiſpanica, p. 458.). This florid and fabulous writer (perhaps a monk of Amiens. See the Abbé le Bœuf, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xvii. p. 228—245.) relates, in the *allegorical* character of a ſhepherd, the general hiſtory of his countrymen the Franks; but his narrative ends with the death of Clovis.

I have uſed the following materials, with due regard to their unequal value. Four epiſtles from Theodoric king of Italy (Caſſiodor. l. iii. epiſt. 1—4. in tom. iv. p. 3—5.), Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 32, 33.), Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 35, 36, 37. in tom. ii. p. 181—183.), Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 58. in tom. ii. p. 28.), Fortunatus (in Vit. St. Hilarii, in tom. iii. p. 380.), Iſidore (in Chron. Goth. in tom. ii. p. 702.), the Epitome of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 401.), the author of the Geſta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 553—555.), the Fragments of Fredegarius (in tom. ii. p. 463.), Aimoin (l. i. c. 20. in tom. iii. p. 41, 42.), and Rorico (l. iv. in tom. iii. p. 14—19.).

[55] The author of the Geſta Francorum poſitively affirms, that Clovis fixed a body of Franks in the Saintonge and Bourdelois: and he is not injudiciouſly followed by Rorico, electos milites, atque fortiſſimos, cum parvulis, utque mulieribus. Yet it ſhould ſeem that they ſoon mingled with the Romans of Aquitain, till Charlemagne introduced a more numerous and powerful colony (Dubos Hiſt. Critique, tom. ii. p. 215.).

[56] In the compoſition of the Gothic war,

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cauſe, the name of Clovis has not been inſcribed in the *Faſti* either of the Eaſt or Weſt[57]. On the ſolemn day, the monarch of Gaul, placing a diadem on his head, was inveſted, in the church of St. Martin, with a purple tunic and mantle. From thence he proceeded on horſeback to the cathedral of Tours; and, as he paſſed through the ſtreets, profuſely ſcattered, with his own hand, a donative of gold and ſilver to the joyful multitude, who inceſſantly repeated their acclamations of *Conſul* and *Auguſtus*. The actual, or legal, authority of Clovis, could not receive any new acceſſions from the conſular dignity. It was a name, a ſhadow, an empty pageant; and, if the conqueror had been inſtructed to claim the ancient prerogatives of that high office, they muſt have expired with the period of its annual duration. But the Romans were diſpoſed to revere, in the perſon of their maſter, that antique title, which the emperors condeſcended to aſſume: the Barbarian himſelf ſeemed to contract a ſacred obligation to reſpect the majeſty of the republic; and the ſucceſſors of Theodoſius, by ſoliciting his friendſhip, tacitly forgave, and almoſt ratified, the uſurpation of Gaul.

Final eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy in Gaul, A. D. 536.

Twenty-five years after the death of Clovis, this important conceſſion was more formally declared, in a treaty between his ſons and the emperor Juſtinian. The Oſtrogoths of Italy, unable to defend their diſtant acquiſitions, had reſigned to the Franks the cities of Arles and Marſeilles: of Arles, ſtill adorned with the ſeat of a Prætorian præfect; and of Marſeilles, enriched by the advantages of trade and navigation[58]. This tranſaction was confirmed by the Imperial

[57] The *Faſti* of Italy would naturally reject a conſul, the enemy of their ſovereign; but any ingenious hypotheſis that might explain the ſilence of Conſtantinople and Egypt (the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Paſchal), is overturned by the ſimilar ſilence of Marius, biſhop of Avenche, who compoſed his *Faſti* in the kingdom of Burgundy. If the evidence of Gregory of Tours were leſs weighty and poſitive (l. ii. c. 38. in tom. ii. p. 183.), I could believe that Clovis, like Odoacer, received the laſting title and honours of *Patrician* (Pagi Critica, tom. ii. p. 474. 492.).

[58] Under the Merovingian kings, Marſeilles ſtill imported from the Eaſt, paper, wine,

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Imperial authority; and Juſtinian, generouſly yielding to the Franks the ſovereignty of the countries beyond the Alps, which they already poſſeſſed, abſolved the provincials from their allegiance; and eſtabliſhed on a more lawful, though not more ſolid, foundation the throne of the Merovingians [59]. From that æra, they enjoyed the right of celebrating at Arles, the games of the Circus; and by a ſingular privilege, which was denied even to the Perſian monarch, the *gold* coin, impreſſed with their name and image, obtained a legal currency in the empire [60]. A Greek hiſtorian of that age has praiſed the private and public virtues of the Franks, with a partial enthuſiaſm, which cannot be ſufficiently juſtified by their domeſtic annals [61]. He celebrates their politeneſs and urbanity, their regular government, and orthodox religion: and boldly aſſerts, that theſe Barbarians could be diſtinguiſhed only by their dreſs and language from the ſubjects of Rome. Perhaps the Franks already diſplayed the ſocial diſpoſition, and lively graces, which in every age have diſguiſed their vices, and ſometimes concealed their intrinſic merit. Perhaps Agathias, and the Greeks, were dazzled by the rapid progreſs of their arms, and the ſplendour of their empire. Since the

wine, oil, linen, ſilk, precious ſtones, ſpices, &c. The Gauls, or Franks, traded to Syria, and the Syrians were eſtabliſhed in Gaul. See M. de Guignes, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxxvii. p. 471—475.

[59] Ου γαρ ποτε ὑπὸ Γαλλίας ξυν τῳ ασφαλει κεκτησθαι Φραγγοι, μη τυ αυτοκρατορος το εργον επισφραγισαντος τουτο γε. This ſtrong declaration of Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. l. iii. c. 33. in tom. ii. p. 41.) would almoſt ſuffice to juſtify the Abbé Dubos.

[60] The Franks, who probably uſed the mints of Treves, Lyons, and Arles, imitated the coinage of the Roman emperors of ſeventy-two *ſolidi*, or pieces, to the pound of gold. But as the Franks eſtabliſhed only a decuple proportion of gold and ſilver, ten ſhillings will be a ſufficient valuation of their ſolidus of gold. It was the common ſtandard of the Barbaric fines, and contained forty *denarii*, or ſilver threepences. Twelve of theſe denarii made a *ſolidus*, or ſhilling, the twentieth part of the ponderal and numeral *livre*, or pound of ſilver, which has been ſo ſtrangely reduced in modern France. See le Blanc Traite Hiſtorique des Monnoyes de France, p. 37—43, &c.

[61] Agathias, in tom. ii. p. 47. Gregory of Tours exhibits a very different picture. Perhaps it would not be eaſy, within the ſame hiſtorical ſpace, to find more vice and leſs virtue. We are continually ſhocked by the union of ſavage and corrupt manners.

conqueſt

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conqueſt of Burgundy, Gaul, except the Gothic province of Septimania, was ſubject, in its whole extent, to the ſons of Clovis. They had extinguiſhed the German kingdom of Thuringia, and their vague dominion penetrated beyond the Rhine, into the heart of their native foreſts. The Alemanni, and Bavarians, who had occupied the Roman provinces of Rhætia and Noricum, to the ſouth of the Danube, confeſſed themſelves the humble vaſſals of the Franks; and the feeble barrier of the Alps was incapable of reſiſting their ambition. When the laſt ſurvivor of the ſons of Clovis united the inheritance and conqueſts of the Merovingians, his kingdom extended far beyond the limits of modern France. Yet modern France, ſuch has been the progreſs of arts and policy, far ſurpaſſes in wealth, populouſneſs, and power, the ſpacious but ſavage realms of Clotaire or Dagobert [62].

Political controverſy.

The Franks, or French, are the only people of Europe, who can deduce a perpetual ſucceſſion from the conquerors of the Weſtern empire. But their conqueſt of Gaul was followed by ten centuries of anarchy, and ignorance. On the revival of learning, the ſtudents who had been formed in the ſchools of Athens and Rome, diſdained their Barbarian anceſtors; and a long period elapſed before patient labour could provide the requiſite materials to ſatisfy, or rather to excite, the curioſity of more enlightened times [63]. At length the eye of criticiſm and philoſophy was directed to the antiquities of

[62] M. de Foncemagne has traced, in a correct and elegant diſſertation (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. viii. p. 505—528.), the extent and limits of the French monarchy.

[63] The Abbé Dubos (Hiſtoire Critique, tom. i. p. 29—36.) has truly and agreeably repreſented the ſlow progreſs of theſe ſtudies; and he obſerves, that Gregory of Tours was only once printed before the year 1560. According to the complaint of Heineccius (Opera, tom. iii. Sylloge iii. p. 248, &c.), Germany received with indifference and contempt the codes of Barbaric laws, which were publiſhed by Heroldus, Lindenbrogius, &c. At preſent thoſe laws (as far as they relate to Gaul), the hiſtory of Gregory of Tours, and all the monuments of the Merovingian race, appear in a pure and perfect ſtate, in the firſt four volumes of the Hiſtorians of France.

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France: but even philoſophers have been tainted by the contagion of prejudice and paſſion. The moſt extreme and excluſive ſyſtems, of the perſonal ſervitude of the Gauls, or of their voluntary and equal alliance with the Franks, have been raſhly conceived, and obſtinately defended: and the intemperate diſputants have accuſed each other of conſpiring againſt the prerogative of the crown, the dignity of the nobles, or the freedom of the people. Yet the ſharp conflict has uſefully exerciſed the adverſe powers of learning and genius: and each antagoniſt, alternately vanquiſhed and victorious, has extirpated ſome ancient errors, and eſtabliſhed ſome intereſting truths. An impartial ſtranger, inſtructed by their diſcoveries, their diſputes, and even their faults, may deſcribe, from the ſame original materials, the ſtate of the Roman provincials, after Gaul had ſubmitted to the arms and laws of the Merovingian kings [64].

Laws of the Barbarians.

The rudeſt or the moſt ſervile condition of human ſociety, is regulated however by ſome fixed and general rules. When Tacitus ſurveyed the primitive ſimplicity of the Germans, he diſcovered ſome permanent maxims, or cuſtoms, of public and private life, which were preſerved by faithful tradition, till the introduction of the art of writing, and of the Latin tongue [65]. Before the election of the Merovingian kings, the moſt powerful tribe, or nation, of the Franks, appointed four venerable chieftains to compoſe the *Salic* laws [66]; and their labours were examined and

[64] In the ſpace of thirty years (1728—1765) this intereſting ſubject has been agitated by the free ſpirit of the Count de Boulainvilliers (Memoires Hiſtoriques ſur l'Etat de la France, particularly tom. i. p. 15—49.); the learned ingenuity of the Abbé Dubos (Hiſtoire Critique de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe dans les Gaules, 2 vol. in 4to.); the comprehenſive genius of the Preſident de Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, particularly l. xxviii. xxx. xxxi.); and the good ſenſe and diligence of the Abbé de Mably (Obſervations ſur l'Hiſtoire de France, 2 vol. 12mo.).

[65] I have derived much inſtruction from two learned works of Heineccius, the *Hiſtory*, and the *Elements*, of the Germanic law. In a judicious preface to the Elements, he conſiders, and tries to excuſe, the defects of that barbarous juriſprudence.

[66] Latin appears to have been the original language of the Salic law. It was probably compoſed

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and approved in three ſucceſſive aſſemblies of the people. After the baptiſm of Clovis, he reformed ſeveral articles that appeared incompatible with Chriſtianity: the Salic law was again amended by his ſons; and at length, under the reign of Dagobert, the code was reviſed and promulgated in its actual form, one hundred years after the eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy. Within the ſame period, the cuſtoms of the *Ripuarians* were tranſcribed and publiſhed; and Charlemagne himſelf, the legiſlator of his age and country, had accurately ſtudied the *two* national laws, which ſtill prevailed among the Franks [67]. The ſame care was extended to their vaſſals; and the rude inſtitutions of the *Alemanni* and *Bavarians* were diligently compiled and ratified by the ſupreme authority of the Merovingian kings. The *Viſigoths* and *Burgundians*, whoſe conqueſts in Gaul preceded thoſe of the Franks, ſhewed leſs impatience to attain one of the principal benefits of civilized ſociety. Euric was the firſt of the Gothic princes, who expreſſed in writing the manners and cuſtoms of his people; and the compoſition of the Burgundian laws was a meaſure of policy rather than of juſtice; to alleviate the yoke, and regain the affections, of their Gallic ſubjects [68]. Thus, by a ſingular coincidence, the Germans framed their artleſs inſtitutions, at a time when the elaborate ſyſtem of Roman juriſprudence was finally conſummated. In the Salic laws, and the Pandects of Juſtinian, we may compare the firſt rudiments, and the full maturity, of civil

compoſed in the beginning of the fifth century, before the æra (A. D. 421) of the real or fabulous Pharamond. The preface mentions the four Cantons which produced the four legiſlators; and many provinces, Franconia, Saxony, Hanover, Brabant, &c. have claimed them as their own. See an excellent Diſſertation of Heineccius, de Lege Salicâ, tom. iii. Sylloge iii. p. 247—267.

[67] Eginhard, in Vit. Caroli Magni, c. 29. in tom. v. p. 100. By theſe two laws, moſt critics underſtand the Salic and the Ripuarian. The former extended from the Carbonarian foreſt to the Loire (tom. iv. p. 151.), and the latter might be obeyed from the ſame foreſt to the Rhine (tom. iv. p. 222.).

[68] Conſult the ancient and modern prefaces of the ſeveral Codes, in the fourth volume of the Hiſtorians of France. The original prologue to the Salic law expreſſes (though in a foreign dialect) the genuine ſpirit of the Franks, more forcibly than the ten books of Gregory of Tours.

wiſdom;

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wiſdom; and whatever prejudices may be ſuggeſted in favour of Barbariſm, our calmer reflections will aſcribe to the Romans the ſuperior advantages, not only of ſcience and reaſon, but of humanity and juſtice. Yet the laws of the Barbarians were adapted to their wants and deſires, their occupations and their capacity; and they all contributed to preſerve the peace, and promote the improvements, of the ſociety, for whoſe uſe they were originally eſtabliſhed. The Merovingians, inſtead of impoſing an uniform rule of conduct on their various ſubjects, permitted each people, and each family, of their empire, freely to enjoy their domeſtic inſtitutions [69]; nor were the Romans excluded from the common benefits of this legal toleration [70]. The children embraced the *law* of their parents, the wife that of her huſband, the freedman that of his patron; and, in all cauſes, where the parties were of different nations, the plaintiff, or accuſer, was obliged to follow the tribunal of the defendant, who may always plead a judicial preſumption of right, or innocence. A more ample latitude was allowed, if every citizen, in the preſence of the judge, might declare the law under which he deſired to live, and the national ſociety to which he choſe to belong. Such an indulgence would aboliſh the partial diſtinctions of victory; and the Roman provincials might patiently acquieſce in the hardſhips of their condition; ſince it depended on themſelves to aſſume the privilege, if they dared to aſſert the character, of free and warlike Barbarians [71].

When

[69] The Ripuarian law declares, and defines, this indulgence in favour of the plaintiff (tit. xxxi. in tom. iv. p. 240.); and the ſame toleration is underſtood, or expreſſed, in all the Codes, except that of the Viſigoths of Spain. Tanta diverſitas legum (ſays Agobard, in the ninth century) quanta non ſolum in regionibus, aut civitatibus, ſed etiam in multis domibus habetur. Nam plerumque contingit ut ſimul eant aut ſedeant quinque homines, et nullus eorum communem legem cum altero habeat (in tom. vi. p. 356.). He fooliſhly propoſes to introduce an uniformity of law, as well as of faith.

[70] Inter Romanos negotia cauſarum Romanis legibus præcipimus terminari. Such are the words of a general conſtitution promulgated by Clotaire, the ſon of Clovis, and ſole monarch of the Franks (in tom. iv. p. 116.), about the year 560.

[71] This liberty of choice has been aptly deduced (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. 2.) from a conſti-

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Pecuniary fines for homicide.

When juſtice inexorably requires the death of a murderer, each private citizen is fortified by the aſſurance, that the laws, the magiſtrate, and the whole community, are the guardians of his perſonal ſafety. But in the looſe ſociety of the Germans, revenge was always honourable, and often meritorious: the independent warrior chaſtiſed, or vindicated with his own hand, the injuries which he had offered, or received; and he had only to dread the reſentment of the ſons, and kinſmen, of the enemy whom he had ſacrificed to his ſelfiſh or angry paſſions. The magiſtrate, conſcious of his weakneſs, interpoſed, not to puniſh, but to reconcile; and he was ſatisfied if he could perſuade, or compel, the contending parties to pay, and to accept, the moderate fine which had been aſcertained as the price of blood [72]. The fierce ſpirit of the Franks would have oppoſed a more rigorous ſentence; the ſame fierceneſs deſpiſed theſe ineffectual reſtraints: and, when their ſimple manners had been corrupted by the wealth of Gaul, the public peace was continually violated by acts of haſty or deliberate guilt. In every juſt government, the ſame penalty is inflicted, or at leaſt is impoſed, for the murder of a peaſant, or a prince. But the national inequality eſtabliſhed by the Franks, in their criminal proceedings, was the laſt

a conſtitution of Lothaire I. (Leg. Langobard. l. ii. tit. lvii. in Codex Lindebrog. p. 664.): though the example is too recent and partial. From a various reading, in the Salic law (tit. xliv. not xlv.), the Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 290–293.) has conjectured, that, at firſt, a *Barbarian* only, and afterwards any *man* (conſequently a Roman), might live according to the law of the Franks. I am ſorry to offend this ingenious conjecture by obſerving, that the ſtricter ſenſe *(Barbarum)* is expreſſed in the reformed copy of Charlemagne; which is confirmed by the Royal and Wolfenbuttle MSS. The looſer interpretation *(hominem)* is authoriſed only by the MS. of Fulda, from whence Heroldus publiſhed his edition. See the four original texts of the Salic law, in tom. iv. p. 147. 173. 196. 220.

[72] In the heroic times of Greece, the guilt of murder was expiated by a pecuniary ſatisfaction to the family of the deceaſed (Feithius Antiquitat. Homeric. l. ii. c. 8.). Heineccius, in his preface to the Elements of Germanic Law, favourably ſuggeſts, that at Rome and Athens homicide was only puniſhed with exile. It is true: but exile was a *capital* puniſhment for a citizen of Rome or Athens.

inſult

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inſult and abuſe of conqueſt [73]. In the calm moments of legiſlation, they ſolemnly pronounced, that the life of a Roman was of ſmaller value than that of a Barbarian. The *Antruſtion* [74], a name expreſſive of the moſt illuſtrious birth or dignity among the Franks, was appreciated at the ſum of ſix hundred pieces of gold; while the noble provincial who was admitted to the king's table, might be legally murdered at the expence of three hundred pieces. Two hundred were deemed ſufficient for a Frank of ordinary condition; but the meaner Romans were expoſed to diſgrace and danger by a trifling compenſation of one hundred, or even fifty, pieces of gold. Had theſe laws been regulated by any principle of equity or reaſon, the public protection ſhould have ſupplied in juſt proportion the want of perſonal ſtrength. But the legiſlator had weighed in the ſcale, not of juſtice, but of policy, the loſs of a ſoldier againſt that of a ſlave: the head of an inſolent and rapacious Barbarian was guarded by an heavy fine; and the ſlighteſt aid was afforded to the moſt defenceleſs ſubjects. Time inſenſibly abated the pride of the conquerors, and the patience of the vanquiſhed; and the boldeſt citizen was taught by experience, that he might ſuffer more injuries than he could inflict. As the manners of the Franks became leſs ferocious, their laws were rendered more ſevere; and the Merovingian kings attempted to imitate the impartial rigour of the Viſigoths and Burgundians [75]. Under the empire of Charlemagne, murder was univerſally

[73] This proportion is fixed by the Salic (tit. xliv. in tom. iv. p. 147.) and the Ripuarian (tit. vii. xi. xxxvi. in tom. iv. p. 237. 241.) laws: but the latter does not diſtinguiſh any difference of Romans. Yet the orders of the clergy are placed above the Franks themſelves, and the Burgundians and Alemanni between the Franks and the Romans.

[74] The *Antruſtiones, qui in truſte Dominicâ ſunt, leudi, fideles,* undoubtedly repreſent the firſt order of Franks; but it is a queſtion whether their rank was perſonal, or hereditary. The Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 334—347.) is not diſpleaſed to mortify the pride of birth (Eſprit, l. xxx. c. 25.), by dating the *origin* of French nobility from the reign of Clotaire II. (A. D. 615).

[75] See the Burgundian laws (tit. ii. in tom. iv. p. 257.), the Code of the Viſigoths (l. vi. tit. v. in tom. iv. p. 384.), and the conſtitution of *Childebert*, not of Paris, but moſt

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universally punished with death; and the use of capital punishments has been liberally multiplied in the jurisprudence of modern Europe [76].

Judgments of God.

The civil and military professions, which had been separated by Constantine, were again united by the Barbarians. The harsh sound of the Teutonic appellations was mollified into the Latin titles of Duke, of Count, or of Præfect; and the same officer assumed, within his district, the command of the troops, and the administration of justice [77]. But the fierce and illiterate chieftain was seldom qualified to discharge the duties of a judge, which require all the faculties of a philosophic mind, laboriously cultivated by experience and study; and his rude ignorance was compelled to embrace some simple, and visible, methods of ascertaining the cause of justice. In every religion, the Deity has been invoked to confirm the truth, or to punish the falsehood, of human testimony; but this powerful instrument was misapplied, and abused, by the simplicity of the German legislators. The party accused might justify his innocence, by producing before their tribunal a number of friendly witnesses, who solemnly declared their belief or assurance, that he was not guilty. According to the weight of the charge, this legal number of *compurgators* was multiplied; seventy-two voices were required to absolve an incendiary, or assassin: and when the chastity of a queen of

most evidently of Austrasia (in tom. iv. p. 112.). Their premature severity was sometimes rash, and excessive. Childebert condemned not only murderers, but robbers; quomodo sine lege involavit, sine lege moriatur; and even the negligent judge was involved in the same sentence. The Visigoths abandoned an unsuccessful surgeon to the family of his deceased patient, ut quod de eo facere voluerint habeant potestatem (l. xi. tit. i. in tom. iv. p. 435.).

[76] See in the sixth volume of the works of Heineccius, the Elementa Juris Germanici, l. ii. p. ii. N° 261, 262. 280—283. Yet some vestiges of these pecuniary compositions for murder, have been traced in Germany, as late as the sixteenth century.

[77] The whole subject of the Germanic judges, and their jurisdiction, is copiously treated by Heineccius (Element. Jur. Germ. l. iii. N° 1—72.). I cannot find any proof, that, under the Merovingian race, the *scabini*, or assessors, were chosen by the people.

France

France was ſuſpected, three hundred gallant nobles ſwore, without heſitation, that the infant prince had been actually begotten by her deceaſed huſband [78]. The ſin, and ſcandal, of manifeſt and frequent perjuries engaged the magiſtrates to remove theſe dangerous temptations; and to ſupply the defects of human teſtimony, by the famous experiments of fire and water. Theſe extraordinary trials were ſo capriciouſly contrived, that, in ſome caſes, guilt, and innocence in others, could not be proved without the interpoſition of a miracle. Such miracles were readily provided by fraud and credulity; the moſt intricate cauſes were determined by this eaſy and infallible method; and the turbulent Barbarians, who might have diſdained the ſentence of the magiſtrate, ſubmiſſively acquieſced in the judgment of God [79].

Judicial combats.

But the trials by ſingle combat gradually obtained ſuperior credit and authority, among a warlike people, who could not believe, that a brave man deſerved to ſuffer, or that a coward deſerved to live [80]. Both in civil and criminal proceedings, the plaintiff, or accuſer, the defendant, or even the witneſs, were expoſed to mortal challenge from the antagoniſt who was deſtitute of legal proofs; and it was incumbent on them, either to deſert their cauſe, or publicly to maintain their honour in the liſts of battle. They fought either on foot or on horſeback, according to the cuſtom of their nation [81]; and the deciſion

[78] Gregor. Turon. l. viii. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 316. Monteſquieu obſerves (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 13.), that the Salic law did not admit theſe *negative proofs* ſo univerſally eſtabliſhed in the Barbaric codes. Yet this obſcure concubine (Fredegundis), who became the wife of the grandſon of Clovis, muſt have followed the Salic law.

[79] Muratori, in the Antiquities of Italy, has given two Diſſertations (xxxviii, xxxix.) on the *judgments of God*. It was expected, that *fire* would not burn the innocent; and that the pure element of *water* would not allow the guilty to ſink into its boſom.

[80] Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 17.) has condeſcended to explain and excuſe "la maniere de penſer de nos peres," on the ſubject of judicial combats. He follows this ſtrange inſtitution from the age of Gundobald to that of St. Lewis; and the philoſopher is ſometimes loſt in the legal antiquarian.

[81] In a memorable duel at Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 820), before the emperor Lewis the

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deciſion of the ſword, or lance, was ratified by the ſanction of Heaven, of the judge, and of the people. This ſanguinary law was introduced into Gaul by the Burgundians; and their legiſlator Gundobald [82] condeſcended to anſwer the complaints and objections of his ſubject Avitus. "Is it not true," ſaid the king of Burgundy to the biſhop, "that the event of national wars, and private combats, is directed by the judgment of God; and that his providence awards the victory to the juſter cauſe?" By ſuch prevailing arguments, the abſurd and cruel practice of judicial duels, which had been peculiar to ſome tribes of Germany, was propagated and eſtabliſhed in all the monarchies of Europe, from Sicily to the Baltic. At the end of ten centuries, the reign of legal violence was not totally extinguiſhed; and the ineffectual cenſures of ſaints, of popes, and of ſynods, may ſeem to prove, that the influence of ſuperſtition is weakened by its unnatural alliance with reaſon and humanity. The tribunals were ſtained with the blood, perhaps, of innocent and reſpectable citizens; the law, which now favours the rich, then yielded to the ſtrong; and the old, the feeble, and the infirm, were condemned, either to renounce their faireſt claims and poſſeſſions, to ſuſtain the dangers of an unequal conflict [83], or to truſt the doubtful aid of a mercenary champion. This oppreſſive juriſprudence was impoſed on the provincials of Gaul, who complained of any inju-

the Pious; his biographer obſerves, ſecundum legem propriam, utpote quia uterque Gothus erat, equeſtri pugnâ congreſſus eſt (Vit. Lud. Pii, c. 33. in tom. vi. p. 103.). Ermoldus Nigellus (l. iii. 543—628. in tom. vi. p. 48—50.), who deſcribes the duel, admires the *ars nova* of fighting on horſeback, which was unknown to the Franks.

[82] In his original edict, publiſhed at Lyons (A. D. 501), Gundobald eſtabliſhes and juſtifies the uſe of judicial combat (Leg. Burgund. tit. xlv. in tom. ii. p. 267, 268.). Three hundred years afterwards, Agobard, biſhop of Lyons, ſolicited Lewis the Pious to aboliſh the law of an Arian tyrant (in tom. vi. p. 356—358.). He relates the converſation of Gundobald and Avitus.

[83] "Accidit (ſays Agobard), ut non ſolum valentes viribus, ſed etiam infirmi et ſenes laceſſantur ad pugnam, etiam pro viliſſimis rebus. Quibus foralibus certaminibus contingunt homicidia injuſta; et crudeles ac perverſi eventus judiciorum." Like a prudent rhetorician, he ſuppreſſes the legal privilege of hiring champions.

ries

ries in their perſons and property. Whatever might be the ſtrength, or courage, of individuals, the victorious Barbarians excelled in the love and exerciſe of arms; and the vanquiſhed Roman was unjuſtly ſummoned to repeat, in his own perſon, the bloody conteſt, which had been already decided againſt his country [84].

Diviſion of lands by the Barbarians.

A devouring hoſt of one hundred and twenty thouſand Germans had formerly paſſed the Rhine under the command of Arioviſtus. One third part of the fertile lands of the Sequani was appropriated to their uſe; and the conqueror ſoon repeated his oppreſſive demand of another third, for the accommodation of a new colony of twenty-four thouſand Barbarians, whom he had invited to ſhare the rich harveſt of Gaul [85]. At the diſtance of five hundred years, the Viſigoths and Burgundians, who revenged the defeat of Arioviſtus, uſurped the ſame unequal proportion of *two-thirds* of the ſubject lands. But this diſtribution, inſtead of ſpreading over the province, may be reaſonably confined to the peculiar diſtricts where the victorious people had been planted, by their own choice, or by the policy of their leader. In theſe diſtricts, each Barbarian was connected by the ties of hoſpitality with ſome Roman provincial. To this unwelcome gueſt, the proprietor was compelled to abandon two-thirds of his patrimony: but the German, a ſhepherd, and a hunter, might ſometimes content himſelf with a ſpacious range of wood and paſture, and reſign the ſmalleſt, though moſt valuable, portion, to the toil of the induſtrious huſbandman [86]. The ſilence of ancient and authentic

[84] Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, xxviii. c. 14.), who underſtands *why* the judicial combat was admitted by the Burgundians, Ripuarians, Alemanni, Bavarians, Lombards, Thuringians, Friſons, and Saxons, is ſatisfied (and Agobard ſeems to countenance the aſſertion), that it was not allowed by the Salic law. Yet the ſame cuſtom, at leaſt in caſes of treaſon, is mentioned by Ermoldus Nigellus (l. iii. 543. in tom. vi. p. 48.), and the anonymous biographer of Lewis the Pious (c. 46. in tom. vi. p. 112.), as the "mos antiquus Francorum, more Francis ſolito," &c. expreſſions too general to exclude the nobleſt of their tribes.

[85] Cæſar de Bell. Gall. l. i. c. 31. in tom. i. p. 213.

[86] The obſcure hints of a diviſion of lands occaſionally

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authentic teſtimony has encouraged an opinion, that the rapine of the *Franks* was not moderated, or diſguiſed, by the forms of a legal diviſion; that they diſperſed themſelves over the provinces of Gaul, without order or control; and that each victorious robber, according to his wants, his avarice, and his ſtrength, meaſured, with his ſword, the extent of his new inheritance. At a diſtance from their ſovereign, the Barbarians might indeed be tempted to exerciſe ſuch arbitrary depredation; but the firm and artful policy of Clovis muſt curb a licentious ſpirit, which would aggravate the miſery of the vanquiſhed, whilſt it corrupted the union and diſcipline of the conquerors. The memorable vaſe of Soiſſons is a monument, and a pledge, of the regular diſtribution of the Gallic ſpoils. It was the duty, and the intereſt, of Clovis to provide rewards for a ſucceſsful army, and ſettlements for a numerous people; without inflicting any wanton, or ſuperfluous, injuries on the loyal catholics of Gaul. The ample fund, which he might lawfully acquire, of the Imperial patrimony, vacant lands, and Gothic uſurpations, would diminiſh the cruel neceſſity of ſeizure and confiſcation; and the humble provincials would more patiently acquieſce in the equal and regular diſtribution of their loſs[87].

Domain and benefices of the Merovingians.

The wealth of the Merovingian princes conſiſted in their extenſive domain. After the conqueſt of Gaul, they ſtill delighted in the ruſtic ſimplicity of their anceſtors: the cities were abandoned to ſoli-

occaſionally ſcattered in the laws of the Burgundians (tit. liv. N° 1, 2. in tom. iv. p. 271, 272.), and Viſigoths (l. x. tit. i. N° 8, 9. 16. in tom. iv. p. 428, 429, 430.), are ſkilfully explained by the preſident Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 7, 8, 9.). I ſhall only add, that, among the Goths, the diviſion ſeems to have been aſcertained by the judgment of the neighbourhood; that the Barbarians frequently uſurped the remaining *third*; and, that the Romans might recover their right, unleſs they were barred by a preſcription of fifty years.

[87] It is ſingular enough, that the preſident de Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 7.), and the Abbé de Mably (Obſervations, tom. i. p. 21, 22.), agree in this ſtrange ſuppoſition of arbitrary and private rapine. The count de Boulainvilliers (Etat de la France, tom. i. p. 22, 23.) ſhews a ſtrong underſtanding, through a cloud of ignorance and prejudice.

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tude and decay; and their coins, their charters, and their ſynods, are ſtill inſcribed with the names of the villas, or rural palaces, in which they ſucceſſively reſided. One hundred and ſixty of theſe *palaces*, a title which need not excite any unſeaſonable ideas of art or luxury, were ſcattered through the provinces of their kingdom; and if ſome might claim the honours of a fortreſs, the far greater part could be eſteemed only in the light of profitable farms. The manſion of the long-haired kings was ſurrounded with convenient yards, and ſtables, for the cattle and the poultry; the garden was planted with uſeful vegetables; the various trades, the labours of agriculture, and even the arts of hunting and fiſhing, were exerciſed by ſervile hands for the emolument of the ſovereign; his magazines were filled with corn and wine, either for ſale or conſumption; and the whole adminiſtration was conducted by the ſtricteſt maxims of private œconomy[88]. This ample patrimony was appropriated to ſupply the hoſpitable plenty of Clovis, and his ſucceſſors; and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions, who, both in peace and war, were devoted to their perſonal ſervice. Inſtead of an horſe, or a ſuit of armour, each companion, according to his rank, or merit, or favour, was inveſted with a *beneſice*, the primitive name, and moſt ſimple form, of the feudal poſſeſſions. Theſe gifts might be reſumed at the pleaſure of the ſovereign; and his feeble prerogative derived ſome ſupport from the influence of his liberality. But this dependent tenure was gradually aboliſhed[89] by the independent and rapacious nobles

[88] See the ruſtic edict, or rather code, of Charlemagne, which contains ſeventy diſtinct and minute regulations of that great monarch (in tom. v. p. 652—657.). He requires an account of the horns and ſkins of the goats, allows his fiſh to be ſold, and carefully directs, that the larger villas *(Capitaneæ)* ſhall maintain one hundred hens and thirty geeſe; and the ſmaller *(Manſionales)* fifty hens and twelve geeſe. Mabillon (de Re Diplomaticâ) has inveſtigated the names, the number, and the ſituation, of the Merovingian villas.

[89] From a paſſage of the Burgundian law (tit. i. N° 4. in tom. iv. p. 257.), it is evident, that a deſerving ſon might expect to hold the lands which his father had received from the royal bounty of Gundobald. The Burgundians would firmly maintain their privilege, and their example might encourage the beneficiaries of France.

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of France, who eſtabliſhed the perpetual property, and hereditary ſucceſſion, of their benefices: a revolution ſalutary to the earth, which had been injured, or neglected, by its precarious maſters [90]. Beſides theſe royal and beneficiary eſtates, a large proportion had been aſſigned, in the diviſion of Gaul, of *allodial* and *Salic* lands: they were exempt from tribute, and the Salic lands were equally ſhared among the male deſcendants of the Franks [91].

Private uſurpations.

In the bloody diſcord, and ſilent decay, of the Merovingian line, a new order of tyrants aroſe in the provinces, who, under the appellation of *Seniors*, or Lords, uſurped a right to govern, and a licence to oppreſs, the ſubjects of their peculiar territory. Their ambition might be checked by the hoſtile reſiſtance of an equal: but the laws were extinguiſhed; and the ſacrilegious Barbarians, who dared to provoke the vengeance of a ſaint or biſhop [92], would ſeldom reſpect the landmarks of a profane and defenceleſs neighbour. The common, or public, rights of nature, ſuch as they had always been deemed by the Roman juriſprudence [93], were ſeverely reſtrained by the German conquerors, whoſe amuſement, or rather paſſion, was the exerciſe of hunting. The vague dominion, which MAN has aſſumed over the wild inhabitants of the earth, the air, and the waters, was confined to ſome fortunate individuals of the human ſpecies. Gaul was again overſpread with woods; and the animals, who were reſerved for the uſe, or pleaſure, of the lord, might ravage, with impunity, the fields of his induſtrious vaſſals. The chaſe was the

[90] The revolutions of the benefices and fiefs are clearly fixed by the Abbé de Mably. His accurate diſtinction of *times* gives him a merit to which even Monteſquieu is a ſtranger.

[91] See the Salic law (tit. lxii. in tom. iv. p. 156.). The origin and nature of theſe Salic lands, which, in times of ignorance, were perfectly underſtood, now perplex our moſt learned and ſagacious critics.

[92] Many of the two hundred and ſix miracles of St. Martin (Greg. Turon. in Maximâ Bibliothecâ Patrum, tom. xi. p. 896—932.) were repeatedly performed to puniſh ſacrilege. Audite hæc omnes (exclaims the biſhop of Tours), poteſtatem habentes, after relating, how ſome horſes run mad, that had been turned into a ſacred meadow.

[93] Heinec. Element. Jur. German. l. ii. p. 1. N° 8.

ſacred

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ſacred privilege of the nobles, and their domeſtic ſervants. Plebeian tranſgreſſors were legally chaſtiſed with ſtripes and impriſonment[94]; but in an age which admitted a ſlight compoſition for the life of a citizen, it was a capital crime to deſtroy a ſtag or a wild bull within the precincts of the royal foreſts[95].

Perſonal ſervitude.

According to the maxims of ancient war, the conqueror became the lawful maſter of the enemy whom he had ſubdued and ſpared[96]: and the fruitful cauſe of perſonal ſlavery, which had been almoſt ſuppreſſed by the peaceful ſovereignty of Rome, was again revived and multiplied by the perpetual hoſtilities of the independent Barbarians. The Goth, the Burgundian, or the Frank, who returned from a ſucceſsful expedition, dragged after him a long train of ſheep, of oxen, and of human captives, whom he treated with the ſame brutal contempt. The youths of an elegant form and ingenuous aſpect, were ſet apart for the domeſtic ſervice; a doubtful ſituation, which alternately expoſed them to the favourable, or cruel, impulſe of paſſion. The uſeful mechanics and ſervants (ſmiths, carpenters, taylors, ſhoemakers, cooks, gardeners, dyers, and workmen in gold and ſilver, &c.) employed their ſkill for the uſe, or profit, of their maſter. But the Roman captives, who were deſtitute of art, but

[94] Jonas, biſhop of Orleans (A. D. 821—826. Cave, Hiſt. Litteraria, p. 443.) cenſures the *legal* tyranny of the nobles. Proferis, quas cura hominum non aluit, ſed Deus in commune mortalibus ad utendum conceſſit, pauperes a potentioribus ſpoliantur, flagellantur, ergaſtulis detruduntur, et multa alia patiuntur. Hoc enim qui faciunt, *lege mundi* ſe facere juſte poſſe contendant. De Inſtitutione Laicorum, l. ii. c. 23. apud Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. iii. p. 1348.

[95] On a mere ſuſpicion, Chundo, a chamberlain of Gontran, king of Burgundy, was ſtoned to death (Greg. Turon. l. x. c. 10. in tom. ii. p. 369.). John of Saliſbury (Policrat. l. i. c. 4.) aſſerts the rights of nature, and expoſes the cruel practice of the twelfth century. See Heineccius, Elem. Jur. Germ. l. ii. p. i. N° 51—57.

[96] The cuſtom of enſlaving priſoners of war was totally extinguiſhed in the thirteenth century, by the prevailing influence of Chriſtianity; but it might be proved, from frequent paſſages of Gregory of Tours, &c. that it was practiſed, without cenſure, under the Merovingian race; and even Grotius himſelf (de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. iii. c. 7.), as well as his commentator Barbeyrac, have laboured to reconcile it with the laws of nature and reaſon.

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capable of labour, were condemned, without regard to their former rank, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands, of the Barbarians. The number of the hereditary bondſmen, who were attached to the Gallic eſtates, was continually increaſed by new ſupplies; and the ſervile people, according to the ſituation and temper of their lords, was ſometimes raiſed by precarious indulgence, and more frequently depreſſed by capricious deſpotiſm[97]. An abſolute power of life and death was exerciſed by theſe lords; and when they married their daughters, a train of uſeful ſervants, chained on the waggons to prevent their eſcape, was ſent as a nuptial preſent into a diſtant country[98]. The majeſty of the Roman laws protected the liberty of each citizen, againſt the raſh effects of his own diſtreſs, or deſpair. But the ſubjects of the Merovingian kings might alienate their perſonal freedom; and this act of legal ſuicide, which was familiarly practiſed, is expreſſed in terms moſt diſgraceful and afflicting to the dignity of human nature[99]. The example of the poor, who purchaſed life by the ſacrifice of all that can render life deſirable, was gradually imitated by the feeble and the devout, who, in times of public diſorder, puſillanimouſly crowded to ſhelter themſelves under the battlements of a powerful chief, and around the ſhrine of a popular ſaint. Their ſubmiſſion was accepted by theſe temporal, or ſpiritual, patrons; and the haſty tranſaction irrecoverably fixed their

[97] The ſtate, profeſſions, &c. of the German, Italian, and Gallic ſlaves, during the middle ages, are explained by Heineccius (Element. Jur. Germ. l. i. N° 28—47.), Muratori (Diſſertat. xiv, xv.), Ducange (Gloſſ. ſub voce *Servi*), and the Abbé de Mably (Obſervations, tom. ii. p. 3, &c. p. 237, &c.).

[98] Gregory of Tours (l. vi. c. 45. in tom. ii. p. 289.) relates a memorable example, in which Chilperic only abuſed the private rights of a maſter. Many families, which belonged to his *domus fiſcales*, in the neighbourhood of Paris, were forcibly ſent away into Spain.

[99] Licentiam habeatis mihi qualemcunque volueritis diſciplinam ponere; vel venumdare, aut quod vobis placuerit de me facere. Marculf. Formul. l. ii. 28. in tom. iv. p. 497. The *Formula* of Lindenbrogius (p. 559.), and that of Anjou (p. 565.), are to the ſame effect. Gregory of Tours (l. vii. c. 45. in tom. ii. p. 311.) ſpeaks of many perſons, who ſold themſelves for bread, in a great famine.

own

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own condition, and that of their lateſt poſterity. From the reign of Clovis, during five ſucceſſive centuries, the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increaſe, and to confirm the duration, of perſonal ſervitude. Time and violence almoſt obliterated the intermediate ranks of ſociety; and left an obſcure and narrow interval between the noble and the ſlave. This arbitrary and recent diviſion has been transformed by pride and prejudice into a *national* diſtinction, univerſally eſtabliſhed by the arms and the laws of the Merovingians. The nobles, who claimed their genuine, or fabulous, deſcent from the independent and victorious Franks, have aſſerted, and abuſed, the indefeaſible right of conqueſt, over a proſtrate crowd of ſlaves and plebeians, to whom they imputed the imaginary diſgrace of a Gallic, or Roman, extraction.

Example of Auvergne.

The general ſtate and revolutions of *France*, a name which was impoſed by the conquerors, may be illuſtrated by the particular example of a province, a dioceſe, or a ſenatorial family. Auvergne had formerly maintained a juſt pre-eminence among the independent ſtates and cities of Gaul. The brave and numerous inhabitants diſplayed a ſingular trophy; the ſword of Cæſar himſelf, which he had loſt when he was repulſed before the walls of Gergovia[100]. As the common offspring of Troy, they claimed a fraternal alliance with the Romans[101]; and if each province had imitated the courage and loyalty of Auvergne, the fall of the Weſtern empire might have been prevented, or delayed. They firmly maintained the fidelity which they had reluctantly ſworn to the Viſigoths; but when their braveſt

[100] When Cæſar ſaw it, he laughed (Plutarch. in Cæſar. in tom. i. p. 409.): yet he relates his unſucceſsful ſiege of Gergovia, with leſs frankneſs than we might expect from a great man to whom victory was familiar. He acknowledges, however, that in one attack he loſt forty-ſix centurions and ſeven hundred men (de Bell. Gallico, l. vi. c. 44—53. in tom. i. p. 270—272.).

[101] Audebant ſe quondam fratres Latio dicere, et ſanguine ab Iliaco populos computare (Sidon. Apollinar. l. vii. epiſt. 7. in tom. i. p. 799.). I am not informed of the degrees and circumſtances of this fabulous pedigree.

nobles

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nobles had fallen in the battle of Poitiers, they accepted, without reſiſtance, a victorious and Catholic ſovereign. This eaſy and valuable conqueſt was atchieved, and poſſeſſed, by Theodoric, the eldeſt ſon of Clovis: but the remote province was ſeparated from his Auſtraſian dominions, by the intermediate kingdoms of Soiſſons, Paris, and Orleans, which formed, after their father's death, the inheritance of his three brothers. The king of Paris, Childebert, was tempted by the neighbourhood and beauty of Auvergne [102]. The Upper country, which riſes towards the ſouth into the mountains of the Cevennes, preſented a rich and various proſpect of woods and paſtures; the ſides of the hills were clothed with vines; and each eminence was crowned with a villa or caſtle. In the Lower Auvergne, the river Allier flows through the fair and ſpacious plain of Limagne; and the inexhauſtible fertility of the ſoil ſupplied, and ſtill ſupplies, without any interval of repoſe, the conſtant repetition of the ſame harveſts [103]. On the falſe report, that their lawful ſovereign had been ſlain in Germany, the city and dioceſe of Auvergne were betrayed by the grandſon of Sidonius Apollinaris. Childebert enjoyed this clandeſtine victory; and the free ſubjects of Theodoric threatened to deſert his ſtandard, if he indulged his private reſentment, while the nation was engaged in the Burgundian war. But the Franks of Auſtraſia ſoon yielded to the perſuaſive eloquence of their king. "Follow me," ſaid Theodoric, "into Auvergne: I will lead you "into a province, where you may acquire gold, ſilver, ſlaves, cattle, "and precious apparel, to the full extent of your wiſhes. I repeat

[102] Either the firſt, or ſecond, partition among the ſons of Clovis, had given Berry to Childebert (Greg. Turon. l. iii. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 192.). Velim (ſaid he), Arvernam *Lemanem*, quæ tantâ jocunditatis gratiâ refulgere dicitur oculis cernere (l. iii. c. 9. p. 191.). The face of the country was concealed by a thick fog, when the king of Paris made his entry into Clermont.

[103] For the deſcription of Auvergne, ſee Sidonius (l. iv. epiſt. 21. in tom. i. p. 793.), with the notes of Savaron and Sirmond (p. 279. and 51. of their reſpective editions), Boulainvilliers (Etat de la France, tom. ii. p. 242—268.), and the Abbé de la Longuerue (Deſcription de la France, part i. p. 132—139.).

"my

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" my promiſe; I give you the people, and their wealth, as your " prey; and you may tranſport them at pleaſure into your own " country." By the execution of this promiſe, Theodoric juſtly forfeited the allegiance of a people, whom he devoted to deſtruction. His troops, reinforced by the fierceſt Barbarians of Germany[104], ſpread deſolation over the fruitful face of Auvergne; and two places only, a ſtrong caſtle, and a holy ſhrine, were ſaved, or redeemed, from their licentious fury. The caſtle of Meroliac[105] was ſeated on a lofty rock, which roſe an hundred feet above the ſurface of the plain; and a large reſervoir of freſh water was incloſed, with ſome arable lands, within the circle of its fortifications. The Franks beheld with envy and deſpair this impregnable fortreſs: but they ſurpriſed a party of fifty ſtragglers; and, as they were oppreſſed by the number of their captives, they fixed, at a trifling ranſom, the alternative of life or death for theſe wretched victims, whom the cruel Barbarians were prepared to maſſacre on the refuſal of the garriſon. Another detachment penetrated as far as Brivas, or Brioude, where the inhabitants, with their valuable effects, had taken refuge in the ſanctuary of St. Julian. The doors of the church reſiſted the aſſault; but a daring ſoldier entered through a window of the choir, and opened a paſſage to his companions. The clergy and people, the ſacred and the profane ſpoils, were rudely torn from the altar; and the ſacrilegious diviſion was made at a ſmall diſtance from the town of Brioude. But this act of impiety was ſeverely chaſtiſed by the devout ſon of Clovis. He puniſhed with death the moſt atrocious

[104] Furorem gentium, quæ de ulteriore Rheni amnis parte venerant, ſuperare non poterat (Greg. Turon. l. iv. c. 50. in tom. ii. 229.), was the excuſe of another king of Auſtraſia (A. D. 574), for the ravages which his troops committed in the neighbourhood of Paris.

[105] From the name and ſituation, the Benedictine editors of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 192.) have fixed this fortreſs at a place named *Caſtel Merliac*, two miles from Mauriac, in the Upper Auvergne. In this deſcription, I tranſlate *infra* as if I read *intra*; the two prepoſitions are perpetually confounded by Gregory, or his tranſcribers; and the ſenſe muſt always decide.

offenders;

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offenders; left their ſecret accomplices to the vengeance of St. Julian; releaſed the captives; reſtored the plunder; and extended the rights of ſanctuary, five miles round the ſepulchre of the holy martyr [106].

Story of Attalus.

Before the Auſtraſian army retreated from Auvergne, Theodoric exacted ſome pledges of the future loyalty of a people, whoſe juſt hatred could be reſtrained only by their fear. A ſelect band of noble youths, the ſons of the principal ſenators, was delivered to the conqueror, as the hoſtages of the faith of Childebert, and of their countrymen. On the firſt rumour of war, or conſpiracy, theſe guiltleſs youths were reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude; and one of them, Attalus [107], whoſe adventures are more particularly related, kept his maſter's horſes in the dioceſe of Treves. After a painful ſearch, he was diſcovered, in this unworthy occupation, by the emiſſaries of his grandfather, Gregory biſhop of Langres; but his offers of ranſom were ſternly rejected by the avarice of the Barbarian, who required an exorbitant ſum of ten pounds of gold for the freedom of his noble captive. His deliverance was effected by the hardy ſtratagem of Leo, a ſlave belonging to the kitchens of the biſhop of Langres [108]. An unknown agent eaſily introduced him into the ſame family. The Barbarian purchaſed Leo for the price of twelve pieces of gold; and was pleaſed to learn, that he was deeply

[106] See theſe revolutions, and wars, of Auvergne, in Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 37. in tom. ii. p. 183. and l. iii. c. 9. 12, 13. p. 191, 192. de Miraculis St. Julian. c. 13. in tom. ii. p. 466.). He frequently betrays his extraordinary attention to his native country.

[107] The ſtory of Attalus is related by Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 16. in tom. ii. p. 193—195.). His editor, the P. Ruinart, confounds this Attalus, who was a youth *(puer)* in the year 532, with a friend of Sidonius of the ſame name, who was count of Autun fifty or ſixty years before. Such an error, which cannot be imputed to ignorance, is excuſed, in ſome degree, by its own magnitude.

[108] This Gregory, the great-grandfather of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 197. 490.), lived ninety-two years; of which he paſſed forty as count of Autun, and thirty-two as biſhop of Langres. According to the poet Fortunatus, he diſplayed equal merit in theſe different ſtations.

Nobilis antiquâ decurrens prole parentum,
Nobilior geſtis, nunc ſuper aſtra manet.
Arbiter ante ferox, dein pius ipſe ſacerdos,
Quos domuit judex, fovet amore patris.

ſkilled

ſkilled in the luxury of an epiſcopal table: "Next Sunday," ſaid the Frank, "I ſhall invite my neighbours, and kinſmen. Exert "thy art, and force them to confeſs, that they have never ſeen, or "taſted, ſuch an entertainment, even in the king's houſe." Leo aſſured him, that, if he would provide a ſufficient quantity of poultry, his wiſhes ſhould be ſatisfied. The maſter, who already aſpired to the merit of elegant hoſpitality, aſſumed, as his own, the praiſe which the voracious gueſts unanimouſly beſtowed on his cook; and the dextrous Leo inſenſibly acquired the truſt and management of his houſehold. After the patient expectation of a whole year, he cautiouſly whiſpered his deſign to Attalus, and exhorted him to prepare for flight in the enſuing night. At the hour of midnight, the intemperate gueſts retired from table; and the Frank's ſon-in-law, whom Leo attended to his apartment with a nocturnal potation, condeſcended to jeſt on the facility with which he might betray his truſt. The intrepid ſlave, after ſuſtaining this dangerous raillery, entered his maſter's bed-chamber; removed his ſpear and ſhield; ſilently drew the fleeteſt horſes from the ſtable; unbarred the ponderous gates; and excited Attalus to ſave his life and liberty by inceſſant diligence. Their apprehenſions urged them to leave their horſes on the banks of the Meuſe [109]; they ſwam the river, wandered three days in the adjacent foreſt, and ſubſiſted only by the accidental diſcovery of a wild plum-tree. As they lay concealed in a dark thicket, they heard the noiſe of horſes; they were terrified by the angry countenance of their maſter, and they anxiouſly liſtened to his declaration, that if he could ſeize the guilty fugitives, one of them he would cut in pieces with his ſword, and would expoſe the other on a gibbet. At length, Attalus, and his faithful Leo, reached the friendly

[109] As M. de Valois, and the P. Ruinart, are determined to change the *Moſella* of the text into *Moſa*, it becomes me to acquieſce in the alteration. Yet, after ſome examination of the topography, I could defend the common reading.

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habitation of a preſbyter of Rheims, who recruited their fainting ſtrength with bread and wine, concealed them from the ſearch of their enemy, and ſafely conducted them, beyond the limits of the Auſtraſian kingdom, to the epiſcopal palace of Langres. Gregory embraced his grandſon with tears of joy, gratefully delivered Leo, with his whole family, from the yoke of ſervitude, and beſtowed on him the property of a farm, where he might end his days in happineſs and freedom. Perhaps this ſingular adventure, which is marked with ſo many circumſtances of truth and nature, was related by Attalus himſelf, to his couſin, or nephew, the firſt hiſtorian of the Franks. Gregory of Tours[110] was born about ſixty years after the death of Sidonius Apollinaris; and their ſituation was almoſt ſimilar, ſince each of them was a native of Auvergne, a ſenator, and a biſhop. The difference of their ſtyle and ſentiments may, therefore, expreſs the decay of Gaul; and clearly aſcertain how much, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, the human mind had loſt of its energy and refinement[111].

Privileges of the Romans of Gaul.

We are now qualified to deſpiſe the oppoſite, and, perhaps, artful, miſrepreſentations, which have ſoftened, or exaggerated, the oppreſſion of the Romans of Gaul under the reign of the Merovingians. The conquerors never promulgated any *univerſal* edict of ſervitude, or confiſcation: but a degenerate people, who excuſed their weakneſs by the ſpecious names of politeneſs and peace,

[110] The parents of Gregory (Gregorius Florentius Georgius) were of noble extraction (*natalibus . . . illuſtres*), and they poſſeſſed large eſtates (*latifundia*) both in Auvergne and Burgundy. He was born in the year 539, was conſecrated biſhop of Tours in 573, and died in 593, or 595, ſoon after he had terminated his hiſtory. See his life by Odo, abbot of Clugny (in tom. ii. p. 129—135.), and a new Life in the Memoires de l'Academie, &c. tom. xxvi. p. 598—637.

[111] Decedente atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium culturâ literarum, &c. (in præfat. in tom. ii. p. 137.), is the complaint of Gregory himſelf, which he fully verifies by his own work. His ſtyle is equally devoid of elegance and ſimplicity. In a conſpicuous ſtation he ſtill remained a ſtranger to his own age and country; and in a prolix work (the five laſt books contain ten years) he has omitted almoſt every thing that poſterity deſires to learn. I have tediouſly acquired, by a painful peruſal, the right of pronouncing this unfavourable ſentence.

was

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was expoſed to the arms and laws of the ferocious Barbarians, who contemptuouſly inſulted their poſſeſſions, their freedom, and their ſafety. Their perſonal injuries were partial and irregular; but the great body of the Romans ſurvived the revolution, and ſtill preſerved the property, and privileges, of citizens. A large portion of their lands was exacted for the uſe of the Franks: but they enjoyed the remainder, exempt from tribute [112]; and the ſame irreſiſtible violence which ſwept away the arts and manufactures of Gaul, deſtroyed the elaborate and expenſive ſyſtem of Imperial deſpotiſm. The Provincials muſt frequently deplore the ſavage juriſprudence of the Salic or Ripuarian laws; but their private life, in the important concerns of marriage, teſtaments, or inheritance, was ſtill regulated by the Theodoſian Code; and a diſcontented Roman might freely aſpire, or deſcend, to the title and character of a Barbarian. The honours of the ſtate were acceſſible to his ambition: the education and temper of the Romans more peculiarly qualified them for the offices of civil government; and, as ſoon as emulation had rekindled their military ardour, they were permitted to march in the ranks, or even at the head, of the victorious Germans. I ſhall not attempt to enumerate the generals and magiſtrates, whoſe names [113] atteſt the liberal policy of the Merovingians. The ſupreme command of Burgundy, with the title of patrician, was ſucceſſively entruſted to three Romans; and the laſt, and moſt powerful, Mummolus [114], who alternately

[112] The Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 247—267.) has diligently confirmed this opinion of the preſident de Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 13.).

[113] See Dubos, Hiſt. Critique de la Monarchie Françoiſe, tom. ii. l. vi. c. 9, 10. The French antiquarians eſtabliſh as a *principle*, that the Romans and Barbarians may be diſtinguiſhed by their names. Their names undoubtedly form a reaſonable *preſumption*; yet in reading Gregory of Tours, I have obſerved Gondulfus, of ſenatorian, or Roman, extraction (l. vi. c. 11. in tom. ii. p. 273.); and Claudius, a Barbarian (l. vii. c. 29. p. 303.).

[114] Eunius Mummolus is repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours, from the fourth (c. 42. p. 224.) to the ſeventh (c. 40. p. 310.) book. The computation by talents is ſingular enough; but if Gregory attached any meaning to that obſolete word, the treaſures of Mummolus muſt have exceeded 100,000l. ſterling.

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ſaved and diſturbed the monarchy, had ſupplanted his father in the ſtation of count of Autun, and left a treaſure of thirty talents of gold, and two hundred and fifty talents of ſilver. The fierce and illiterate Barbarians were excluded, during ſeveral generations, from the dignities, and even from the orders, of the church [115]. The clergy of Gaul conſiſted almoſt entirely of native provincials; the haughty Franks fell proſtrate at the feet of their ſubjects, who were dignified with the epiſcopal character; and the power and riches which had been loſt in war, were inſenſibly recovered by ſuperſtition [116]. In all temporal affairs, the Theodoſian Code was the univerſal law of the clergy; but the Barbaric juriſprudence had liberally provided for their perſonal ſafety: a ſub-deacon was equivalent to two Franks; the *antruſtion*, and prieſt, were held in ſimilar eſtimation; and the life of a biſhop was appreciated far above the common ſtandard, at the price of nine hundred pieces of gold [117]. The Romans communicated to their conquerors the uſe of the Chriſtian religion and Latin language [118]: but their language and their religion had alike degenerated from the ſimple purity of the Auguſtan, and Apoſtolic, age. The progreſs of ſuperſtition and Barbariſm was rapid and univerſal: the worſhip of the ſaints concealed from vulgar eyes the God of the Chriſtians; and the ruſtic dialect of peaſants and ſoldiers was cor-

[115] See Fleury, Diſcours iii. ſur l'Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique.

[116] The biſhop of Tours himſelf has recorded the complaint of Chilperic, the grandſon of Clovis. Ecce pauper remanſit Fiſcus noſter; ecce divitiæ noſtræ ad eccleſias ſunt tranſlatæ; nulli penitus niſi ſoli Epiſcopi regnant (l. vi. c. 46. in tom. ii. p. 291.).

[117] See the Ripuarian Code (tit. xxxvi. in tom. iv. p. 241.). The Salic law does not provide for the ſafety of the clergy; and we might ſuppoſe, on the behalf of the more civilized tribe, that they had not foreſeen ſuch an impious act as the murder of a prieſt. Yet Prætextatus, archbiſhop of Rouen, was aſſaſſinated by the order of queen Fredegundis, before the altar (Greg. Turon. l. viii. c. 31. in tom. ii. p. 326.).

[118] M. Bonamy (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxiv. p. 582—670.) has aſcertained the *Lingua Romana Ruſtica*, which, through the medium of the *Romance*, has gradually been poliſhed into the actual form of the French language. Under the Carlovingian race, the kings and nobles of France ſtill underſtood the dialect of their German anceſtors.

rupted by a Teutonic idiom and pronunciation. Yet ſuch intercourſe of ſacred and ſocial communion eradicated the diſtinctions of birth and victory; and the nations of Gaul were gradually confounded under the name and government of the Franks.

Anarchy of the Franks.

The Franks, after they mingled with their Gallic ſubjects, might have imparted the moſt valuable of human gifts, a ſpirit, and ſyſtem, of conſtitutional liberty. Under a king, hereditary but limited, the chiefs and counſellors might have debated, at Paris, in the palace of the Cæſars: the adjacent field, where the emperors reviewed their mercenary legions, would have admitted the legiſlative aſſembly of freemen and warriors; and the rude model, which had been ſketched in the woods of Germany [119], might have been poliſhed and improved by the civil wiſdom of the Romans. But the careleſs Barbarians, ſecure of their perſonal independence, diſdained the labour of government: the annual aſſemblies of the month of March were ſilently aboliſhed; and the nation was ſeparated, and almoſt diſſolved, by the conqueſt of Gaul [120]. The monarchy was left without any regular eſtabliſhment of juſtice, of arms, or of revenue. The ſucceſſors of Clovis wanted reſolution to aſſume, or ſtrength to exerciſe, the legiſlative and executive powers, which the people had abdicated: the royal prerogative was diſtinguiſhed only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love of freedom, ſo often invigorated and diſgraced by private ambition, was reduced, among the licentious Franks, to the contempt of order, and the deſire of impunity. Seventy-five years after the death of Clovis, his grandſon, Gontran, king of Burgundy, ſent an army to invade the Gothic poſſeſſions of Septimania, or Languedoc. The troops of

[119] Ce beau ſyſtem a été trouvé dans les bois. Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix, l. xi. c. 6.

[120] See the Abbé de Mably, Obſervations, &c. tom. i. p. 34—56. It ſhould ſeem that the inſtitution of national aſſemblies, which are coeval with the French nation, have never been congenial to its temper.

Burgundy,

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Burgundy, Berry, Auvergne, and the adjacent territories, were excited by the hopes of ſpoil. They marched, without diſcipline, under the banners of German, or Gallic, counts: their attack was feeble and unſucceſsful; but the friendly and hoſtile provinces were deſolated with indiſcriminate rage. The corn-fields, the villages, the churches themſelves, were conſumed by fire; the inhabitants were maſſacred, or dragged into captivity; and, in the diſorderly retreat, five thouſand of theſe inhuman ſavages were deſtroyed by hunger or inteſtine diſcord. When the pious Gontran reproached the guilt, or neglect, of their leaders; and threatened to inflict, not a legal ſentence, but inſtant and arbitrary execution; they accuſed the univerſal and incurable corruption of the people. "No one," they ſaid, "any longer fears or reſpects his king, his duke, or his count. Each "man loves to do evil, and freely indulges his criminal inclinations. "The moſt gentle correction provokes an immediate tumult, and the "raſh magiſtrate, who preſumes to cenſure, or reſtrain, his ſeditious "ſubjects, ſeldom eſcapes alive from their revenge[121]." It has been reſerved for the ſame nation to expoſe, by their intemperate vices, the moſt odious abuſe of freedom; and to ſupply its loſs by the ſpirit of honour and humanity, which now alleviates and dignifies their obedience to an abſolute ſovereign.

The Viſigoths of Spain.

The Viſigoths had reſigned to Clovis the greateſt part of their Gallic poſſeſſions; but their loſs was amply compenſated by the eaſy conqueſt, and ſecure enjoyment, of the provinces of Spain. From the monarchy of the Goths, which ſoon involved the Suevic kingdom of Galicia, the modern Spaniards ſtill derive ſome national vanity: but the hiſtorian of the Roman empire is neither invited,

[121] Gregory of Tours (l. viii. c. 30. in tom. ii. p. 325, 326.) relates, with much indifference, the crimes, the reproof, and the apology. Nullus Regem metuit, nullus Ducem, nullus Comitem reveretur; et ſi fortaſſis alicui iſta diſplicent, et ea, pro longævitate vitæ veſtræ, emendare conatur, ſtatim ſeditio in populo, ſtatim tumultus exoritur, et in tantum unuſquiſque contra ſeniorem, ſævâ intentione graſſatur, ut vix ſe credat evadere, ſi tandem ſilere nequiverit.

nor

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nor compelled, to purſue the obſcure and barren ſeries of their annals[122]. The Goths of Spain were ſeparated from the reſt of mankind, by the lofty ridge of the Pyrenæan mountains: their manners and inſtitutions, as far as they were common to the Germanic tribes, have been already explained. I have anticipated, in the preceding chapter, the moſt important of their eccleſiaſtical events, the fall of Arianiſm, and the perſecution of the Jews: and it only remains to obſerve ſome intereſting circumſtances which relate to the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the Spaniſh kingdom.

Legiſlative aſſemblies of Spain.

After their converſion from idolatry or hereſy, the Franks and the Viſigoths were diſpoſed to embrace, with equal ſubmiſſion, the inherent evils, and the accidental benefits, of ſuperſtition. But the prelates of France, long before the extinction of the Merovingian race, had degenerated into fighting and hunting Barbarians. They diſdained the uſe of ſynods; forgot the laws of temperance and chaſtity; and preferred the indulgence of private ambition and luxury, to the general intereſt of the ſacerdotal profeſſion[123]. The biſhops of Spain reſpected themſelves, and were reſpected by the public: their indiſſoluble union diſguiſed their vices, and confirmed their authority; and the regular diſcipline of the church introduced peace, order, and ſtability into the government of the ſtate. From the reign of Recared, the firſt Catholic king, to that of Witiza, the immediate predeceſſor of the unfortunate Roderic, ſixteen national councils were ſucceſſively convened. The ſix metropolitans, Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, preſided according to their reſpective ſeniority; the aſſembly was compoſed of their ſuf-

[122] Spain, in theſe dark ages, has been peculiarly unfortunate. The Franks had a Gregory of Tours; the Saxons, or Angles, a Bede; the Lombards, a Paul Warnefrid, &c. But the hiſtory of the Viſigoths is contained in the ſhort and imperfect chronicles of Iſidore of Seville, and John of Biclar.

[123] Such are the complaints of St. Boniface, the apoſtle of Germany, and the reformer of Gaul (in tom. iv. p. 94.). The fourſcore years, which he deplores, of licence and corruption, would ſeem to inſinuate that the Barbarians were admitted into the clergy about the year 660.

fragan

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fragan biſhops, who appeared in perſon, or by their proxies; and a place was aſſigned to the moſt holy, or opulent, of the Spaniſh abbots. During the firſt three days of the convocation, as long as they agitated the eccleſiaſtical queſtions of doctrine and diſcipline, the profane laity was excluded from their debates; which were conducted, however, with decent ſolemnity. But, on the morning of the fourth day, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace, the dukes and counts of the provinces, the judges of the cities, and the Gothic nobles: and the decrees of Heaven were ratified by the conſent of the people. The ſame rules were obſerved in the provincial aſſemblies, the annual ſynods, which were empowered to hear complaints, and to redreſs grievances; and a legal government was ſupported by the prevailing influence of the Spaniſh clergy. The biſhops, who, in each revolution, were prepared to flatter the victorious, and to inſult the proſtrate, laboured, with diligence and ſucceſs, to kindle the flames of perſecution, and to exalt the mitre above the crown. Yet the national councils of Toledo, in which the free ſpirit of the Barbarians was tempered and guided by epiſcopal policy, have eſtabliſhed ſome prudent laws for the common benefit of the king and people. The vacancy of the throne was ſupplied by the choice of the biſhops and Palatines; and, after the failure of the line of Alaric, the regal dignity was ſtill limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The clergy, who anointed their lawful prince, always recommended, and ſometimes practiſed, the duty of allegiance: and the ſpiritual cenſures were denounced on the heads of the impious ſubjects, who ſhould reſiſt his authority, conſpire againſt his life, or violate, by an indecent union, the chaſtity even of his widow. But the monarch himſelf, when he aſcended the throne, was bound by a reciprocal oath to God and his people, that he would faithfully execute his important truſt. The real or imaginary faults of his adminiſtration were ſubject to the control

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trol of a powerful ariſtocracy; and the biſhops and palatines were guarded by a fundamental privilege, that they ſhould not be degraded, impriſoned, tortured, nor puniſhed with death, exile, or confiſcation, unleſs by the free and public judgment of their peers [124].

Code of the Viſigoths.

One of theſe legiſlative councils of Toledo examined and ratified the code of laws which had been compiled by a ſucceſſion of Gothic kings, from the fierce Euric, to the devout Egica. As long as the Viſigoths themſelves were ſatisfied with the rude cuſtoms of their anceſtors, they indulged their ſubjects of Aquitain and Spain in the enjoyment of the Roman law. Their gradual improvement in arts, in policy, and at length in religion, encouraged them to imitate, and to ſuperſede, theſe foreign inſtitutions; and to compoſe a code of civil and criminal juriſprudence, for the uſe of a great and united people. The ſame obligations, and the ſame privileges, were communicated to the nations of the Spaniſh monarchy: and the conquerors, inſenſibly renouncing the Teutonic idiom, ſubmitted to the reſtraints of equity, and exalted the Romans to the participation of freedom. The merit of this impartial policy was enhanced by the ſituation of Spain, under the reign of the Viſigoths. The Provincials were long ſeparated from their Arian maſters, by the irreconcilable difference of religion. After the converſion of Recared had removed the prejudices of the Catholics, the coaſts, both of the Ocean and Mediterranean, were ſtill poſſeſſed by the Eaſtern emperors; who ſecretly excited a diſcontented people, to reject the yoke of the Barbarians, and to aſſert the name and dignity of Roman citizens. The allegiance of doubtful ſubjects is indeed moſt effectually ſecured by their own perſuaſion, that they hazard more in a

[124] The acts of the councils of Toledo are ſtill the moſt authentic records of the church and conſtitution of Spain. The following paſſages are particularly important (iii. 17, 18. iv. 75. v. 2, 3, 4, 5. 8. vi. 11, 12, 13, 14. 17, 18. vii. 1. xiii. 2, 3. 6.). I have found Maſcou (Hiſt. of the ancient Germans, xv. 29. and Annotations, xxvi. and xxxiii.) and Ferreras (Hiſt. Generale de l'Eſpagne, tom. ii.) very uſeful and accurate guides.

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revolt, than they can hope to obtain by a revolution; but it has appeared ſo natural to oppreſs thoſe whom we hate and fear, that the contrary ſyſtem well deſerves the praiſe of wiſdom and moderation [125].

Revolution of Britain.

While the kingdoms of the Franks and Viſigoths were eſtabliſhed in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons atchieved the conqueſt of Britain, the third great dioceſe of the Præfecture of the Weſt. Since Britain was already ſeparated from the Roman empire, I might, without reproach, decline a ſtory, familiar to the moſt illiterate, and obſcure to the moſt learned, of my readers. The Saxons, who excelled in the uſe of the oar, or the battle-axe, were ignorant of the art which could alone perpetuate the fame of their exploits: the Provincials, relapſing into Barbariſm, neglected to deſcribe the ruin of their country; and the doubtful tradition was almoſt extinguiſhed, before the miſſionaries of Rome reſtored the light of ſcience and Chriſtianity. The declamations of Gildas, the fragments, or fables, of Nennius, the obſcure hints of the Saxon laws and chronicles, and the eccleſiaſtical tales of the venerable Bede [126], have been illuſtrated by the diligence, and ſometimes embelliſhed by the fancy, of ſucceeding writers, whoſe works I am not ambitious either to cenſure, or to tranſcribe [127]. Yet the hiſtorian of the empire may be tempted to

[125] The Code of the Viſigoths, regularly divided into twelve books, has been correctly publiſhed by Dom Bouquet (in tom. iv. p. 273—460.). It has been treated by the preſident de Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 1,) with exceſſive ſeverity. I diſlike the ſtyle; I deteſt the ſuperſtition; but I ſhall preſume to think, that the civil juriſprudence diſplays a more civilized and enlightened ſtate of ſociety, than that of the Burgundians, or even of the Lombards.

[126] See Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, c. 21—25. p. 4—9. edit. Gale. Nennius Hiſt. Britonum, c. 28. 35—65. p. 105—115. edit. Gale. Bede Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Gentis Anglorum, l. i. c. 12—16. p. 49—53. c. 22. p. 58. edit. Smith. Chron. Saxonicum, p. 12—23, &c. edit. Gibſon. The Anglo-Saxon laws were publiſhed by Wilkins, London 1731, in folio; and the Leges Wallicæ, by Wotton and Clark, London 1730, in folio.

[127] The laborious Mr. Carte, and the ingenious Mr. Whitaker, are the two modern writers to whom I am principally indebted. The particular hiſtorian of Mancheſter embraces, under that obſcure title, a ſubject almoſt as extenſive as the general hiſtory of England.

purſue

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purſue the revolutions of a Roman province, till it vaniſhes from his ſight; and an Engliſhman may curiouſly trace the eſtabliſhment of the Barbarians, from whom he derives his name, his laws, and perhaps his origin.

Deſcent of the Saxons, A. D. 449.

About forty years after the diſſolution of the Roman government, Vortigern appears to have obtained the ſupreme, though precarious, command of the princes and cities of Britain. That unfortunate monarch has been almoſt unanimouſly condemned for the weak and miſchievous policy of inviting [128] a formidable ſtranger, to repel the vexatious inroads of a domeſtic foe. His ambaſſadors are diſpatched, by the graveſt hiſtorians, to the coaſt of Germany; they addreſs a pathetic oration to the general aſſembly of the Saxons, and thoſe warlike Barbarians reſolve to aſſiſt with a fleet and army the ſuppliants of a diſtant and unknown iſland. If Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the meaſure of its calamities would have been leſs complete. But the ſtrength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province againſt the pirates of Germany: the independent and divided ſtates were expoſed to their attacks; and the Saxons might ſometimes join the Scots and the Picts, in a tacit, or expreſs, confederacy of rapine and deſtruction. Vortigern could only balance the various perils, which aſſaulted on every ſide his throne and his people; and his policy may deſerve either praiſe or excuſe, if he preferred the alliance of *thoſe* Barbarians, whoſe naval power rendered them the moſt dangerous enemies, and the moſt ſerviceable allies. Hengiſt and Horſa, as they ranged along the Eaſtern coaſt with three ſhips, were engaged, by the promiſe of an ample ſtipend, to embrace the defence of Britain; and their intrepid valour

[128] This *invitation*, which may derive ſome countenance from the looſe expreſſions of Gildas and Bede, is framed into a regular ſtory by Witikind, a Saxon monk of the tenth century (ſee Couſin, Hiſt. de l'Empire d'Occident, tom. ii. p. 356.). Rapin, and even Hume, have too freely uſed this ſuſpicious evidence without regarding the preciſe and probable teſtimony of Nennius; Interea venerunt tres Chiulæ a Germania *in exilio pulſæ*, in quibus erant Hors et Hengiſt.

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ſoon delivered the country from the Caledonian invaders. The iſle of Thanet, a ſecure and fertile diſtrict, was allotted for the reſidence of theſe German auxiliaries, and they were ſupplied, according to the treaty, with a plentiful allowance of clothing and proviſions. This favourable reception encouraged five thouſand warriors to embark with their families in ſeventeen veſſels, and the infant power of Hengiſt was fortified by this ſtrong and ſeaſonable reinforcement. The crafty Barbarian ſuggeſted to Vortigern the obvious advantage of fixing, in the neighbourhood of the Picts, a colony of faithful allies: a third fleet of forty ſhips, under the command of his ſon and nephew, ſailed from Germany, ravaged the Orkneys, and diſembarked a new army on the coaſt of Northumberland, or Lothian, at the oppoſite extremity of the devoted land. It was eaſy to foreſee, but it was impoſſible to prevent, the impending evils. The two nations were ſoon divided and exaſperated by mutual jealouſies. The Saxons magnified all that they had done and ſuffered in the cauſe of an ungrateful people; while the Britons regretted the liberal rewards which could not ſatisfy the avarice of thoſe haughty mercenaries. The cauſes of fear and hatred were inflamed into an irreconcilable quarrel. The Saxons flew to arms; and, if they perpetrated a treacherous maſſacre during the ſecurity of a feaſt, they deſtroyed the reciprocal confidence which ſuſtains the intercourſe of peace and war [129].

Eſtabliſhment of the Saxon heptarchy, A. D. 455—582.

Hengiſt, who boldly aſpired to the conqueſt of Britain, exhorted his countrymen to embrace the glorious opportunity: he painted in lively colours the fertility of the ſoil, the wealth of the cities, the

[129] Nennius imputes to the Saxons the murder of three hundred Britiſh chiefs; a crime not unſuitable to their ſavage manners. But we are not obliged to believe (ſee Jeffery of Monmouth, l. viii. c. 9—12.), that Stonehenge is their monument, which the giants had formerly tranſported from Africa to Ireland, and which was removed to Britain by the order of Ambroſius, and the art of Merlin.

puſillanimous

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pusillanimous temper of the natives, and the convenient situation of a spacious solitary island, accessible on all sides to the Saxon fleets. The successive colonies which issued, in the period of a century, from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, were principally composed of three valiant tribes or nations of Germany; the *Jutes*, the *old Saxons*, and the *Angles*. The Jutes, who fought under the peculiar banner of Hengist, assumed the merit of leading their countrymen in the paths of glory, and of erecting, in Kent, the first independent kingdom. The fame of the enterprise was attributed to the primitive Saxons; and the common laws and language of the conquerors are described by the national appellation of a people, which, at the end of four hundred years, produced the first monarchs of South Britain. The Angles were distinguished by their numbers and their success; and they claimed the honour of fixing a perpetual name on the country, of which they occupied the most ample portion. The Barbarians, who followed the hopes of rapine either on the land or sea, were insensibly blended with this triple confederacy; the *Frisians*, who had been tempted by their vicinity to the British shores, might balance, during a short space, the strength and reputation of the native Saxons; the *Danes*, the *Prussians*, the *Rugians*, are faintly described; and some adventurous *Huns*, who had wandered as far as the Baltic, might embark on board the German vessels, for the conquest of a new world [130]. But this arduous atchievement was not prepared or executed by the union of national powers. Each intrepid chieftain, according to the measure of his fame and fortunes, assembled his followers; equipped a fleet of three, or perhaps of sixty, vessels; chose the place of the attack;

[130] All these tribes are expressly enumerated by Bede (l. i. c. 15. p. 52. l. v. c. 9. p. 190.); and though I have considered Mr. Whitaker's remarks (Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 538—543.), I do not perceive the absurdity of supposing that the Frisians, &c. were mingled with the Anglo-Saxons.

and

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and conducted his ſubſequent operations according to the events of the war and the dictates of his private intereſt. In the invaſion of Britain many heroes vanquiſhed and fell; but only ſeven victorious leaders aſſumed, or at leaſt maintained, the title of kings. Seven independent thrones, the Saxon Heptarchy, were founded by the conquerors, and ſeven families, one of which has been continued, by female ſucceſſion, to our preſent ſovereign, derived their equal and ſacred lineage from Woden, the god of war. It has been pretended, that this republic of kings was moderated by a general council and a ſupreme magiſtrate. But ſuch an artificial ſcheme of policy is repugnant to the rude and turbulent ſpirit of the Saxons: their laws are ſilent; and their imperfect annals afford only a dark and bloody proſpect of inteſtine diſcord [131].

State of the Britons.

A monk, who, in the profound ignorance of human life, has preſumed to exerciſe the office of hiſtorian, ſtrangely diſfigures the ſtate of Britain at the time of its ſeparation from the Weſtern empire. Gildas [132] deſcribes in florid language the improvements of agriculture, the foreign trade which flowed with every tide into the Thames and the Severn, the ſolid and lofty conſtruction of public and private edifices; he accuſes the ſinful luxury of the Britiſh people; of a people, according to the ſame writer, ignorant of the moſt ſimple arts, and incapable, without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of ſtone, or weapons of iron, for the defence of their native land [133]. Under the long dominion of the emperors, Britain had

[131] Bede has enumerated ſeven kings, two Saxons, a Jute, and four Angles, who ſucceſſively acquired in the heptarchy an indefinite ſupremacy of power and renown. But their reign was the effect, not of law, but of conqueſt; and he obſerves, in ſimilar terms, that one of them ſubdued the Iſles of Man and Angleſey; and that another impoſed a tribute on the Scots and Picts (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. c. 5. p. 83.).

[132] See Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, c. i. p. 1. edit. Gale.

[133] Mr. Whitaker (Hiſtory of Mancheſter, vol. ii. p. 503. 516.) has ſmartly expoſed this glaring abſurdity, which had paſſed unnoticed by the general hiſtorians, as they were haſtening to more intereſting and important events.

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been insensibly moulded into the elegant and servile form of a Roman province, whose safety was entrusted to a foreign power. The subjects of Honorius contemplated their new freedom with surprise and terror; they were left destitute of any civil or military constitution; and their uncertain rulers wanted either skill, or courage, or authority, to direct the public force against the common enemy. The introduction of the Saxons betrayed their internal weakness, and degraded the character both of the prince and people. Their consternation magnified the danger; the want of union diminished their resources; and the madness of civil factions was more solicitous to accuse, than to remedy, the evils, which they imputed to the misconduct of their adversaries. Yet the Britons were not ignorant, they could not be ignorant, of the manufacture or the use of arms: the successive and disorderly attacks of the Saxons, allowed them to recover from their amazement, and the prosperous or adverse events of the war added discipline and experience to their native valour.

Their resistance,

While the continent of Europe and Africa yielded, without resistance, to the Barbarians, the British island, alone and unaided, maintained a long, a vigorous, though an unsuccessful struggle, against the formidable pirates, who, almost at the same instant, assaulted the Northern, the Eastern, and the Southern coasts. The cities, which had been fortified with skill, were defended with resolution; the advantages of ground, hills, forests, and morasses, were diligently improved by the inhabitants; the conquest of each district was purchased with blood; and the defeats of the Saxons are strongly attested by the discreet silence of their annalist. Hengist might hope to atchieve the conquest of Britain; but his ambition, in an active reign of thirty-five years, was confined to the possession of Kent; and the numerous colony which he had planted in the North, was extirpated by the sword of the Britons. The monarchy

of

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of the West-Saxons was laboriously founded by the persevering efforts of three martial generations. The life of Cerdic, one of the bravest of the children of Woden, was consumed in the conquest of Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight; and the loss which he sustained in the battle of Mount Badon, reduced him to a state of inglorious repose. Kenric, his valiant son, advanced into Wiltshire; besieged Salisbury, at that time seated on a commanding eminence; and vanquished an army which advanced to the relief of the city. In the subsequent battle of Marlborough[134], his British enemies displayed their military science. Their troops were formed in three lines; each line consisted of three distinct bodies, and the cavalry, the archers, and the pikemen, were distributed according to the principles of Roman tactics. The Saxons charged in one weighty column, boldly encountered with their short swords the long lances of the Britons, and maintained an equal conflict till the approach of night. Two decisive victories, the death of three British kings, and the reduction of Cirencester, Bath, and Gloucester, established the fame and power of Ceaulin, the grandson of Cerdic, who carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Severn.

and flight.

After a war of an hundred years, the independent Britons still occupied the whole extent of the Western coast, from the wall of Antoninus to the extreme promontory of Cornwall; and the principal cities of the inland country still opposed the arms of the Barbarians. Resistance became more languid, as the number and boldness of the assailants continually increased. Winning their way by slow and painful efforts, the Saxons, the Angles, and their various confederates, advanced from the North, from the East, and from the

[134] At Beran-birig, or Barbury-castle, near Marlborough. The Saxon Chronicle assigns the name and date. Cambden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 128.) ascertains the place; and Henry of Huntingdon (Scriptores post Bedam, p. 314.) relates the circumstances of this battle. They are probable and characteristic; and the historians of the twelfth century might consult some materials that no longer exist.

South,

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South, till their victorious banners were united in the centre of the island. Beyond the Severn the Britons ſtill aſſerted their national freedom, which ſurvived the heptarchy, and even the monarchy, of the Saxons. The braveſt warriors, who preferred exile to ſlavery, found a ſecure refuge in the mountains of Wales: the reluctant ſubmiſſion of Cornwall was delayed for ſome ages [135]; and a band of fugitives acquired a ſettlement in Gaul, by their own valour, or the liberality of the Merovingian kings [136]. The Weſtern angle of Armorica acquired the new appellations of *Cornwall*, and the *Leſſer Britain*; and the vacant lands of the Oſiſmii were filled by a ſtrange people, who, under the authority of their counts and biſhops, preſerved the laws and language of their anceſtors. To the feeble deſcendants of Clovis and Charlemagne, the Britons of Armorica refuſed the cuſtomary tribute, ſubdued the neighbouring dioceſes of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes, and formed a powerful, though vaſſal, ſtate, which has been united to the crown of France [137].

[135] Cornwall was finally ſubdued by Athelſtan (A. D. 927—941), who planted an Engliſh colony at Exeter, and confined the Britons beyond the river Tamar. See William of Malmſbury, l. ii. in the Scriptores poſt Bedam, p. 50. The ſpirit of the Corniſh knights was degraded by ſervitude; and it ſhould ſeem, from the Romance of Sir Triſtram, that their cowardice was almoſt proverbial.

[136] The eſtabliſhment of the Britons in Gaul is proved in the ſixth century, by Procopius, Gregory of Tours, the ſecond council of Tours (A. D. 567), and the leaſt ſuſpicious of their chronicles and lives of ſaints. The ſubſcription of a biſhop of the Britons to the firſt council of Tours (A. D. 461, or rather 481), the army of Riothamus, and the looſe declamation of Gildas (alii tranſmarinas petebant regiones, c. 25. p. 8.), may countenance an emigration as early as the middle of the fifth century. Beyond that æra, the Britons of Armorica can be found only in romance; and I am ſurpriſed that Mr. Whitaker (Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons, p. 214—221.) ſhould ſo faithfully tranſcribe the groſs ignorance of Carte, whoſe venial errors he has ſo rigorouſly chaſtiſed.

[137] The antiquities of *Bretagne*, which have been the ſubject even of political controverſy, are illuſtrated by Hadrian Valeſius (Notitia Galliarum, ſub voce *Britannia Ciſmarina*, p. 98—100.), M. d'Anville (Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, *Coriſopiti*, *Curioſolites*, *Oſiſmii*, *Vorganium*, p. 248. 258. 508. 720. and Etats de l'Europe, p. 76—80.), Longuerue (Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 84—94.), and the Abbé de Vertot (Hiſt. Critique de l'Etabliſſement des Bretons dans les Gaules, 2 vol. in 12mo. Paris, 1720). I may aſſume the merit of examining the original evidence which they have produced.

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The fame of Arthur.

In a century of perpetual, or at leaſt implacable, war, much courage, and ſome ſkill, muſt have been exerted for the defence of Britain. Yet if the memory of its champions is almoſt buried in oblivion, we need not repine; ſince every age, however deſtitute of ſcience or virtue, ſufficiently abounds with acts of blood and military renown. The tomb of Vortimer, the ſon of Vortigern, was erected on the margin of the ſea-ſhore, as a landmark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquiſhed in the fields of Kent. Ambroſius Aurelian was deſcended from a noble family of Romans[138]; his modeſty was equal to his valour, and his valour, till the laſt fatal action[139], was crowned with ſplendid ſucceſs. But every Britiſh name is effaced by the illuſtrious name of ARTHUR[140], the hereditary prince of the Silures, in South Wales, and the elective king or general of the nation. According to the moſt rational account, he defeated, in twelve ſucceſſive battles, the Angles of the North, and the Saxons of the Weſt; but the declining age of the hero was embittered by popular ingratitude, and domeſtic misfortunes. The events of his life are leſs intereſting, than the ſingular revolutions of his fame. During a period of five hundred years the tradition of his exploits was preſerved, and rudely embelliſhed, by the obſcure bards of Wales and Armorica, who were odious to the Saxons, and unknown to the reſt of mankind. The pride and cu-

[138] Bede, who in his chronicle (p. 28.) places Ambroſius under the reign of Zeno (A. D. 474—491.), obſerves, that his parents had been "purpurâ induti;" which he explains, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, by "regium habitum "men et inſigne ferentibus" (l. i. c. 16. p. 53.). The expreſſion of Nennius (c. 44. p. 110. edit. Gale) is ſtill more ſingular, "Unus "de *conſulibus* gentis Romanicæ eſt pater "meus."

[139] By the unanimous, though doubtful, conjecture of our antiquarians, Ambroſius is confounded with Natanleod, who (A. D. 508) loſt his own life, and five thouſand of his ſubjects, in a battle againſt Cerdic, the Weſt Saxon (Chron. Saxon. p. 17, 18.).

[140] As I am a ſtranger to the Welſh bards Myrdhin, Llomarch, and Taliеſſin, my faith in the exiſtence and exploits of Arthur, principally reſts on the ſimple and circumſtantial teſtimony of Nennius (Hiſt. Brit. c. 62, 63. p. 114.). Mr. Whitaker (Hiſt. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 31—71.) has framed an intereſting, and even probable, narrative of the wars of Arthur: though it is impoſſible to allow the reality of the round table.

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riosity of the Norman conquerors, prompted them to enquire into the ancient history of Britain: they listened with fond credulity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly applauded the merit of a prince, who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common enemies. His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments, which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy, of the twelfth century. The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tyber to the Thames, was easily engrafted on the fable of the Æneid; and the royal ancestors of Arthur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. His trophies were decorated with captive provinces, and Imperial titles; and his Danish victories avenged the recent injuries of his country. The gallantry and superstition of the British hero, his feasts and tournaments, and the memorable institution of his Knights of the *Round Table*, were faithfully copied from the reigning manners of chivalry; and the fabulous exploits of Uther's son, appear less incredible, than the adventures which were atchieved by the enterprising valour of the Normans. Pilgrimage, and the holy wars, introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies, and giants, flying dragons, and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table: their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length the light of science and reason was rekindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the

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public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the *existence* of Arthur [140].

Desolation of Britain.

Resistance, if it cannot avert, must increase, the miseries of conquest; and conquest has never appeared more dreadful and destructive than in the hands of the Saxons; who hated the valour of their enemies, disdained the faith of treaties, and violated, without remorse, the most sacred objects of the Christian worship. The fields of battle might be traced, almost in every district, by monuments of bones; the fragments of falling towers were stained with blood; the last of the Britons, without distinction of age or sex, was massacred [141] in the ruins of Anderida [142]; and the repetition of such calamities was frequent and familiar under the Saxon heptarchy. The arts and religion, the laws and language, which the Romans had so carefully planted in Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous successors. After the destruction of the principal churches, the bishops, who had declined the crown of martyrdom, retired with the holy relics into Wales and Armorica; the remains of their flocks were left destitute of any spiritual food; the practice, and even the remembrance, of Christianity were abolished; and the British clergy might obtain some comfort from the damnation of the idolatrous strangers. The kings of France maintained the privileges of their Roman subjects; but the ferocious Saxons trampled on the laws of Rome, and of the emperors. The proceedings of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the titles of honour, the forms of office, the ranks of society, and even the domestic

Servitude.

[140] The progress of romance, and the state of learning, in the middle ages, are illustrated by Mr. Thomas Warton, with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian. I have derived much instruction from the two learned dissertations prefixed to the first volume of his History of English Poetry.

[141] Hoc anno (490) Ælla et Cissa obsederunt Andredes-Ceaster, et interfecerunt omnes qui id incoluerunt; adeo ut ne unus Brito ibi superstes fuerit (Chron. Saxon. p. 15.); an expression more dreadful in its simplicity, than all the vague and tedious lamentations of the British Jeremiah.

[142] Andredes-Ceaster, or Anderida, is placed by Cambden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 258.) at Newenden, in the marshy grounds of Kent, which might be formerly covered by the sea, and on the edge of the great forest (Anderida), which overspread so large a portion of Hampshire and Sussex.

rights

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rights of marriage, teſtament, and inheritance, were finally ſuppreſſed; and the indiſcriminate crowd of noble and plebeian ſlaves was governed by the traditionary cuſtoms, which had been coarſely framed for the ſhepherds and pirates of Germany. The language of ſcience, of buſineſs, and of converſation, which had been introduced by the Romans, was loſt in the general deſolation. A ſufficient number of Latin or Celtic words might be aſſumed by the Germans, to expreſs their new wants and ideas [143]; but thoſe *illiterate* Pagans preſerved and eſtabliſhed the uſe of their national dialect [144]. Almoſt every name, conſpicuous either in the church or ſtate, reveals its Teutonic origin [145]; and the geography of *England* was univerſally inſcribed with foreign characters and appellations. The example of a revolution, ſo rapid and ſo complete, may not eaſily be found; but it will excite a probable ſuſpicion, that the arts of Rome were leſs deeply rooted in Britain than in Gaul or Spain; and that the native rudeneſs of the country, and its inhabitants, was covered by a thin varniſh of Italian manners.

Servitude.

This ſtrange alteration has perſuaded hiſtorians, and even philoſophers, that the provincials of Britain were totally exterminated; and that the vacant land was again peopled by the perpetual influx, and rapid increaſe, of the German colonies. Three hundred thouſand Saxons are *ſaid* to have obeyed the ſummons of Hengiſt [146]; the entire emigration of the Angles was atteſted in the age of Bede, by the ſolitude of their native country [147]; and our experience has ſhewn the

[143] Dr. Johnſon affirms, that *few* Engliſh words are of Britiſh extraction. Mr. Whitaker, who underſtands the Britiſh language, has diſcovered more than *three thouſand*, and actually produces a long and various catalogue (vol. ii. p. 235—329.). It is poſſible, indeed, that many of theſe words may have been imported from the Latin or Saxon into the native idiom of Britain.

[144] In the beginning of the ſeventh century, the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons mutually underſtood each other's language, which was derived from the ſame Teutonic root (Bede, l. i. c. 25. p. 66.).

[145] After the firſt generation of Italian, or Scottiſh, miſſionaries, the dignities of the church were filled with Saxon proſelytes.

[146] Carte's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 195. He quotes the Britiſh hiſtorians; but I much fear, that Jeffrey of Monmouth (l. vi. c. 15.) is his only witneſs.

[147] Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. l. i. c. 15. p. 52.

The

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the free propagation of the human race, if they are caſt on a fruitful wilderneſs, where their ſteps are unconfined, and their ſubſiſtence is plentiful. The Saxon kingdoms diſplayed the face of recent diſcovery and cultivation: the towns were ſmall, the villages were diſtant; the huſbandry was languid and unſkilful; four ſheep were equivalent to an acre of the beſt land[148]; an ample ſpace of wood and moraſs was reſigned to the vague dominion of nature; and the modern biſhopric of Durham, the whole territory from the Tyne to the Tees, had returned to its primitive ſtate of a ſavage and ſolitary foreſt[149]. Such imperfect population might have been ſupplied, in ſome generations, by the Engliſh colonies; but neither reaſon nor facts can juſtify the unnatural ſuppoſition, that the Saxons of Britain remained alone in the deſert which they had ſubdued. After the ſanguinary Barbarians had ſecured their dominion, and gratified their revenge, it was their intereſt to preſerve the peaſants, as well as the cattle, of the unreſiſting country. In each ſucceſſive revolution, the patient herd becomes the property of its new maſters; and the ſalutary compact of food and labour is ſilently ratified by their mutual neceſſities. Wilfrid, the apoſtle of Suſſex[150], accepted from his royal convert the gift of the peninſula of Selſey, near Chicheſter, with the perſons and properties of its inhabitants, who then amounted to eighty-ſeven families. He releaſed them at once from ſpiritual and temporal bondage; and two hundred and fifty ſlaves of both ſexes were baptized by their indulgent maſter. The kingdom of Suſſex, which ſpread from the ſea to the Thames, contained ſeven

The fact is probable and well atteſted: yet ſuch was the looſe intermixture of the German tribes, that we find, in a ſubſequent period, the law of the Angli and Warini of Germany (Lindenbrog. Codex, p. 479—486.).

[148] See Dr. Henry's uſeful and laborious Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 388.

[149] Quicquid (ſays John of Tinemouth) inter Tynam et Teſam fluvios extitit ſola eremi vaſtitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nullius ditioni ſervivit, eo quod ſola indomitorum et ſylveſtrium animalium ſpelunca et habitatio fuit (apud Carte, vol. i. p. 195.). From biſhop Nicholſon (Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 65. 98.), I underſtand that fair copies of John of Tinemouth's ample Collections are preſerved in the libraries of Oxford, Lambeth, &c.

[150] See the miſſion of Wilfrid, &c. in Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iv. c. 13. 16. p. 155, 156. 159.

thouſand

thouſand families: twelve hundred were aſcribed to the Iſle of Wight; and, if we multiply this vague computation, it may ſeem probable, that England was cultivated by a million of ſervants, or *villains*, who were attached to the eſtates of their arbitrary landlords. The indigent Barbarians were often tempted to ſell their children or themſelves into perpetual, and even foreign, bondage [151]; yet the ſpecial exemptions, which were granted to *national* ſlaves [152], ſufficiently declare, that they were much leſs numerous than the ſtrangers and captives, who had loſt their liberty, or changed their maſters, by the accidents of war. When time and religion had mitigated the fierce ſpirit of the Anglo-Saxons, the laws encouraged the frequent practice of manumiſſion; and their ſubjects, of Welſh or Cambrian extraction, aſſume the reſpectable ſtation of inferior freemen, poſſeſſed of lands, and intitled to the rights of civil ſociety [153]. Such gentle treatment might ſecure the allegiance of a fierce people, who had been recently ſubdued on the confines of Wales and Cornwall. The ſage Ina, the legiſlator of Weſſex, united the two nations in the bands of domeſtic alliance: and four Britiſh lords of Somerſetſhire may be honourably diſtinguiſhed in the court of a Saxon monarch [154].

Manners of the Britons.

The independent Britons appear to have relapſed into the ſtate of original barbariſm, from whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed. Separated by their enemies from the reſt of mankind, they

[151] From the concurrent teſtimony of Bede (l. ii. c. 1. p. 78.), and William of Malmſbury (l. iii. p. 102.), it appears, that the Anglo-Saxons, from the firſt, to the laſt, age, perſiſted in this unnatural practice. Their youths were publicly ſold in the market of Rome.

[152] According to the laws of Ina, they could not be lawfully ſold beyond the ſeas.

[153] The life of a *Wallus*, or *Cambricus, homo*, who poſſeſſed a hyde of land, is fixed at 120 ſhillings, by the ſame laws (of Ina, tit. xxxii. in Leg. Anglo-Saxon. p. 20.), which allowed 200 ſhillings for a free Saxon, and 1200 for a Thane (ſee likewiſe Leg. Anglo-Saxon. p. 71.). We may obſerve, that theſe legiſlators, the Weſt-Saxons and Mercians, continued their Britiſh conqueſts after they became Chriſtians. The laws of the four kings of Kent do not condeſcend to notice the exiſtence of any ſubject Britons.

[154] See Carte's Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 278.

ſoon

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ſoon became an object of ſcandal and abhorrence to the Catholic world [136]. Chriſtianity was ſtill profeſſed in the mountains of Wales; but the rude ſchiſmatics, in the *form* of the clerical tonſure, and in the *day* of the celebration of Eaſter, obſtinately reſiſted the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiffs. The uſe of the Latin language was inſenſibly aboliſhed, and the Britons were deprived of the arts and learning which Italy communicated to her Saxon proſelytes. In Wales and Armorica, the Celtic tongue, the native idiom of the Weſt, was preſerved and propagated; and the *Bards*, who had been the companions of the Druids, were ſtill protected, in the ſixteenth century, by the laws of Elizabeth. Their chief, a reſpectable officer of the courts of Pengwern, or Aberfraw, or Caermathaen, accompanied the king's ſervants to war: the monarchy of the Britons, which he ſung in the front of battle, excited their courage, and juſtified their depredations; and the ſongſter claimed for his legitimate prize the faireſt heifer of the ſpoil. His ſubordinate miniſters, the maſters and diſciples of vocal and inſtrumental muſic, viſited, in their reſpective circuits, the royal, the noble, and the plebeian houſes; and the public poverty, almoſt exhauſted by the clergy, was oppreſſed by the importunate demands of the bards. Their rank and merit were aſcertained by ſolemn trials, and the ſtrong belief of ſupernatural inſpiration exalted the fancy of the poet, and of his audience [137]. The laſt retreats of Celtic freedom, the extreme territories of Gaul and Britain, were leſs adapted to agriculture than to paſturage: the wealth of the Britons conſiſted in their flocks and herds; milk and fleſh were their ordinary food; and bread was

[136] At the concluſion of his hiſtory (A. D. 731), Bede deſcribes the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the iſland, and cenſures the implacable, though impotent, hatred of the Britons againſt the Engliſh nation, and the Catholic church (l. v. c. 23. p. 219.).

[137] Mr. Pennant's Tour in Wales (p. 426-449.) has furniſhed me with a curious and intereſting account of the Welſh bards. In the year 1568, a ſeſſion was held at Caerwys by the ſpecial command of queen Elizabeth, and regular degrees in vocal and inſtrumental muſic were conferred on fifty-five minſtrels. The prize (a ſilver harp) was adjudged by the Moſtyn family.

ſometimes

sometimes esteemed, or rejected, as a foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the morasses of Armorica; but their populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy; and the houses of these licentious Barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives, and perhaps fifty children[158]. Their disposition was rash and choleric: they were bold in action and in speech[159]; and as they were ignorant of the arts of peace, they alternately indulged their passions in foreign and domestic war. The cavalry of Armorica, the spearmen of Gwent, and the archers of Merioneth, were equally formidable; but their poverty could seldom procure either shields or helmets; and the inconvenient weight would have retarded the speed and agility of their desultory operations. One of the greatest of the English monarchs was requested to satisfy the curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state of Britain; and Henry II. could assert, from his personal experience, that Wales was inhabited by a race of naked warriors, who encountered, without fear, the defensive armour of their enemies[160].

Obscure or fabulous state of Britain.

By the revolution of Britain, the limits of science, as well as of empire, were contracted. The dark cloud, which had been cleared by the Phœnician discoveries, and finally dispelled by the arms of Cæsar, again settled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the Ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the gravest

[158] Regio longe lateque diffusa, milite, magis quam credibile sit, referta. Partibus equidem in illis miles unus quinquaginta generat, fortitus more barbaro idenas aut amplius uxores. This reproach of William of Poitiers (in the Historians of France, tom. xi. p. 88.) is disclaimed by the Benedictine editors.

[159] Giraldus Cambrensis confines this gift of bold and ready eloquence to the Romans, the French, and the Britons. The malicious Welshman insinuates, that the English taciturnity might possibly be the effect of their servitude under the Normans.

[160] The picture of Welsh and Armorican manners is drawn from Giraldus (Descript. Cambriæ, c. 6—15. inter Script. Cambden. p. 886—891.), and the authors quoted by the Abbé de Vertot (Hist. Critique, tom. ii. p. 259—266.).

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hiſtorian of the times [161] deſcribes the wonders of a remote iſle, whoſe eaſtern and weſtern parts are divided by an antique wall, the boundary of life and death, or, more properly, of truth and fiction. The eaſt is a fair country, inhabited by a civilized people: the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increaſe. In the weſt, beyond the wall, the air is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with ſerpents; and this dreary ſolitude is the region of departed ſpirits, who are tranſported from the oppoſite ſhores in ſubſtantial boats, and by living rowers. Some families of fiſhermen, the ſubjects of the Franks, are excuſed from tribute, in conſideration of the myſterious office which is performed by theſe Charons of the ocean. Each in his turn is ſummoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the ghoſts: he is ſenſible of their weight, and he feels himſelf impelled by an unknown, but irreſiſtible, power. After this dream of fancy, we read with aſtoniſhment, that the name of this iſland is *Brittia*; that it lies in the ocean, againſt the mouth of the Rhine, and leſs than thirty miles from the continent; that it is poſſeſſed by three nations, the Friſians, the Angles, and the Britons; and that ſome Angles had appeared at Conſtantinople, in the train of the French ambaſſadors. From theſe ambaſſadors Procopius might be informed of a ſingular, though an improbable, adventure, which announces the ſpirit, rather than the delicacy, of an Engliſh heroine. She had been bethrothed to Radiger king of the Varni, a tribe of Germans who touched the ocean and the Rhine; but the perfidious lover was tempted, by motives of policy, to prefer his father's widow, the ſiſter of Theodebert king of the Franks [162]. The forſaken princeſs of the

[161] See Procopius de Bell. Gothic. l. iv. c. 20. p. 620—625. The Greek hiſtorian is himſelf ſo confounded by the wonders which he relates, that he weakly attempts to diſtinguiſh the iſlands of *Brittia* and *Britain*, which he has identified by ſo many inſeparable circumſtances.

[162] Theodebert, grandſon of Clovis, and king of Auſtraſia, was the moſt powerful and warlike prince of the age; and this remarkable

the Angles, instead of bewailing, revenged her disgrace. Her warlike subjects are *said* to have been ignorant of the use, and even of the form, of an horse; but she boldly sailed from Britain to the mouth of the Rhine, with a fleet of four hundred ships, and an army of one hundred thousand men. After the loss of a battle, the captive Radiger implored the mercy of his victorious bride, who generously pardoned his offence, dismissed her rival, and compelled the king of the Varni to discharge with honour and fidelity the duties of an husband[163]. This gallant exploit appears to be the last naval enterprise of the Anglo-Saxons. The arts of navigation, by which they had acquired the empire of Britain and of the sea, were soon neglected by the indolent Barbarians, who supinely renounced all the commercial advantages of their insular situation. Seven independent kingdoms were agitated by perpetual discord; and the *British world* was seldom connected, either in peace or war, with the nations of the continent[164].

Fall of the Roman empire in the West.

I have now accomplished the laborious narrative of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, from the fortunate age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the West, about five centuries after the Christian æra. At that unhappy period, the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain: Gaul

able adventure may be placed between the years 534 and 547, the extreme terms of his reign. His sister Theudechildis retired to Sens, where she founded monasteries, and distributed alms (see the notes of the Benedictine editors, in tom. ii. p. 216.). If we may credit the praises of Fortunatus (l. vi. carm. 5. in tom. ii. p. 507.), Radiger was deprived of a most valuable wife.

[163] Perhaps she was the sister of one of the princes or chiefs of the Angles, who landed in 527, and the following years, between the Humber and the Thames, and gradually founded the kingdoms of East-Anglia and Mercia. The English writers are ignorant of her name and existence: but Procopius may have suggested to Mr. Rowe the character and situation of Rodugune in the tragedy of the Royal Convert.

[164] In the copious history of Gregory of Tours, we cannot find any traces of hostile or friendly intercourse between France and England, except in the marriage of the daughter of Caribert king of Paris, quam regis *cujusdam* in Cantia filius matrimonio copulavit (l. ix. c. 26. in tom. ii. p. 348.). The bishop of Tours ended his history and his life almost immediately before the conversion of Kent.

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and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Viſigoths, and the dependent kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians: Africa was expoſed to the cruel perſecution of the Vandals, and the ſavage inſults of the Moors: Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of Barbarian mercenaries, whoſe lawleſs tyranny was ſucceeded by the reign of Theodoric the Oſtrogoth. All the ſubjects of the empire, who, by the uſe of the Latin language, more particularly deſerved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppreſſed by the diſgrace and calamities of foreign conqueſt; and the victorious nations of Germany eſtabliſhed a new ſyſtem of manners and government in the weſtern countries of Europe. The majeſty of Rome was faintly repreſented by the princes of Conſtantinople, the feeble and imaginary ſucceſſors of Auguſtus. Yet they continued to reign over the Eaſt, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris; the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were ſubverted by the arms of Juſtinian; and the hiſtory of the *Greek* emperors may ſtill afford a long ſeries of inſtructive leſſons, and intereſting revolutions.

General Obſervations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the Weſt.

THE Greeks, after their country had been reduced into a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome, not to the merit, but to the FORTUNE, of the republic. The inconſtant goddeſs, who ſo blindly diſtributes and reſumes her favours, had *now* conſented (ſuch was the language of envious flattery) to reſign her wings, to deſcend from her globe, and to fix her firm and immutable throne on the banks of the Tyber [1]. A wiſer Greek, who has compoſed, with a philoſophic ſpirit, the memorable hiſtory of his own times, deprived his countrymen of this vain and deluſive comfort, by opening to their view the deep foundations of the greatneſs of Rome [2]. The fidelity of the citizens to each other, and to the ſtate, was confirmed by the habits of education, and the prejudices of religion. Honour, as well as virtue, was the principle of the republic; the ambitious citizens laboured to deſerve the ſolemn glories of a triumph; and the ardour of the Roman youth was kindled into active emulation, as often as they beheld the domeſtic images

[1] Such are the figurative expreſſions of Plutarch (Opera, tom. ii. p. 318. edit. Wechel), to whom, on the faith of his ſon Lamprias (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. iii. p. 341.), I ſhall boldly impute the malicious declamation, περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης. The ſame opinions had prevailed among the Greeks two hundred and fifty years before Plutarch; and to confute them is the profeſſed intention of Polybius (Hiſt. l. i. p. 90. edit. Gronov. Amſtel. 1670).

[2] See the ineſtimable remains of the ſixth book of Polybius, and many other parts of his general hiſtory, particularly a digreſſion in the ſeventeenth book, in which he compares the phalanx and the legion.

of

of their anceſtors [3]. The temperate ſtruggles of the patricians and plebeians had finally eſtabliſhed the firm and equal balance of the conſtitution; which united the freedom of popular aſſemblies, with the authority and wiſdom of a ſenate, and the executive powers of a regal magiſtrate. When the conſul diſplayed the ſtandard of the republic, each citizen bound himſelf, by the obligation of an oath, to draw his ſword in the cauſe of his country, till he had diſcharged the ſacred duty by a military ſervice of ten years. This wiſe inſtitution continually poured into the field the riſing generations of freemen and ſoldiers; and their numbers were reinforced by the warlike and populous ſtates of Italy, who, after a brave reſiſtance, had yielded to the valour, and embraced the alliance, of the Romans. The ſage hiſtorian, who excited the virtue of the younger Scipio, and beheld the ruin of Carthage [4], has accurately deſcribed their military ſyſtem; their levies, arms, exerciſes, ſubordination, marches, encampments; and the invincible legion, ſuperior in active ſtrength to the Macedonian phalanx of Philip and Alexander. From theſe inſtitutions of peace and war, Polybius has deduced the ſpirit and ſucceſs of a people, incapable of fear, and impatient of repoſe. The ambitious deſign of conqueſt, which might have been defeated by the ſeaſonable conſpiracy of mankind, was attempted and atchieved; and the perpetual violation of juſtice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage. The arms of the republic, ſometimes vanquiſhed in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid ſteps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean;

[3] Salluſt, de Bell. Jugurthin. c. 4. Such were the generous profeſſions of P. Scipio and Q. Maximus. The Latin hiſtorian had read, and moſt probably tranſcribes, Polybius, their contemporary and friend.

[4] While Carthage was in flames, Scipio repeated two lines of the Iliad, which expreſs the deſtruction of Troy, acknowledging to Polybius, his friend and preceptor (Polyb. in Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. tom. ii. p. 1455—1465.), that while he recollected the viciſſitudes of human affairs, he inwardly applied them to the future calamities of Rome (Appian. in Libycis, p. 136. edit. Toll.).

and

and the images of gold, or ſilver, or braſs, that might ſerve to repreſent the nations and their kings, were ſucceſſively broken by the *iron* monarchy of Rome [3].

The riſe of a city, which ſwelled into an empire, may deſerve, as a ſingular prodigy, the reflection of a philoſophic mind. But the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatneſs. Proſperity ripened the principle of decay; the cauſes of deſtruction multiplied with the extent of conqueſt; and as ſoon as time or accident had removed the artificial ſupports, the ſtupendous fabric yielded to the preſſure of its own weight. The ſtory of its ruin is ſimple and obvious; and inſtead of inquiring *why* the Roman empire was deſtroyed, we ſhould rather be ſurpriſed that it had ſubſiſted ſo long. The victorious legions, who, in diſtant wars, acquired the vices of ſtrangers and mercenaries, firſt oppreſſed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majeſty of the purple. The emperors, anxious for their perſonal ſafety and the public peace, were reduced to the baſe expedient of corrupting the diſcipline which rendered them alike formidable to their ſovereign and to the enemy; the vigour of the military government was relaxed, and finally diſſolved, by the partial inſtitutions of Conſtantine; and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of Barbarians.

The decay of Rome has been frequently aſcribed to the tranſlation of the ſeat of empire; but this hiſtory has already ſhewn, that the powers of government were *divided* rather than *removed*. The throne of Conſtantinople was erected in the Eaſt; while the Weſt

[3] See Daniel, ii. 31—40. "And the fourth "kingdom ſhall be ſtrong as *iron*; foraſmuch "as iron breaketh in pieces, and ſubdueth "all things." The remainder of the prophecy (the mixture of iron and *clay*) was accompliſhed, according to St. Jerom, in his own time. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano Imperio fortius et durius, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quum et in bellis civilibus et adverſus diverſas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum auxilio indigemus (Opera, tom. v. p. 572.).

was ſtill poſſeſſed by a ſeries of emperors who held their reſidence in Italy, and claimed their equal inheritance of the legions and provinces. This dangerous novelty impaired the ſtrength, and fomented the vices, of a double reign: the inſtruments of an oppreſſive and arbitrary ſyſtem were multiplied; and a vain emulation of luxury, not of merit, was introduced and ſupported between the degenerate ſucceſſors of Theodoſius. Extreme diſtreſs, which unites the virtue of a free people, embitters the factions of a declining monarchy. The hoſtile favourites of Arcadius and Honorius betrayed the republic to its common enemies; and the Byzantine court beheld with indifference, perhaps with pleaſure, the diſgrace of Rome, the misfortunes of Italy, and the loſs of the Weſt. Under the ſucceeding reigns, the alliance of the two empires was reſtored; but the aid of the Oriental Romans was tardy, doubtful, and ineffectual; and the national ſchiſm of the Greeks and Latins was enlarged by the perpetual difference of language and manners, of intereſt, and even of religion. Yet the ſalutary event approved in ſome meaſure the judgment of Conſtantine. During a long period of decay, his impregnable city repelled the victorious armies of Barbarians, protected the wealth of Aſia, and commanded, both in peace and war, the important ſtreights which connect the Euxine and Mediterranean ſeas. The foundation of Conſtantinople more eſſentially contributed to the preſervation of the Eaſt, than to the ruin of the Weſt.

As the happineſs of a *future* life is the great object of religion, we may hear without ſurpriſe or ſcandal, that the introduction, or at leaſt the abuſe, of Chriſtianity, had ſome influence on the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The clergy ſucceſsfully preached the doctrines of patience and puſillanimity; the active virtues of ſociety were diſcouraged; and the laſt remains of military ſpirit were buried in the cloyſter: a large portion of public and private wealth was conſecrated to the ſpecious demands of charity and devotion; and

and the ſoldiers pay was laviſhed on the uſeleſs multitude of both ſexes, who could only plead the merits of abſtinence and chaſtity. Faith, zeal, curioſity, and the more earthly paſſions of malice and ambition, kindled the flame of theological diſcord; the church, and even the ſtate, were diſtracted by religious factions, whoſe conflicts were ſometimes bloody, and always implacable; the attention of the emperors was diverted from camps to ſynods; the Roman world was oppreſſed by a new ſpecies of tyranny; and the perſecuted ſects became the ſecret enemies of their country. Yet party-ſpirit, however pernicious or abſurd, is a principle of union as well as of diſſenſion. The biſhops, from eighteen hundred pulpits, inculcated the duty of paſſive obedience to a lawful and orthodox ſovereign; their frequent aſſemblies, and perpetual correſpondence, maintained the communion of diſtant churches; and the benevolent temper of the goſpel was ſtrengthened, though confined, by the ſpiritual alliance of the Catholics. The ſacred indolence of the monks was devoutly embraced by a ſervile and effeminate age; but if ſuperſtition had not afforded a decent retreat, the ſame vices would have tempted the unworthy Romans to deſert, from baſer motives, the ſtandard of the republic. Religious precepts are eaſily obeyed, which indulge and ſanctify the natural inclinations of their votaries; but the pure and genuine influence of Chriſtianity may be traced in its beneficial, though imperfect, effects on the Barbarian proſelytes of the North. If the decline of the Roman empire was haſtened by the converſion of Conſtantine, his victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors.

This awful revolution may be uſefully applied to the inſtruction of the preſent age. It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the excluſive intereſt and glory of his native country: but a philoſopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to conſider

Europe as one great republic, whoſe various inhabitants have attained almoſt the ſame level of politeneſs and cultivation. The balance of power will continue to fluctuate, and the proſperity of our own, or the neighbouring kingdoms, may be alternately exalted or depreſſed; but theſe partial events cannot eſſentially injure our general ſtate of happineſs, the ſyſtem of arts, and laws, and manners, which ſo advantageouſly diſtinguiſh, above the reſt of mankind, the Europeans and their colonies. The ſavage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilized ſociety; and we may inquire with anxious curioſity, whether Europe is ſtill threatened with a repetition of thoſe calamities, which formerly oppreſſed the arms and inſtitutions of Rome. Perhaps the ſame reflections will illuſtrate the fall of that mighty empire, and explain the probable cauſes of our actual ſecurity.

I. The Romans were ignorant of the extent of their danger, and the number of their enemies. Beyond the Rhine and Danube, the northern countries of Europe and Aſia were filled with innumerable tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, poor, voracious, and turbulent; bold in arms, and impatient to raviſh the fruits of induſtry. The Barbarian world was agitated by the rapid impulſe of war; and the peace of Gaul or Italy was ſhaken by the diſtant revolutions of China. The Huns, who fled before a victorious enemy, directed their march towards the Weſt; and the torrent was ſwelled by the gradual acceſſion of captives and allies. The flying tribes who yielded to the Huns, aſſumed in *their* turn the ſpirit of conqueſt; the endleſs column of Barbarians preſſed on the Roman empire with accumulated weight; and, if the foremoſt were deſtroyed, the vacant ſpace was inſtantly repleniſhed by new aſſailants. Such formidable emigrations can no longer iſſue from the North; and the long repoſe, which has been imputed to the decreaſe of population, is the happy conſequence of the progreſs of arts and agriculture. Inſtead of ſome

rude

rude villages, thinly ſcattered among its woods and moraſſes, Germany now produces a liſt of two thouſand three hundred walled towns: the Chriſtian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, have been ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed; and the Hanſe merchants, with the Teutonic knights, have extended their colonies along the coaſt of the Baltic, as far as the Gulf of Finland. From the Gulf of Finland to the Eaſtern Ocean, Ruſſia now aſſumes the form of a powerful and civilized empire. The plough, the loom, and the forge are introduced on the banks of the Volga, the Oby, and the Lena; and the fierceſt of the Tartar hords have been taught to tremble and obey. The reign of independent Barbariſm is now contracted to a narrow ſpan; and the remnant of Calmucks or Uzbeks, whoſe forces may be almoſt numbered, cannot ſeriouſly excite the apprehenſions of the great republic of Europe [6]. Yet this apparent ſecurity ſhould not tempt us to forget, that new enemies, and unknown dangers, may *poſſibly* ariſe from ſome obſcure people, ſcarcely viſible in the map of the world. The Arabs or Saracens, who ſpread their conqueſts from India to Spain, had languiſhed in poverty and contempt, till Mahomet breathed into thoſe ſavage bodies the ſoul of enthuſiaſm.

II. The empire of Rome was firmly eſtabliſhed by the ſingular and perfect coalition of its members. The ſubject nations, reſigning the hope, and even the wiſh, of independence, embraced the character of Roman citizens; and the provinces of the Weſt were reluctantly torn by the Barbarians from the boſom of their mother-country [7]. But this union was purchaſed by the loſs of national

[6] The French and Engliſh editors of the Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars have ſubjoined a curious, though imperfect, deſcription of their preſent ſtate. We might queſtion the independence of the Calmucks, or Eluths, ſince they have been recently vanquiſhed by the Chineſe, who, in the year 1759, ſubdued the leſſer Bucharia, and advanced into the country of Badakſhan, near the ſources of the Oxus (Memoires ſur les Chinois, tom. i. p. 325—400.). But theſe conqueſts are precarious, nor will I venture to enſure the ſafety of the Chineſe empire.

[7] The prudent reader will determine how far this general propoſition is weakened by the revolt of the Iſaurians, the independence of Britain and Armorica, the Mooriſh tribes, or the Bagaudæ of Gaul and Spain (vol. i. p. 340. vol. iii. p. 273. 337. 434.).

freedom and military ſpirit; and the ſervile provinces, deſtitute of life and motion, expected their ſafety from the mercenary troops and governors, who were directed by the orders of a diſtant court. The happineſs of an hundred millions depended on the perſonal merit of one, or two, men, perhaps children, whoſe minds were corrupted by education, luxury, and deſpotic power. The deepeſt wounds were inflicted on the empire during the minorities of the ſons and grandſons of Theodoſius; and, after thoſe incapable princes ſeemed to attain the age of manhood, they abandoned the church to the biſhops, the ſtate to the eunuchs, and the provinces to the Barbarians. Europe is now divided into twelve powerful, though unequal, kingdoms, three reſpectable commonwealths, and a variety of ſmaller, though independent, ſtates: the chances of royal and miniſterial talents are multiplied, at leaſt, with the number of its rulers; and a Julian, or Semiramis, may reign in the North, while Arcadius and Honorius again ſlumber on the thrones of the South. The abuſes of tyranny are reſtrained by the mutual influence of fear and ſhame; republics have acquired order and ſtability; monarchies have imbibed the principles of freedom, or, at leaſt, of moderation; and ſome ſenſe of honour and juſtice is introduced into the moſt defective conſtitutions by the general manners of the times. In peace, the progreſs of knowledge and induſtry is accelerated by the emulation of ſo many active rivals: in war, the European forces are exerciſed by temperate and undeciſive conteſts. If a ſavage conqueror ſhould iſſue from the deſerts of Tartary, he muſt repeatedly vanquiſh the robuſt peaſants of Ruſſia, the numerous armies of Germany, the gallant nobles of France, and the intrepid freemen of Britain; who, perhaps, might confederate for their common defence. Should the victorious Barbarians carry ſlavery and deſolation as far as the Atlantic Ocean, ten thouſand veſſels would tranſport beyond their purſuit the remains of civilized

ſociety; and Europe would revive and flouriſh in the American world, which is already filled with her colonies, and inſtitutions [8].

III. Cold, poverty, and a life of danger and fatigue, fortify the ſtrength and courage of Barbarians. In every age they have oppreſſed the polite and peaceful nations of China, India, and Perſia, who neglected, and ſtill neglect, to counterbalance theſe natural powers by the reſources of military art. The warlike ſtates of antiquity, Greece, Macedonia, and Rome, educated a race of ſoldiers; exerciſed their bodies, diſciplined their courage, multiplied their forces by regular evolutions, and converted the iron, which they poſſeſſed, into ſtrong and ſerviceable weapons. But this ſuperiority inſenſibly declined with their laws and manners; and the feeble policy of Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors armed and inſtructed, for the ruin of the empire, the rude valour of the Barbarian mercenaries. The military art has been changed by the invention of gunpowder; which enables man to command the two moſt powerful agents of nature, air and fire. Mathematics, chymiſtry, mechanics, architecture, have been applied to the ſervice of war; and the adverſe parties oppoſe to each other the moſt elaborate modes of attack and of defence. Hiſtorians may indignantly obſerve, that the preparations of a ſiege would found and maintain a flouriſhing colony [9]; yet we cannot be diſpleaſed, that the ſubverſion of a city ſhould be a work of coſt and difficulty;

[8] America now contains about ſix millions of European blood and deſcent; and their numbers, at leaſt in the North, are continually increaſing. Whatever may be the changes of their political ſituation, they muſt preſerve the manners of Europe; and we may reflect with ſome pleaſure, that the Engliſh language will probably be diffuſed over an immenſe and populous continent.

[9] On avoit fait venir (for the ſiege of Türin) 140 pieces de canon; et il eſt à remarquer que chaque gros canon monté revient à environ 2000 ecus: il y avoit 110,000 boulets; 106,000 cartouches d'une façon et 300,000 d'une autre; 21,000 bombes; 27,700 grenades, 15,000 ſacs à terre, 30,000 inſtrumens pour le pionnage; 1,200,000 livres de poudre. Ajoutez à ces munitions, le plomb, le fer, et le fer-blanc, les cordages, tout ce qui ſert aux mineurs, le ſouphre, le ſalpêtre, les outils de toute eſpece. Il eſt certain que les frais de tous ces préparatifs de deſtruction ſuffiroient pour fonder et pour faire fleurir la plus nombreuſe colonie. Voltaire, Siécle de Louis XIV. c. xx. in his Works, tom. xi. p. 391.

or

or that an induſtrious people ſhould be protected by thoſe arts, which ſurvive and ſupply the decay of military virtue. Cannon and fortifications now form an impregnable barrier againſt the Tartar horſe; and Europe is ſecure from any future irruption of Barbarians; ſince, before they can conquer, they muſt ceaſe to be barbarous. Their gradual advances in the ſcience of war would always be accompanied, as we may learn from the example of Ruſſia, with a proportionable improvement in the arts of peace and civil policy; and they themſelves muſt deſerve a place among the poliſhed nations whom they ſubdue.

Should theſe ſpeculations be found doubtful or fallacious, there ſtill remains a more humble ſource of comfort and hope. The diſcoveries of ancient and modern navigators, and the domeſtic hiſtory, or tradition, of the moſt enlightened nations, repreſent the *human ſavage*, naked both in mind and body, and deſtitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almoſt of language [10]. From this abject condition, perhaps the primitive and univerſal ſtate of man, he has gradually ariſen to command the animals, to fertilize the earth, to traverſe the ocean, and to meaſure the heavens. His progreſs in the improvement and exerciſe of his mental and corporeal faculties [11] has been irregular and various; infinitely ſlow in the beginning, and increaſing by degrees with redoubled velocity: ages of laborious aſcent have been followed by a moment of rapid downfal; and the ſeveral

[10] It would be an eaſy, though tedious taſk, to produce the authorities of poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with appealing to the deciſive and authentic teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. p. 11, 12. l. iii. p. 184, &c. edit. Weſſeling). The Ichthyophagi, who in his time wandered along the ſhores of the Red Sea, can only be compared to the natives of New Holland (Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 464—469.). Fancy, or perhaps reaſon, may ſtill ſuppoſe an extreme and abſolute ſtate of nature far below the level of theſe ſavages, who had acquired ſome arts and inſtruments.

[11] See the learned and rational work of the Preſident Goguet, de l'Origine des Loix, des Arts, et des Sciences. He traces from facts, or conjectures (tom. i. p. 147—337. edit. 12mo.), the firſt and moſt difficult ſteps of human invention.

climates

climates of the globe have felt the viciſſitudes of light and darkneſs. Yet the experience of four thouſand years ſhould enlarge our hopes, and diminiſh our apprehenſions: we cannot determine to what height the human ſpecies may aſpire in their advances towards perfection; but it may ſafely be preſumed, that no people, unleſs the face of nature is changed, will relapſe into their original barbariſm. The improvements of ſociety may be viewed under a threefold aſpect. 1. The poet or philoſopher illuſtrates his age and country by the efforts of a *ſingle* mind; but theſe ſuperior powers of reaſon or fancy are rare and ſpontaneous productions; and the genius of Homer, or Cicero, or Newton, would excite leſs admiration, if they could be created by the will of a prince, or the leſſons of a preceptor. 2. The benefits of law and policy, of trade and manufactures, of arts and ſciences, are more ſolid and permanent; and *many* individuals may be qualified, by education and diſcipline, to promote, in their reſpective ſtations, the intereſt of the community. But this general order is the effect of ſkill and labour; and the complex machinery may be decayed by time, or injured by violence. 3. Fortunately for mankind, the more uſeful, or at leaſt, more neceſſary arts, can be performed without ſuperior talents, or national ſubordination; without the powers of *one*, or the union of *many*. Each village, each family, each individual, muſt always poſſeſs both ability and inclination, to perpetuate the uſe of fire [12] and of metals; the propagation and ſervice of domeſtic animals; the methods of hunting and fiſhing; the rudiments of navigation; the imperfect cultivation of corn, or other nutritive grain; and the ſimple practice of the mechanic trades. Private genius and public induſtry may be

[12] It is certain, however ſtrange, that many nations have been ignorant of the uſe of fire, who are deſtitute of metals, have not invented any earthen veſſels capable of ſuſtaining the action of fire, and of communicating the heat to the liquids which they contain.

extirpated;

extirpated; but theſe hardy plants ſurvive the tempeſt, and ſtrike an everlaſting root into the moſt unfavourable ſoil. The ſplendid days of Auguſtus and Trajan were eclipſed by a cloud of ignorance; and the Barbarians ſubverted the laws and palaces of Rome. But the ſcythe, the invention or emblem of Saturn [13], ſtill continued annually to mow the harveſts of Italy; and the human feaſts of the Læſtrigons [14] have never been renewed on the coaſt of Campania.

Since the firſt diſcovery of the arts, war, commerce, and religious zeal have diffuſed, among the ſavages of the Old and New World, theſe ineſtimable gifts: they have been ſucceſſively propagated; they can never be loſt. We may therefore acquieſce in the pleaſing concluſion, that every age of the world has increaſed, and ſtill increaſes, the real wealth, the happineſs, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race [15].

[13] Plutarch. Quæſt. Rom. in tom. ii. p. 275. Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 8. p. 152. edit. London. The arrival of Saturn (of his religious worſhip) in a ſhip, may indicate, that the ſavage coaſt of Latium was firſt diſcovered and civilized by the Phœnicians.

[14] In the ninth and tenth books of the Odyſſey, Homer has embelliſhed the tales of fearful and credulous ſailors, who tranſformed the cannibals of Italy and Sicily into monſtrous giants.

[15] The merit of diſcovery has too often been ſtained with avarice, cruelty, and fanaticiſm; and the intercourſe of nations has produced the communication of diſeaſe and prejudice. A ſingular exception is due to the virtue of our own times and country. The five great voyages ſucceſſively undertaken by the command of his preſent Majeſty, were inſpired by the pure and generous love of ſcience, and of mankind. The ſame prince, adapting his benefactions to the different ſtages of ſociety, has founded a ſchool of painting in his capital; and has introduced into the iſlands of the South Sea, the vegetables and animals moſt uſeful to human life.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM